MONASTIC WOMEN AND SECULAR ECONOMY IN LATER MEDIEVAL EUROPE, CA. 1200 TO 1500

Annalena Müller

ROUTLEDGE

Monastic Women and Secular Economy in Later Medieval Europe, ca. 1200 to 1500

This book aims to rewrite the narrative of women and power in medieval society. Based on a rich corpus of sources – systematically collected for the first time – it reveals female monasteries as central and economically able agents in feudal society.

With a chronological focus on the late Middle Ages, this book focuses on four powerful convents located in modern-day France, Germany, and Switzerland. Three of these institutions were aristocratic convents founded in the early Middle Ages. They were endowed with far-ranging feudal prerogatives that were largely, but not exclusively, derived from landed possessions. The fourth convent originated in the thirteenth century and disposed of a primarily monetary economy.

Observed from a longue-durée perspective, *Monastic Women and Secular Economy in Later Medieval Europe* reveals strategies of adaptations that allowed these different institutions to weather the significant economic changes of the late Middle Ages. Within the context of medieval feudal society, these abbesses and prioresses were authoritative figures. They ruled over territories, dispensed justice, appointed priests, and even sent soldiers to war. Late medieval convents acted as urban landlords and gave credits – they were thus major economic players in the rising cities. These observations of this monograph will force medievalists to reconsider the traditional image of both the "male" feudal Middle Ages and medieval monetary economy.

Annalena Müller holds a Master's degree from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and a PhD from Yale University. She has held academic positions in France, Germany, and Switzerland. Her previous publications include *From the Cloister to the State: From the Cloister to the State* (2021).

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Glossary

Monastic Offices

Abbess The head of a monastic community or an entire order. Nominally, the community elected their abbess. However, external appointments through a king or an emperor were possible throughout the medieval and early modern period. The abbess led and represented her convent internally and externally. She was responsible to maintain discipline and peace within the community as well as representing it to the external world.

Bursaress ***(Schaffnerin)*** The *bursaress* is responsible for the convent's purchases and revenues. Depending on the institution, the bursaress may be responsible for the external economy only (i.e., things that need to be acquired from outside the monastic production).

Bursar ***(Schaffner)*** Sometimes also called a *procurator*; the male equivalent of the bursaress; in addition to financial administration, the bursar was responsible to represent the convent in legal matters.

Calendarian ***(Jahrzeitmeisterin)*** The *calendarian* was in charge of the anniversaries. She ensured that anniversaries and requiem masses were celebrated correctly, and that the tombs of those commemorated were decorated and the required number of candles were lit. The celebration of anniversaries was both a religious and an economic act, as the convent received payments for their commemorative service.

Conversa/converso **(lay sister/lay brother)** A woman or a man who "converted" from the secular to the religious life; often but not always widows or widowers.

Councillors ***(Ratschwestern)*** Their responsibilities varied depending on the community. At Klingental, between 6 and 12 nuns assumed leading positions as councillors. All of the convent's officers were chosen from among the councillors, including the prioress. As a board, the councilors assisted the prioress, and all officers were accountable to the board.

Grainary mistress At Klingental, a *grainary mistress* was in charge of the grainary. Among other things, she ensured that there was always enough grain in stock to feed the convent's residents, including its employees and pensioners. The grainary was not only a place of income but also one of spending. From its revenues, Klingental's mayors were paid along with the convent's many other employees.

Prioress If a given community was not presided over by an abbess, it was usually a prioress who was in charge (e.g., at Klingental). A prioress was usually subordinated to an abbess or abbot who frequently resided in a different convent (usually, the abbey).

Pensioners ***(Pfründner)*** In exchange for a sizable donation or annuity, many medieval convents provided room, board, and care for lay people; sometimes, entire families lived out their lives in a monastic community.

Sacristan ***(Küsterin)*** The *sacristan* was in charge of the convent church and everything belonging to it. She ensured that the church and churchyard were in good condition and that the altar was decorated on important liturgical occasions.

Tithe monitor ***(Zinsmeister)*** At Klingental, the *tithe monitor* was in charge of collecting tithes. He was subordinated to the *bursar*. Having both a *tithe monitor* and a *bursar* was fairly uncommon and testifies to Klingental's economic wealth and the complexity of administering it. While most female communities would employ an external *bursar* of some sort, that *bursar* was frequently in charge of collecting also the tithes. Another Klingental specification was that neither *bursar* nor *tithe monitor* were externally employed, but belonged to Klingental's *familia* as they were recruited from the ranks of the monastery's lay brothers.

Vestiarian ***(Kammermeisterin)*** The primary task of the *vestiarian* was to ensure that there were always sufficient linen and other household commodities in stock.

External Offices

Amman/Pfleger A secular officer, frequently concerned with financial and legal matters, similar to a bursar of a monastery.

Mayer/mayor A local representative of a seigneur (duke, abbess, etc.); mayors had an intermediate position between subjects and seigneur; they imposed the seigneur's will, collected tithes and rents, and frequently dispersed low justice; they were also responsible to report problems from the villages to the seigneur, and they ensured the maintenance of the agrarian infrastructure.

