


# Jacob Klingner, Felix Fabri, and the Interpretation of Imagined Pilgrimage

**Abstract** In this essay dedicated to the memory of Jacob KLINGNER, I discuss his work and address both the question of how late medieval enclosed nuns used pilgrimage accounts, as well as the methodological steps that best allow us to understand this particular historical phenomenon. I show that the Poor Clares of Pfullingen were far more likely to have read their vernacular adaptation of Felix Fabri's Latin 'Evagatorium' pilgrimage account simply as such, rather than as an imagined pilgrimage, as other studies have argued. I also demonstrate that this over-interpretation of pilgrimage accounts as imagined pilgrimage can be avoided by comparing the texts in question with multiple pilgrimage works for a wide range of attributes.

**Zusammenfassung** Im Gedenken an Jacob KLINGNER befasst sich dieses Kapitel mit seiner Arbeit zu Felix Fabri und behandelt sowohl die Frage, auf welche Weise Pilgerberichte in spätmittelalterlichen klausurierten Nonnenklöstern rezipiert wurden, als auch die methodischen Schritte, die uns ermöglichen, dieses besondere historische Phänomen besser zu verstehen. Dabei lässt sich zeigen, dass es sehr wahrscheinlich ist, dass die Klarissen von Pfullingen die volkssprachliche Adaption von Felix Fabris lateinischem ‚Evagatorium‘ als Pilgerbericht gelesen haben und nicht, wie andere Studien erwogen hatten, als imaginäre Pilgerreise. Die Überinterpretation von Pilgerberichten als imaginäre Pilgerreisen kann vermieden werden, indem beim Vergleich mit anderen Pilgertexten weitere Aspekte in den Blick genommen werden.

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## 1 Introduction

Felix Fabri, author of the Latin pilgrimage account known as the ‘Evagatorium’, referred to himself within the text as *fff* (*Frater Felix Fabri*).<sup>1</sup> At the 2016 international conference dedicated to Fabri, held in celebration of the 500th *Jubiläum* of the Stadtbibliothek Ulm,<sup>2</sup> the late Jacob KLINGNER and I realized that those of us gathered there could be signified as *ffff*: *Frater Felix Fabri Freunde*, or friends who had been brought together through our shared interest in the friar’s written work and sermons. Jacob was a generous scholar, a model of courage, and a ‘Friar Felix Fabri Friend’ *par excellence*. I first read his work when I began my study of Fabri as a graduate student. Admiring his article “Just say happily: ‘Felix said so’, and you’ll be in the clear!...”, I wrote to Jacob, and he shared with me information, insights, and the unpublished transcriptions of several previously unknown Fabri sermons, which he himself had identified.<sup>3</sup> Jacob’s unselfishness enriched my dissertation and my subsequent monograph on Fabri,<sup>4</sup> and his example became for me a model of scholarship and friendship.

The personal challenges and losses that he faced at the end of his life he met with humor (he once greeted me with the words, “As you see, I’ve become a monopod”) and a seemingly unwavering generosity of spirit. Whether over a meal at the Joseph-Roth-Diele in Berlin, coffee in Ulm’s Fischerviertel, or fresh strawberry tart on the terrace of his home, Jacob brimmed with ideas and plans for the future, many of them involving Fabri. Jacob was keen that scholars and the wider public recognize Fabri’s skill as a literary writer, and his interests ranged even more broadly; he spoke about exploring *Minnesang* and *Minnerede*, among other themes.<sup>5</sup>

An academic project that Jacob was unable to see to completion was a German translation of Fabri’s ‘Evagatorium’, which will be published by his colleagues Susanna

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1 Felix Fabri, ‘Evagatorium’, Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1, fol. 1r.

2 The proceedings were published as Folker REICHERT and Alexander ROSENSTOCK (eds.), *Die Welt des Frater Felix Fabri (Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Ulm 25)*, Weißenhorn 2018. Jacob’s contribution, “Felix Fabri und Heinrich Seuse,” appeared on pp. 113–147.

3 Jacob KLINGNER, Just say happily: ‘Felix said so’, and you’ll be in the clear! Felix Fabri OP (c. 1440–1502) Preaching Monastic Reform to Nuns, in: *Medieval Sermon Studies* 46 (2002), pp. 42–56.

4 Kathryn BEEBE, *Pilgrim & Preacher: the Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)*, Oxford 2014.

5 Jacob KLINGNER, ‘Gegenspiele’. Zur Überlieferung von Minnesang und Minnerede in der ‚Weingartner Liederhandschrift‘, in: Eckart Conrad LUTZ and Klaus RIDDER (eds.), *Wolfram-Studien, XXI: Transformationen der Lyrik im 13. Jahrhundert. Wildbader Kolloquium 2008, Berlin 2013*, pp. 267–286. He also had an interest in imagined pilgrimage, which is the focus of this essay, but among the laity – while I study it here among enclosed nuns: see Jacob KLINGNER, *Reisen zum Heil – Zwei Ulmer ‚Pilgerfahrten im Geiste‘ vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: Martin HUBER et al. (eds.), *Literarische Räume: Architekturen – Ordnungen – Medien*, Berlin 2012, pp. 59–73.

FISCHER and Andreas BERIGER.<sup>6</sup> Jacob judged Fabri's text worthy of translation and wanted to expand its audience – to make it available to Germanophone scholars who are not proficient in Latin. In this essay, which I dedicate to the memory of Jacob, I focus on texts that demonstrate that late medieval scribes – including Fabri, himself – also saw value in expanding the audience for Fabri's multiple pilgrimage works in both Latin (the 'Evagatorium') and in the vernacular (the 'Pilgerbuch' and the 'Sionpilger').<sup>7</sup>

In 1484, Fabri wrote the 'Pilgerbuch', which is a German account of his 1480 and 1483–1484 pilgrimages to the Holy Land.<sup>8</sup> Then, sometime before 1489, he produced his Latin 'Evagatorium', which is a much more detailed account of his two pilgrimages that includes many theological, historical, and ethnographic asides – as well as a section describing the history of Ulm and Swabia.<sup>9</sup> Finally, probably in 1492, he finished his German 'Sionpilger', which is an instruction manual for taking imagined pilgrimages to the Holy Land, Rome, and Compostela.<sup>10</sup>

In this essay, I centre my analysis on a section of a manuscript that contains a vernacular adaptation of Fabri's 'Evagatorium'. The manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische

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6 Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, lat./dt. Ausgabe mit Kommentar, ed. by Susanna FISCHER and Andreas BERIGER, Berlin (in preparation).

7 Fabri wrote four separate accounts of his pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483–1484: the 'Gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein' (c. 1482), which covered his 1480 journey; the single extant manuscript is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 359. It was printed as Felix Fabri, *Bruder Felix Fabers gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein*, ed. by Anton BIRLINGER, Munich 1864. The 'Pilgerbuch' (1484 or later), which covers both journeys and whose autograph manuscript is Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°. It was first printed as Felix Fabri, *Eigentliche beschreibung der hin unnd wider farth zu dem Heyligen Landt gen Jerusalem, und furter durch die grosse Wüsteneu zu dem Heiligen Berge Horeb Sinay, darauss zu vernemen was Wunders die Pilgrim ... zu erfahren und zu besehen haben*, etc., Frankfurt a.M. 1556, and despite several modern works that summarize it or adapt extracts, there is no modern critical edition of the text. The 'Evagatorium' (also after 1484), which likewise covered both journeys; the autograph manuscript is Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1–2. See Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. by Konrad Dietrich HASSLER, Stuttgart 1843–1849; and Felix Fabri, *Les errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte*, ed. and trans. by Jean MEYERS and Michel TARAYRE, vols. 1–9, Paris 2013–2021. Finally, he wrote a vernacular guide for 'imagined pilgrimage' known as 'Die Sionpilger'. The earliest extant manuscript, from 1493, is Ulm, Stadtarchiv, A [5925]. See Felix Fabri, *Die Sionpilger*, ed. by Wieland CARLS (*Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* 39), Berlin 1999. In this essay, I will focus upon the 'Pilgerbuch', the 'Evagatorium', and the 'Sionpilger'.

8 There is no scholarly consensus on either the chronology of production and transmission or even the 'identities' of the texts containing pilgrimage works (or redactions) attributed to Fabri. My chronology and the identities I assign to texts here should be seen as provisional. See BEEBE (note 4), pp. 130–152 for a discussion. I am currently researching these issues for a revised account in a future publication.

9 The autograph manuscript of the 'Evagatorium' is Ulm, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 19555.1–2. The 12th, and last, tractatus of the 'Evagatorium' that covers the history of Ulm and Swabia has been edited as Felix Fabri, *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi. Traktat über die Stadt Ulm*, ed. and trans. by Folker REICHERT (*Bibliotheca Saeuica* 35), Konstanz 2012.

10 The autograph is no longer extant. The earliest redaction is Ulm, Stadtarchiv, A [5925] (former shelfmark: Cod. U 9727). A colophon on fol. 409r dates the manuscript to 1493.

Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26 (HB I 26 from this point forward) was produced in the convent of the Poor Clares in the southwest German town of Pfullingen c. 1498–1500 or after 1511.<sup>11</sup> The convent was reformed by the Observant Movement in 1461, and the nuns' spatial mobility was accordingly restricted by its policy of enclosure.<sup>12</sup> Folios 75r–214v of the manuscript contain a German translation and redaction of Fabri's 'Evagatorium' and are divided into two parts.<sup>13</sup> The first, longer section relates his 1483–1484 pilgrimage (a 'footnote' makes a very brief reference to his 1480 pilgrimage), and the second, shorter section describes the city of Jerusalem. The text contained on fol. 75r–214v, which I will refer to in the rest of this essay as the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' or the Pfullingen nuns' vernacular 'Evagatorium', does not include the last section of the 'Evagatorium' on Ulm and Swabia found in Fabri's autograph manuscript.

Following Felix HEINZER, I have in the past interpreted the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' as having been read by its enclosed female monastic readers not simply as a pilgrimage account, but rather as an imagined pilgrimage.<sup>14</sup> Here, I define imagined pilgrimage to be the practice of performing an intentional, devotional exercise of going on pilgrimage in the mind, rather than in person – and an event that goes beyond the less 'transcendental', vicarious experience that accompanies the reading of any narrative.<sup>15</sup> That HEINZER and I interpreted a vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account as one used by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage is not unusual; rather, it appears to place us within a broader academic trend. For example, Kathryn RUDY argues similarly that Thietmar's Latin pilgrimage account, 'Iter ad Terram Sanctam', translated into Middle Dutch as 'Vanden berg Synay', was subsequently employed c. 1440 by enclosed nuns in Leiden for the new purpose of imagined pilgrimage.<sup>16</sup> However, a finding from my more recent research has caused me to take a closer look at all of these arguments concerning the use of pilgrimage accounts by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage. In my survey of the emerging field of imagined pilgrimage studies, I found that scholars may have misinterpreted texts as having been used for imagined pilgrimage, when they were far more likely to have been used merely for

11 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26.

12 Bert ROEST, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform*, Leiden 2013, p. 191.

13 It is neither simply a "translation" nor "excerpts" (*Auszüge*) of the 'Evagatorium', as I and Felix HEINZER, respectively, have stated; see BEEBE (note 4), p. 154 and Felix HEINZER, *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen Südwesten* (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 39), Leiden 2008, p. 513.

14 HEINZER (note 13), pp. 515–517; BEEBE (note 4), pp. 152–173.

15 See my overview of the field of imagined pilgrimage studies in Kathryn BEEBE, *Imagined Pilgrimage*, in: Andrew JOTISCHKY and William PURKIS (eds.), *A Companion to Medieval Pilgrimage*, Leeds (forthcoming).

16 Kathryn RUDY, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (*Disciplina Monastica* 8), Turnhout 2011, pp. 49–57. Cathleen FLECK makes the same claim, citing RUDY, in: Cathleen FLECK, *The Crusader Loss of Jerusalem in the Eyes of a Thirteenth-Century Virtual Pilgrim*, in: Elizabeth LAPINA et al. (eds.), *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, Farnham 2015, p. 148.

Passion devotion.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, as I returned to research that I began a decade and a half ago on Felix Fabri and imagined pilgrimage<sup>18</sup> in order to prepare a paper for the 2019 workshop, “New Directions in the Study of Latin Travel Literature ca. 1250–1500,” and this subsequent volume, I did so with a heightened awareness of the possibility of over-interpreting texts as imagined pilgrimage – and found that this is precisely what I had done in my earlier work.

In this essay, I show that it is very unlikely that the enclosed nuns of Pfullingen used their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’ for the meditative exercise of imagined pilgrimage, as HEINZER and I had argued. My analysis below demonstrates that these monastic women were far more likely to have read it simply as a pilgrimage account. I show that HEINZER and I ended up probably reading too much into this text because the comparative analyses that we conducted to arrive at our shared conclusion were quite limited, an understandable effect of the fact that both of us – and especially HEINZER – only made the claim somewhat in passing. The much more extensive comparative analysis that I present below offers a way to avoid the over-interpretation of imagined pilgrimage for scholars interested in understanding how pilgrimage accounts were used in monastic settings. We can do so by carefully comparing the text in question with *several* pilgrimage works – including one that has been shown convincingly to have been used for imagined pilgrimage – for *a wide range* of attributes. It is, in large part, by keeping Fabri’s Latin ‘Evagatorium’, which Jacob KLINGNER found so compelling, firmly in the frame of analysis that I am able to interpret the use of its vernacular adaptation on firmer empirical footing.

An ecumenical approach to literary theory guides my methodology for investigating how the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’. I consider all approaches to understanding literature to be legitimate and useful, whether these be nearer to the objectivist and experimental (e.g. formalism) or subjectivist and experiential (e.g. reader-response criticism) end of the spectrum of literary theory.<sup>19</sup> At the objectivist pole, meaning is determined by the structure of the text itself, while at the subjectivist end it emerges through the unique experiences of individual readers. The research question with which HEINZER, RUDY, and I have been concerned – i.e. how did enclosed nuns use pilgrimage accounts? – is one that employs a reader-response approach, but its associated methods can provide us with only a very limited amount of data concerning these particular texts. We do not have written statements by these women, nor observations by onlookers describing how they used these texts, so our means for gathering information to answer our reader-response research question

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17 BEEBE (note 15).

18 Research published as BEEBE (note 4).

19 For an overview of the current state of the field, see Jeffrey J. WILLIAMS et al. (eds.), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, 3rd ed., New York 2018.

are limited to techniques such as the analysis of marginalia and Kathryn RUDY's innovative "dirty books" spectrometry.<sup>20</sup>

We can, however, increase the quantity of information that we use to answer our question and thereby improve the quality of our interpretation by including the insights and associated methods of literary approaches from all along the spectrum of literary theory. Below, I generate a more robust evidential base than either HEINZER or I had produced, and I answer the reader-response question of how the Pfullingen nuns used their 'Evagatorium' by utilizing the attendant techniques of not only a subjectivist perspective, but also those in an intermediate position and at the objectivist end of the spectrum of literary theory. Thus, I analyse the objectivist narrative features (person, tense, setting, and plot); *as well as* the intermediate authorial intent, 'fellow travelers' (associated texts), and provenance; and the subjectivist marginalia. I then compare these attributes of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' (whenever possible) with those of examples of Fabri's Latin 'Evagatorium', 'Pilgerbuch', and 'Sionpilger'.

I structure this essay as follows. In the first section, I describe in detail the particular arguments and evidence found in HEINZER's and my own interpretations of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' being used for imagined pilgrimage. In the second, larger section, I present my comparison of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' with the Latin 'Evagatorium', the 'Pilgerbuch', and the 'Sionpilger' for the five main attributes mentioned above and discuss how this evidence supports the novel hypothesis that the Pfullingen nuns read their vernacular 'Evagatorium' simply as a pilgrimage account during table reading or in private study. In my conclusion, I discuss the avenues for further research that these findings indicate.

## 2 The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' Read as an Imagined Pilgrimage

In this section, I present the evidence that HEINZER and I marshalled in support of our argument that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular 'Evagatorium' for imagined pilgrimage. I show that our interpretation rests on three main findings: the restriction of these (and other) monastic women's mobility; the nature of the other texts – or 'fellow travelers' – in HB I 26 and those of its copies in two other manuscripts; and the marginalia in the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and in examples of the Latin 'Evagatorium' and the 'Pilgerbuch'. I end the section with an evaluation of the methods that we used to arrive at our imagined pilgrimage conclusion and demonstrate that our comparative analyses could have been much more extensive.

HEINZER and I argued that while on the surface it might appear that the Pfullingen nuns were reading their vernacular 'Evagatorium' simply as a pilgrimage account as one might expect, they were, in fact, actually using the text for a different purpose.

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20 Kathryn RUDY, *Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer*, in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2,1/2 (2010), <https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2010.2.1.1>.

We both claimed that there is sufficient evidence to determine that this text was instead used by the Pfullingen nuns for practicing imagined pilgrimage. Both of us made this assertion somewhat in passing in monographs dedicated to broader phenomena.<sup>21</sup> For his part, HEINZER asked, rhetorically, “Had one not probably read this text primarily as a ‘script’ for an inner, spiritual pilgrimage?”<sup>22</sup> I wrote that the Pfullingen nuns “were likely to read these texts as guides not for practical journey advice, but for advice for a journey of the soul.”<sup>23</sup>

HEINZER and I both claimed that the Pfullingen nuns used the Fabri pilgrimage account in HB I 26 for imagined pilgrimage because being enclosed – and therefore unable to travel – caused them to create a virtual version of the in-person pilgrimage for which they pined. HEINZER wrote that the Pfullingen nuns were unable to satisfy their desire to visit the Holy Land physically because of the restriction of their mobility due to enclosure, and “[p]recisely this situation leads to the result that one brings the Holy Land and its sites into the monastery, as it were, and enacts it within enclosure.”<sup>24</sup> He provided a few comparative examples to demonstrate that this restriction of mobility had indeed led late-medieval enclosed women in southwestern Germany to practice imagined pilgrimage: a “spiritual sea journey” in an Alsatian convent; the Villingen Clarissans’ virtual visits to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Rome within their convent; and the use by Fabri’s charges of his ‘Sionpilger’.<sup>25</sup> For my part, I argued that the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ was used for imagined pilgrimage because “[t]he women reading these texts in the confines of the Pfullingen house, following the strict rules for enclosure promoted by the Observance Movement, had little chance of ever going on pilgrimage themselves.”<sup>26</sup> I too invoked the ‘Sionpilger’, arguing that the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, “like the ‘Sionpilger’, fitted into the reading patterns of Observant women’s houses as a spiritually useful description of the Holy Land.”<sup>27</sup>

A second reason that HEINZER and I both gave for finding that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’ for imagined pilgrimage was that it was included in a manuscript containing spiritual texts. HEINZER describes HB I 26 as

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21 See HEINZER (note 13), pp. 515–517; BEEBE (note 4), pp. 152–173.

22 “Hat man diesen Text nicht vielleicht doch in erster Linie als ‚Drehbuch‘ für eine innere, geistliche Pilgerfahrt gelesen?” HEINZER (note 13), p. 517.

23 BEEBE (note 4), p. 155.

24 “Genau diese Situation führt auch dazu, dass man sich das Heilige Land mit seinen Stätten gleichsam ins Kloster holt und im Inneren der Klausur inszeniert.” HEINZER (note 13), p. 516.

25 HEINZER (note 13), pp. 516–517. He states that Fabri wrote the ‘Sionpilger’ for the Dominican sisters of Ulm (“*die Ulmer Dominikanerinnen*”), but there appears to have been no such female community; the extant copies come from Medlingen and Medingen. See BEEBE (note 4), pp. 149–151. See also Marie-Luise EHRENSCHWENDTNER, Jerusalem behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares’ Convent at Villingen, in: *The Mediaeval Journal* 3,2 (2013), pp. 1–38, for a thorough discussion of the Villingen practices.

26 BEEBE (note 4), p. 155.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

“a colorful mosaic of different spiritual texts”.<sup>28</sup> I found the manuscript to be a “spiritual landscape of readings,”<sup>29</sup> and went on to discuss the texts accompanying copies of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ in contemporary manuscripts now held in Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt.<sup>30</sup> “Considering the ‘fellow travellers’ of the Stuttgart, Wolfenbüttel, and Eichstätt manuscripts as a whole,” I concluded for this group of books I termed the ‘Three Sisters’, “it is clear that at the end of the fifteenth century the German translations of Fabri’s ‘Evagatorium’ were read more as a spiritual pilgrimage guide than as an actual one.”<sup>31</sup>

I included a third piece of evidence in support of our imagined pilgrimage interpretation. It came from my comparative analysis of the marginalia in the examples of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Sionpilger’.<sup>32</sup> I found that the low frequency of marginal notes in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ was far more similar to that in the extant copies of the ‘Sionpilger’ than it was to the much higher frequency of such markings in the examples of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’. I concluded, therefore, that the pages of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ “were read much more in the same devotional context as the ‘Sionpilger’, not in the preparatory or school-time leisure of the [Latin] ‘Evagatorium’.”<sup>33</sup>

As I mentioned above in my introduction, HEINZER’s and my conclusion that the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’ for imagined pilgrimage rests on our very limited comparative analyses. We compared only the text’s *provenance* (with imagined pilgrimage texts – including the ‘Sionpilger’ – from other late-medieval southwest German enclosed women’s convents), *fellow travelers* (with the other texts in HB I 26 and those accompanying the copies of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ in the other two ‘sisters’), and *marginalia* (with the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Sionpilger’). We did not compare the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ with other texts for two of the five important attributes that I mentioned in my introduction: the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot, and the feature of authorial intent. Furthermore, HEINZER and I did not include the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ or ‘Pilgerbuch’ in our provenance comparisons; neither of us compared the ‘fellow travelers’ of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ with those of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, the ‘Pilgerbuch’, or the ‘Sionpilger’; and I left the ‘Pilgerbuch’ out of my comparison of the texts’ marginalia. In the following section, I demonstrate that a more extensive comparative analysis of the attributes of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ points to a very different conclusion about its use.

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28 “[E]in buntes Mosaik unterschiedlicher geistlicher Texte.” HEINZER (note 13), p. 513.

29 BEEBE (note 4), p. 154.

30 For a discussion of the Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt manuscripts, see BEEBE (note 4), pp. 155–159.

31 BEEBE (note 4), p. 159.

32 Ibid., pp. 164–176.

33 Ibid., p. 171.



### 3 The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ Read Simply as a Pilgrimage Account: Extending the Comparative Analysis

In this section, I extend and, where necessary, revise the comparative analyses that HEINZER and I employed to determine how the Pfullingen nuns used their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’. The logic behind using a comparative approach to interpret the use of something that people have made – in this case, a particular text – is of course that objects with similar functions generally have similar features. Here, I compare the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ with the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, the ‘Pilgerbuch’, and the ‘Sionpilger’ for five attributes that I discussed in my introduction. I begin at the objectivist end with the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot. I continue with provenance, authorial intent, and ‘fellow travelers’, which are the attributes that are associated with intermediate approaches. I finish at the most subjectivist end with marginalia. Although some of the information that I present in this section comes from my monograph on Fabri, I have produced most of these findings through new research, including, in a number of cases, a re-analysis of material that appears in my book. My comparative analysis in this section of my essay shows a clear – and very different – pattern from the one that HEINZER and I identified. Here, I instead demonstrate that the features of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ are much more similar to those of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ than they are to the characteristics of the ‘Sionpilger’.

#### 3.1 Narrative Features

The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ has much more in common with the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ for the narrative features of person, tense, setting, and plot than it does with the ‘Sionpilger’. These differences in similitude are clear in the four passages, one from each of these sources, which I present below. All are drawn from the same stage in one of the journeys that they relate: Fabri’s stop at the community of Mestre, shortly after passing through Treviso and immediately before arriving in Venice.

The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ are accounts of Fabri’s two pilgrimages to the Holy Land (1480 and 1483–1484), written primarily in first person and in past tense.<sup>34</sup> The temporal setting of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ differs somewhat from that of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’: it relies on the mention of feast days to indicate the absolute passage of time, while the other two structure the narrative using particular dates in 1483–1484 (month and number). The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ reads as follows:

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<sup>34</sup> As mentioned above, the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ only ‘footnotes’ Fabri’s first (1480) pilgrimage on its first folio.

*Darnach wz der suntag Cantate kamen wir in ein stat masters genant vnd kamen an dz ort da dz wasser in dz mer fallt in dz gesalzenen wasser.*<sup>35</sup>

Afterward, which was Cantate Sunday, we came into a city named Masters (Mestre) and came to the place where the water descends into the sea in salty water.<sup>36</sup>

In contrast, the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ mention specific dates for the same part of the narrative, as seen in the following excerpts:

*Vicesima septima die, quae erat dominica Cantate, Missam Tarvisii audivimus et cibum sumpsimus. Post prandium vero equos, quos Martyres nominant, conduximus, pro nobis et nostra suppellectili ad mare ducendum, et profecti sumus contra maris oram; et in oppidum Masters venimus, volentes procedere usque in Margerum, ubi limbus est maris magni.*<sup>37</sup>

On the 27th [of April], which was the Sunday called ‘Cantate,’ we heard Mass at Treviso and dined. After dinner we hired some of the horses which they call ‘Martyrs’ to carry ourselves and our baggage to the sea, and we set out towards the seashore. We arrived at the town of Mestre, desiring to proceed further, to Malghera, which stands on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>38</sup>

*Vnd am xxv tag dess aprils kamen wir gen tervis / vnd verkaufent da vnsere ross vnd schickent vns vff dz wasser Doch von tervis bys gen masters / dingtent wir andri ross die man nempt martre / vnd do wir gen masters kament.*<sup>39</sup>

35 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26, fol. 75v. In this passage, the pilgrims begin the day, ‘Cantate Sunday’ (the fourth Sunday after Easter Sunday), in Treviso and travel to their next stop, the town of Mestre. In 1483, Cantate Sunday fell on 27 April.

36 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

37 Fabri, ‘Evagatorium’, ed. HASSLER (note 7), vol. 1, pp. 81–82. The month of April is specifically mentioned at the beginning of the narrative of the second journey, 13 April, some folios earlier; in HASSLER’s edition, this occurs on p. 66.

38 Translation by Aubrey STEWART in Felix Fabri (Circa 1480–1483 A.D.), [Wanderings in the Holy Land], ed. and trans. by Aubrey STEWART, 2 vols., 4 parts (Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society vols. 7–10), London 1887–1897, here vol. 1,1, p. 77. Volumes 7–10 refer to the numbering of the texts within the Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society (PPTS) series. Within this, STEWART’s translation of Fabri’s Wanderings is divided into two main ‘volumes’, with two parts each: thus, volume 7 of the PPTS is STEWART’s vol. I, part I. References in this piece will be made to STEWART’s numbering; e.g. ‘vol. 1,1’ refers to volume I, part I of STEWART’s edition.

39 Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 10v.

And on the 25th day of April we arrived in Treviso, and sold our horses and proceeded by water. However, from Treviso to Mestre we hired other horses that one calls “Martyrs” and thus we came to Mestre.<sup>40</sup>

In contrast, the ‘Sionpilger’ describes not two particular pilgrimages to one destination, but rather provides instructions – including prayers and hymns – for making three imagined pilgrimages to three different destinations (the Holy Land, Rome, and Compostela) and is narrated in the third person and present tense. Temporal structure in the ‘Sionpilger’ is provided by ordinal *days*, rather than by specific *dates* or feast days. For example:

*Die xvij tagraiß ist nach dem ampt von Teruis in die statt masters Durch die gand sy vnd komen gen marger in das castell • das vff dem land des mers ligt • do sich das mer an hebt Da seind im land vil schiff vnd schifflytt • Vnd an dem ort vff dem land by dem mer beliben die bilgrin die nacht by sant N<sup>41</sup>*

The eighteenth day’s journey is: after Mass, they [the Syon pilgrims] go from Treviso to the city of Mestre. They pass through and arrive in Malghera at the castle that lies on the edge of the sea, where the sea advances. There in that land are many ships and sailors, and at that place on the land by the sea, the pilgrims stay the night [in vigil] with Saint N<sup>42</sup>

The narrative features of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, like those of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’, clearly do not encourage a meditative reading as do those of the ‘Sionpilger’. The first three describe Fabri’s first-person journeys to particular places on exact dates or feast days in the past. This immanent specificity is far less suitable for the transcendental practice of imagined pilgrimage than the much more generic person, tense, and temporal structure of the ‘Sionpilger’. Thus, underlying the difference in genre between the pilgrimage accounts of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, and the ‘Pilgerbuch’, on one hand, and the spiritual exercise of the ‘Sionpilger’ on the other, is this dissimilarity of narrative features.

40 25th April is not a mistake. The narrative in the Dessau autograph copy of the ‘Pilgerbuch’ and the narrative in the printed edition of 1556 differ from that in the ‘Evagatorium’ and in HB I 26. The Dessau ‘Pilgerbuch’ does not specifically mention ‘Cantate Sunday’: the narrative proceeds from the date of 25 April, through the journey through Mestre (date unspecified). The naming of the date of 27 April is reserved for the pilgrims’ arrival in Venice: *Am xxvii tag aprilis kament wir gen venedi zu der fleuten vnd belibent vil tag* (Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 11r). This is indeed the same day in which the pilgrims arrive in Venice in the ‘Evagatorium’ after stopping in Mestre on the same day, but the way the dates are related differ between narratives.

41 Fabri, ‘Sionpilger’, ed. CARLS (note 7), p. 93.

42 “N” here indicates Fabri’s ‘wildcard’ designation for any saint that the reader wishes to choose to honor in vigil for that particular night.

### 3.2 Authorial Intent

The authorial intent displayed in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ is also much more like that which is expressed in the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and ‘Pilgerbuch’ than in the ‘Sionpilger’, as can be seen in the following passages from these texts. The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ reads as follows:

*Nach dem legt ich hin die bilger kleider vnd richt mich wider in min zell vnd an min predig ampt vnd sass da nider vnd schrib min gancze bilgerfart an . Zum ersten in latin den gelerten Darnach in tütsch etlichen hern vnd ritern zu lieb vnd kürzwyl Och in sunderheit zu trost den geistlichen closterlütten die vmb gots willen gefangen sind . vnd geplöckt vnd gestöckt mit strenger gehorsam dz sy ab miner liplichen merfart zu dem irdischen irl'm. nemen ein form zu farn in geistlich vber dz mer diß ellenden vnsteten lebens zu himelschen irl'm<sup>43</sup>*

Afterward, I put by my pilgrims' clothing and addressed myself once again to my cell and to my preaching duties, and sat myself down and wrote out my whole pilgrimage – first in learned Latin, afterward in German for a few lords and knights for love and amusement. Also especially for the comfort of spiritual people who dwell in the cloister who by God's will are imprisoned, and locked up and prevented from travelling by strict obedience, that they, from my corporeal 'sea journey' to the earthly Jerusalem, should take an example so as to travel in spirit over the sea of this woeful, unstable life to the heavenly Jerusalem.

The following are three passages from the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ that indicate authorial intent:

*Accipite ergo, mei desideratissimi, hunc vobis promissum fratris vestri Felicis Evagatorium, et pro solatio duntaxat in eo legite [...]. Sed vobis cum tribuo, ut tempore remissionis fructuosioris studii et vacantiarum diebus pro vitando otio et recreatione sumenda, cum hilari iucunditate eum, si vacat, legatis.<sup>44</sup>*

So receive, my very dear brothers, these Wanderings that your brother Felix had promised you and only read in them for comfort [...]. But I leave it to you so that you may read it with joy and good humor, if you have the leisure, when you rest from a more fruitful study, and during the days of relaxation, to avoid idleness and to relax.<sup>45</sup>

43 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB I 26, fol. 184r.

44 Fabri, ‘Evagatorium’, ed. HASSLER (note 7), vol. 1, p. 4.

45 Although my translation differs slightly, I am grateful to Jean MEYERS and Michel TARAYRE for their French translation of this passage in Felix Fabri, *Les Errances de frère Félix, pèlerin en*

*Sed et religiosis et reverendis confratribus nostris Minoribus Ulmae, vobiscum commorantibus, quaeso communicetur, ut et iuvenes eorum legendo Evagatorium in stabilitate firmentur, et ex descriptione sanctorum locorum scripturam sacram lucidius intelligant, et in devotione et contemplatione magis proficiant.*<sup>46</sup>

And of course, I ask that it be communicated to our religious and reverend confreres, the Friars Minor of Ulm, who abide with you, so that their young brothers, by reading these Wanderings are encouraged to stay in their monastery, and that they understand Holy Scripture more clearly from the description of the holy places, and that they progress in devotion and contemplation.

*Porro me in equo sedente omnes fratres circumstantes obnixe petierunt, ut loca sancta diligenter notarem, et conscriberem ad eosdemque deferrem, ut et ipsi, etsi non corpore, mente tamen possent circa loca sancta recreari: quod et fratribus promisi.*<sup>47</sup>

However, as I sat upon my horse, all the brethren flocked round me and eagerly begged me to take careful note of all the holy places I saw, and to write an account of them and bring it to them, so that they also, if not in body, but in mind, could refresh themselves round about the holy places: I promised the brethren that I would do this.<sup>48</sup>

Authorial intent is also expressed in the following passages from the ‘Pilgerbuch’:

*Aber ich hab mit fliss die dinge eigentlich vnd mit vil worten beschriben / von dess wegen dz die vnerfarnen ouch trostung vnd vnderrichtung da nemin [sic] / vnd irem verwundren dester bas zum end kumin [sic]*<sup>49</sup>

But I have diligently described these things well and with many words / for the purpose that those who have not travelled may also take comfort and instruction from this / and accordingly arrive at the end of their puzzlement.

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Terre sainte, en Arabie et en Égypte. Tome I – Traités 1 et 2, ed. by Jean MEYERS and Michel TARAYRE, Paris 2013, p. 79.

46 Fabri, ‘Evagatorium’, ed. HASSLER (note 7), vol. 1, p. 5.

47 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 67.

48 My translation here, with a few differences, is based on STEWART (note 38), vol. 1,1, p. 58.

49 Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 1v.

*Aber so ich vir war weis / dz diss biechli kommen wirt iweren [sic] kinden / vnd hüsfrauwen / iweren dieneren knechten vnd megten in die hendt / vnd wirt iweren pureren vnd eignen lüten vor gelesen. so hab ichs dester lenger gemachet. Es wirt ouch noch witer komen / ich well oder ich well nüt. jn die stett vnd jn die clöster geistlichen vnd weltlichen münchen vnd closterfrouwen / von der wegen ich vil jn zügen hab gemacht by den heilgen stetten. die ich ùch vnderwegen hett gelasen [...] Wen min meinung ist nüt . dz nemen dz biöchli lesin . jn denen stunden so man ernsthaftig sol sin / vnd mit tapferen sachen sol vmgan / Aber so ein mensch sunst miesig giengen / vnd zeit ver luri /<sup>50</sup>*

However, I know in truth that this little book will come into the hands of your [the lords who accompanied Fabri on his 1483–1484 pilgrimage] children and wives, your servant boys and maids, and will be read out before your boys and your own people. Thus, I have made it that much longer. It will also go still further – perhaps, I’m not sure – in the city and in the monastery, to spiritual and worldly, to monks and nuns, and on this account I have made many insertions about the holy places that I would have left out along the way for you [...] Since my idea is not that someone should read this little book in the hours in which he should be serious and should address himself to weighty affairs, but instead so a person might proceed leisurely and pass the time.

Finally, there is this passage that indicates authorial intent from the ‘Sionpilger’ copy produced by Susanna von Binzenndorf at the enclosed women’s convent of Medingen:

*der vatter [...] vnd mit fleißiger pet gepethen von den Closterfrawen in schwaben sant dominicus ordens [...] vnd von den Closterfrawen zu medingen vnd medlingen [...] Das er sein bilgerfart wol setzen alß ain bild ainer gaystlichen bilgerfart ab der sÿe möchten nemen ain fromme der gaystlichen bilgerfart [...] so wöllend sÿe in jrer rÿ vnd in jrem closter leben stett beleiben vnd mit güttem willen vnd güter mainung mit ettwaß vñbungen guter werckt tügendlich bilgerin des hailigen lands werden<sup>51</sup>*

the father [...was] with emphatic appeal requested by the Dominican nuns in Swabia [...] and by the nuns of Medingen and Medlingen [...] that he might set down his pilgrimage as an image of a spiritual pilgrimage from which they might take a spiritual pilgrimage devotion [...] thus they wished to remain constant in their repose and in their cloistered life, and

<sup>50</sup> Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 1v–2r.

<sup>51</sup> Fabri, ‘Sionpilger’, ed. CARLS (note 7), pp. 529–530.

with good will and good intention, with a few exercises of good work, become virtuous pilgrims of the holy places

The authorial intent expressed in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ differs from that which is indicated in the ‘Sionpilger’ in two significant ways. The first three texts are meant for the general emotional comfort (*trost, solatio, and trostung*, respectively) of readers, while the last is said to be used for a particular devotion (*ain fromme*). Also, the first three are to be read for enjoyment (for amusement “*kürzweyl*,” for joy and good humor “*cum hilari jucunditate eum*,” and not seriously “*ernsthafte*,” respectively), while the ‘Sionpilger’ is meant to be used for exercises of good work (*übungen guter werckt*).

While both the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ and the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ have passages that might, at first glance, appear to suggest that these texts were intended to be used for imagined pilgrimage, the only one of the four Fabri works compared here that contains an explicit statement that the text be used for imagined pilgrimage is the ‘Sionpilger’ (a spiritual pilgrimage devotion, “*ain fromme der gäystlichen bilgerfart*”). The sea over which the enclosed nuns reading the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ are meant to travel spiritually is a metaphorical one (the sea of this woeful, unstable life) as they progress towards their salvation, not a literal body of water that they are to imagine themselves crossing as part of an imagined pilgrimage. Reading the text is not a spiritual exercise but is instead a more mundane activity that has a spiritual benefit as a knock-on effect. Additionally, Fabri’s account of his brethren’s request in his Latin ‘Evagatorium’ indicates that he intended for it to be used by them to enjoy and be comforted by the vicarious experience of their reading about the holy sites, rather than to perform an imagined pilgrimage. They would refresh themselves (*recreari*) by using their minds (*mente*) to think of themselves being at these locations, rather than use the text to conduct the spiritual exercise of imagined pilgrimage, à la the ‘Sionpilger’: nowhere in this passage does he use the Latin equivalent for a contemplative devotional exercise, such as an “*ain fromme der gäystlichen bilgerfart*” or an “*übungen*”. In line with the intended use for comfort and enjoyment of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ and his Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and ‘Pilgerbuch’, Fabri’s brothers would engage in a refreshing mental, immanent reading practice that was different from the more rigorous metaphysical or transcendental exercise of imagined pilgrimage.

### 3.3 Provenance

The Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ has a provenance that is similar to those of all three of Fabri’s major pilgrimage works with which I am comparing it here. HEINZER and I correctly pointed out in our analyses that both the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Sionpilger’ were possessed by female monastics in enclosed convents. However, a more extensive comparative analysis reveals that extant copies of the ‘Sionpilger’ were also held by *male* monastics, and that the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ were

present in enclosed women's convents, as well. Copies of the 'Sionpilger' were produced in the Dominican men's convent of Ulm in 1492 and 1493, and the Dominican enclosed nunneries of Maria-Reutin on the Nagold and Gnadenthal zu Stetten held copies of the Latin 'Evagatorium' (1509) and the 'Pilgerbuch' (c. 1522), respectively.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.4 'Fellow Travelers'

The Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' is very similar in genre to its 'fellow travelers' in HB I 26 and its Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt 'sister' manuscripts, but it is quite different from the written works that accompany a copy of the 'Sionpilger'. It made sense for HEINZER and me to classify the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and the other works in the manuscript as being spiritual in nature; they certainly were not examples of some of the other broad genres of late medieval texts, such as administrative records or secular poetry. The same can be said of my categorization of the texts accompanying the copies of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in the Wolfenbüttel and Eichstätt manuscripts as being spiritual, as well. However, when our comparative analyses of their 'fellow travelers' are extended beyond genre and the manuscripts containing the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies, it becomes very clear that while the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' might be rightly classified broadly as spiritual, it is very unlikely that it was used by the nuns there for a meditative, devotional exercise such as imagined pilgrimage.

A helpful tool for extending my analysis is Cynthia CYRUS's typology for the books that were made by monastic female scribes in late medieval Germany.<sup>53</sup> She divides these books at her highest taxonomic level into three types: "practical administrative resources," "liturgical resources," and "spiritual and erudite literature."<sup>54</sup> CYRUS subdivides the last of these types into "private devotional books," "books for table reading," and "books for study." Finally, CYRUS characterizes each of these three kinds of "spiritual and erudite" books by texts representing particular narrow genres. As she maintains, private devotional books were

the medieval equivalent of personal books. These include books of hours, contemplative books, and guides to holy living, but by far the most numerous of the books of this type are the prayerbooks, the *Gebetbücher*, which form the largest single category of books copied by women scribes.<sup>55</sup>

52 BEEBE (note 4); for 'Sionpilger', see pp. 149–152; for 'Pilgerbuch', see pp. 147–148; for the Latin 'Evagatorium', see pp. 134–135.

53 Cynthia CYRUS, *The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany*, Toronto 2009, pp. 90–119.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 90–119.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 109.



The *Gebetbuch*, a likely example of which I will discuss in detail below, is, according to CYRUS,

a private collection of prayers. It seems on many occasions to have been copied by a woman for her own use, and may have been compiled over many years. [...] Just as the liturgical books form the central core for corporate worship, the *Gebetbuch* is the icon of the private devotion, reflecting a personal and intimate choice of patron saints, intercessory figures, and spiritual requests in the collections of prayers found therein.<sup>56</sup>

Books for table reading included “legends and vitae” (including “the writings on many saints”), writings by “the early Church Fathers,” “catechetical literature,” “mystical treatises,” and “the sermon and the hortatory literature.”<sup>57</sup> Finally, the books for study that CYRUS mentions are “chronicles and histories,” “grammars and vocabulary lists,” “the writings of scholastic authors,” “poetry and song,” and “plays and epics.”<sup>58</sup> Although CYRUS does not include the attribute of the book’s actual physical size in her typology, we can reasonably assume that private devotional books were, on average, smaller than books used either for table reading or for study.<sup>59</sup>

It is possible to extend our comparative analysis here to include not only the narrower genres of the ‘fellow travelers’ and the books’ dimensions, but, additionally, another manuscript that contained the ‘Sionpilger’ and several accompanying texts. However, is not possible also to include examples of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ or the ‘Pilgerbuch’ in this analysis, because neither appears to have been bound with ‘fellow travelers’ during the late medieval period.<sup>60</sup> Table 1, below, displays the ‘fellow travelers’ and dimensions for the ‘Three Sisters’ in which the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ and its copies are found, and also for the Vienna manuscript containing the 1495 copy of the ‘Sionpilger’ that originated in the enclosed women’s convent of Medingen.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 114–116.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp. 117–119.

<sup>59</sup> See Anne Herbert LYNLEY, The Unique Illumination of a Reformation Book, in: The Journal of the Walters Art Museum 74 (May 2019), <https://journal.thewalters.org/volume/74/note/re-forming-a-reformation-book-the-unique-illumination-of-a-new-walters-acquisition> (19.09.2022).

<sup>60</sup> BEEBE (note 4), p. 153 for the ‘Evagatorium’ and pp. 159–160 for the ‘Pilgerbuch’. The ‘Pilgerbuch’ had ‘fellow travelers’ in its early modern printed version: see BEEBE (note 4), pp. 159–164.

<sup>61</sup> The ‘fellow traveler’ information in Table 1 comes from tables in BEEBE (note 4), p. 154 (HB I 26), p. 156 (Wolfenbüttel), and p. 158 (Eichstätt); information concerning the dimensions of the manuscripts is drawn from the Appendix in BEEBE (note 4), pp. 221–233. The other copies of the ‘Sionpilger’ were self-standing works, like those of the ‘Evagatorium’ and ‘Pilgerbuch’. See BEEBE (note 4), pp. 196–199, for a discussion of the Vienna ‘Sionpilger’ manuscript, which is Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. 413 (Hübl 248).

Tab. 1 | *Mitüberlieferung* of the Fabri text

| Manuscript (Fabri text)                         | 'Fellow travelers' of Fabri text   | Page dimensions (cm) <sup>i</sup> |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| HB I 26 (Pfullingen 'Evagatorium')              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pierre d'Ailly: a meditation on the virtues of St Joseph</li> <li>• Sermon on the twelve virtues of Abraham</li> <li>• Life of the Blessed Agnes of Prague</li> <li>• Capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1452</li> <li>• Lesson on silence by a Father of the Friars Minor</li> <li>• Antiphon 'Alma redemptoris mater'</li> <li>• <i>Miraculum In der stat Liconia des künigs von Engelland</i> (a German translation of a section of Alphonsus de Spina's 'Foralitium Fidei')</li> <li>• History and 'Wonders' of Jerusalem and Sinai</li> </ul> | 22 × 13 <sup>ii</sup>             |
| Wolfenbüttel (Copy of Pfullingen 'Evagatorium') | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hans Tucher, 'Reise ins Gelobte Land' extract</li> <li>• The miracle of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome</li> <li>• <i>Miraculum in der Stadt Licania des Königs von England</i></li> <li>• 'Das Buch Tobie'</li> </ul>   | 21 × 15                           |
| Eichstätt (Copy of Pfullingen 'Evagatorium')    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hans Tucher, <i>Gestalt des Heligen Grabes</i></li> <li>• Hans Tucher, scribe's afterword</li> <li>• Hans Tucher, 'Über Kairo und Alexandrien'</li> <li>• Hans Tucher, 'Heiligtümer in Alexandrien. Rückreise'</li> </ul>   | 21 × 15                           |
| Vienna ('Sionpilger') <sup>iii</sup>            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indulgences of the seven churches of Rome</li> <li>• Hours of the Passion of Christ</li> <li>• Marian psalter, Rosary Prayers</li> <li>• Allegory on the 15 steps of the Temple in Jerusalem</li> </ul>   | 15 × 10                           |

i Dimensions are rounded to nearest whole number.

ii The dimensions of the Pfullingen text itself are 18–22 × 11–13 cm: BEEBE (note 4), p. 226. The online catalog of the Südwestdeutschen Bibliotheksverbundes gives the dimensions of the entire manuscript page as 22 × 13 cm. See SWB-Online-Katalog (klassisch) – results / title data, <https://swb.bsz-bw.de/DB=2.1/PPNSET?PPN=1651622019&INDEXSET=21> (19.09.2022).

iii Vienna, Schottenstift, Cod. 413 (Hübl 248).

As seen in Table 1 above, the 'fellow travelers' of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' in the 'Three Sisters' represent very different genres from those of the 'Sionpilger' in the Vienna manuscript. The genres of the accompanying texts in the 'Three Sisters' are those that are characteristic of either the table reading or study types in CYRUS's schema, while the 'fellow travelers' of the 'Sionpilger' fit better with the more meditative genres of her category of private devotional books. For the 'Three Sisters', the genres of "legends and vitae," "the sermon and the hortatory literature," and "chronicles and histories" are particularly well represented by texts such as the miracle of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, the sermon on the twelve virtues of Abraham, and the history and 'wonders' of Jerusalem and Sinai, respectively. Only one of the 'fellow travelers' of the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium' and its copies in the 'Three Sisters', the antiphon 'Alma redemptoris mater' on a single folio in HB I 26, fits with the prayerful texts characteristic of CYRUS's private devotional books. In contrast, three out of the

four ‘fellow travelers’ of the ‘Sionpilger’ in the Vienna manuscript (the hours of the passion, the psalter and prayers, and the allegory) are texts for meditation, which are characteristic of private devotional books. Additionally, the ‘Three Sisters’ are all significantly larger than the Vienna manuscript, which was written almost entirely by the scribe Susanna von Binzendorf (only two of the more than 500 folios in the manuscript contain material that is not in her hand).<sup>62</sup>

This extended comparative analysis shows that on the basis of ‘fellow travelers’ and size, the ‘Three Sisters’ can be categorized as books for table reading (or perhaps for study), while the Vienna manuscript containing the ‘Sionpilger’ and its ‘fellow travelers’ is best understood as a private devotional book.<sup>63</sup> With its meditative texts, single author (nearly), and smaller size, the Vienna manuscript was also likely to have been a particular kind of private devotional book: a prayerbook or *Gebetbuch*. The texts in the ‘Three Sisters’ might indeed be classified as belonging to the broad genre of spiritual literature, as HEINZER and I observed, but my juxtaposition of these manuscripts with a prayerbook containing a copy of the ‘Sionpilger’ has made it clear that it is much more likely that they – and the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ and its copies that they contained – were used for table reading or for study, rather than for private devotional activity.

### 3.5 Marginalia

Finally, the marginalia in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ are more like those in the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ than in the ‘Sionpilger’. While it may be true that the frequency of marginal notes in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ is more like that in the ‘Sionpilger’ than in the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, as I had pointed out, it is nevertheless possible to extend this comparative analysis to add a qualitative investigation to my existing quantitative one, and to include another Fabri work: the ‘Pilgerbuch’. In my previous interpretation of the use of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, I equated a low frequency of marginalia in a text with its devotional use, and a higher frequency of these additions with scholarly use.<sup>64</sup> While logical, this association based on quantity leaves out the very important aspect of the quality, or meaning, of the marginalia.

The marginalia in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, while similar in their low frequency to those in the examples of the ‘Sionpilger’ from both men’s and women’s houses, differed from those in the latter work in having a decidedly non-devotional character. The infrequent marginalia in the ‘Sionpilger’ examples marked mostly

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<sup>62</sup> BEEBE (note 4), p. 197.

<sup>63</sup> For further discussion of table reading in a late medieval female monastic context, see Jonas CARLQUIST, *The Birgittine Sisters at Vadstena Abbey: Their Learning and Literacy, with Particular Reference to Table Reading*, in: Virginia BLANTON, Veronica O’MARA and Patricia STOOPE (eds.), *Nuns’ Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue*, Turnhout 2013, pp. 239–251.

<sup>64</sup> See BEEBE (note 4), pp. 171–173.

*specific points or lines* in the texts where there were opportunities to acquire indulgences or read prayers.<sup>65</sup> In contrast, the similarly scarce marginalia in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ were red tabs that marked the *pages* on which its two sections (the journey narrative and the description of Jerusalem) began and where shifts in the narrative occurred, such as the description of Bethlehem, the beginning of the Sinai and Egypt stage of Fabri’s journey, and the ‘wonders’ of Egypt.<sup>66</sup>

The marginalia in the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ are much more similar to those in the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ in terms of their navigational quality (the former), and also of their low frequency and non-devotional character (the latter). For example, I found that “[m]ost of the marginal notes” in the 1509 example of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ that most likely originated in the enclosed women’s convent of Maria-Reutin “serve to break up the text and provide markers to help readers navigate the narrative, which was presented in large, continuous blocks of text.”<sup>67</sup> Additionally, red *maniculae* point to a number of items in the index at the end of the 1484–1488 Latin ‘Evagatorium’ autograph, thereby “aid[ing] a scholarly reading of the text – or a reading designed to enhance sermon composition, as the index promoted the navigation of the text by topic.”<sup>68</sup> Finally, the post-1484 ‘Pilgerbuch’ autograph from Fabri’s Dominican house in Ulm is very similar to the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, in that its readers’ marginalia are of a relatively low frequency and ignore the indulgences that the readers of the ‘Sionpilger’ so regularly marked.<sup>69</sup>

In sum, by extending the comparative analyses that HEINZER and I had conducted, I have been able to identify a number of patterns that our investigations did not reveal. I have shown that the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ is much more like the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ and the ‘Pilgerbuch’ than the ‘Sionpilger’ for the attributes of narrative features, authorial intent, and marginalia; very similar to the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, the ‘Pilgerbuch’, and the ‘Sionpilger’ for the trait of provenance; and very unlike the ‘Sionpilger’ for the aspect of ‘fellow travelers’. Perhaps most important for evaluating HEINZER’s and my interpretation of how the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ was used is a final pattern: for *not one* of the five attributes studied is it more like the ‘Sionpilger’ than the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ or the ‘Pilgerbuch’. Here in this analysis, the text that was clearly both meant and used for imagined pilgrimage – the ‘Sionpilger’ – is a true outlier.

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65 See *Ibid.*, pp. 171–173.

66 See the table in *Ibid.*, p. 170.

67 I mistakenly included this example of the Latin ‘Evagatorium’ in my discussion of the marginalia in the ‘Pilgerbuch’: *Ibid.*, p. 174.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 168.

69 For example, see Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. Georg. 238. 8°, fol. 53r, where the text discusses the pilgrims’ procession within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the acquisition of indulgences (*applas*), but the marginal notes only indicate the places visited and do not mark out available indulgences.

It of course remains a logical possibility that the enclosed nuns of Pfullingen *could have* used the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’ for the meditative and transcendental practice of imagined pilgrimage, as HEINZER and I had asserted. However, the weight of the evidence that my new comparative analysis has generated certainly lies with the interpretation that the monastic women of Pfullingen instead read – or listened to – their ‘Evagatorium’ simply *as a pilgrimage account* during their more relaxed and immanent activities of meals or study. Contrary to what I argued in my earlier work, the Pfullingen nuns are far more likely to have “looked to extract information from” their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’ than to have “sought to peer deeper *into* the text,” as did the readers who used the ‘Sionpilger’ for imagined pilgrimage.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

I have shown in this essay that the Pfullingen nuns were much more likely to have read their vernacular ‘Evagatorium’ merely as a pilgrimage account, rather than as an imagined pilgrimage, as HEINZER and I had argued. I arrived at this new conclusion by extending our initial comparative analyses to include additional texts and attributes. This reinterpretation has implications for future research in a wide range of areas, including imagined pilgrimage, enclosure, and gender, but here I must limit my discussion mostly to the very similar study by RUDY that I mentioned in my introduction. I end my conclusion with a few words about JACOB KLINGNER, to whose memory this essay is dedicated.

If a more extensive comparative analysis can reveal that one vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account was probably *not* used by enclosed nuns for imagined pilgrimage, as had been argued, then applying this methodology to other, similar studies could have the same effect. There are indications that this kind of re-analysis of one of the many imagined pilgrimage interpretations in RUDY’s *magnum opus* on the practice might find over-interpretation, as well.<sup>71</sup> As I mentioned in my introduction, RUDY determined that Regular Canonesses in the Low Countries used the text ‘Vanden berg Synay’ (c. 1440), which she considers to be a translation of the 13th-century Latin pilgrimage account, ‘Iter ad Terram Sanctam’, for imagined pilgrimage.

As part of a brief discussion of ‘Vanden berg Synay’ in her monograph on imagined pilgrimage, RUDY describes the text not as a spiritual exercise containing prayers and hymns, like the ‘Sionpilger’, but instead as “a readable adventure narrative,”<sup>72</sup> which would seem to resemble more closely the similarly entertaining pilgrimage accounts of the Pfullingen ‘Evagatorium’, the Latin ‘Evagatorium’, and the ‘Pilgerbuch’. This correspondence of narrative features suggests that the Canonesses might

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70 See BEEBE (note 4), p. 176; italics in second quote in original.

71 RUDY (note 16).

72 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

have simply read their vernacular adaptation of a Latin pilgrimage account in the same way that I have shown that the Pfullingen nuns did with their own. A more extensive comparative analysis of the Canonesses' 'Vanden berg Synay' could determine if imagined pilgrimage has indeed been over-interpreted in this single example from RUDY's impressive broader study, just as I have shown that it was in HEINZER's and my own investigations. Furthermore, these three historiographical examples suggest that we should investigate whether or not we have been underestimating the influence of Latin pilgrimage accounts on vernacular literature; counter to what we appear to have been arguing, they may have contributed not only their form, but also their original function.

Latin texts like Fabri's 'Evagatorium' – and the German/Latin parallel edition of it that Jacob KLINGNER endeavoured to produce – may therefore be more important than we had thought for interpreting how late medieval monastics used texts like the Pfullingen 'Evagatorium'. Jacob was indeed right to see the Latin 'Evagatorium' as a significant piece of literature. His scholarly contributions, which include this insight, will be missed, along with the warm personal interaction that he frequently shared with us. So often during the preparation of this piece, I regretted not being able to ask his opinion, over *Kaffee und Kuchen*, about particularly knotty issues. For example, would Fabri not have bothered writing the 'Sionpilger' if he had thought that his female charges could go on an imagined pilgrimage simply by using the existing Latin 'Evagatorium', a vernacular adaptation of it like the one held by the Pfullingen nuns, or his 'Pilgerbuch'? I like to think that Jacob would possibly agree with me that our mutual *Freund, fff*, knew exactly what he was doing when it came to tailoring his work to fit the needs of a specific audience, and I take both *trost* and "solatium" in Jacob's work and the memory of his friendship.