Vogt Sometimes called *advocatus*, or imperial bailiff, or reeve; he was the local representative of the king or emperor and served as head of the regional court where capital crimes were tried.

Other Terms

Anniversary Annual ritual which commemorated the souls of the dead; anniversaries were celebrated by charitable and religious institutions, such as hospitals, parishes, and monasteries.

Anniversary book A type of register which developed from high medieval necrologies but with an additional focus on the economic and liturgical aspects of a convent's commemorative services.

Erschatz A fee charged when a property changed hands in Basel – either through sale or inheritance.

Grainary *(Kornhaus)* The place where tithes and rents rendered in grain were registered and stored.

Vergichtbuch Official account books of debts kept by Basel's courts since the late Middle Ages.

Weisung An annual visitation of the buildings meant to ensure adequate maintenance in Basel.

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1 Female Monasticism, Power, and Historiography

An Introduction

From her abbatial quarters, Abbess Odeline de Trachy (1256–1273) can overlook the borrow called Notre-Dame. She can see the houses of the Rue St. Pierre, the new hospital, and the church of St. Pierre au Parvis, home of the recalcitrant canons who are subject to her authority. The streets below the abbey are busy as usual. There are the regular crowds near the market, the taverns, and workshops. Construction-noise is echoing in the streets. A new prison is being erected. It is bigger than then old one which has become too small for the growing number of men and women from the abbey's seigneuries awaiting trial. The abbess is mistress over 27 seigneuries. It is her responsibility to maintain the peace and ensure that justice is served. She is also responsible for her subjects' protection from external harm. That is why, Elisabeth has commissioned a tunnel to be excavated. The tunnel will connect the abbey's walled quarter with the rest of the city if the city of Soissons should see another siege. In that case, the abbess will have to order the gates of the borrow shut. But the tunnel will allow for smuggling food inside the abbey's quarter. If there is any to be procured, of course. In reality, there is little Elisabeth can do to protect her subjects from the wars that have ravaged the area for as long as anybody can remember. And even less for those living outside of Soissons. But maybe the tunnel will bring a little safety, at least for the residents of the abbey's borrow…

Although this story is fictionalized, its key elements – the walled quarter, seigneuries, prison, and tunnel – are historically documented.[1] From the seventh until the late eighteenth century, the abbess of Notre-Dame de Soissons was a powerful feudal lord in the region of Soissons. And she was no exception. At the time, innumerable abbesses exercised secular authority all across Europe. They administered territories where they collected taxes, dispersed justice, and even recruited soldiers for the king's army. In addition to being places of feudal authority, medieval convents were economic centers. Monastic demesnes produced great quantities of grain, wine, and fruits, which fed both a convent's inhabitants and employees, and surpluses were sold on regional markets. Bridges, quarries, mills, and ponds brought further revenues that in one way or another entered the local markets.

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While a common phenomenon in medieval Europe, abbesses and the institutions they administered rarely appear in textbooks on feudal Europe. The majority of studies that engage with medieval society at large continue to conceive of the Middle Ages as a period of male authority. To some degree, this has long applied to social historians and researchers of women's and gender history alike. The latter, too, long considered medieval women as marginalized agents – and those women who yielded power – political or economic – as exceptions from the norm.[2] In the mid-1990s, Georges Duby succinctly summarized the discipline's prevailing perception when he wrote that "the Middle Ages were resolutely male."[3] And elsewhere, that "by reason of their physical constitution, of the nature of their body, and the sex which defines them, women were deemed incapable of exercising the power of command, *potestas*."[4] At the time, Duby was the most famous representative of this view, but he was not the only one. Rather, this notion remained dominant throughout the early 2000s.

In recent years, this view has begun to change. Challenging the "inherited narrative," a growing number of studies have revealed elite women to have habitually yielded authority, ruling counties and duchies alongside their husbands or alone and even raising armies.[5] These studies have shown that powerful women were not so exceptional in medieval Europe after all.[6] As a result, the traditional image of the male European Middle Ages has begun to crumble, as it is gradually being replaced by a new, more nuanced one.

This monograph will contribute to rewriting the narrative of women and power in medieval society by focusing on the secular and, particularly, the economic authorities of female monastics. With a chronological focus on the late Middle Ages, the following chapters will center on four convents located in modern-day France, Germany, and Switzerland. The four institutions are Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau Abbey, Fraumünster of Zurich, and Klingental of Basel. The first three were founded in the early Middle Ages. Notre-Dame's origin dates to the mid-seventh century, Buchau's to ca. 770, and those of Fraumünster Abbey to the year 853. All three were aristocratic convents which were endowed with far-ranging feudal prerogatives that were largely, but not exclusively, derived from landed possessions. The influence of the fourth convent, Klingental, a thirteenth-century foundation, was primarily economic and financial. It rested on an impressive portfolio which the convent's nuns steadily built throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The four convents considered in this study are examples of top-tier female monasteries that existed all over Catholic Europe and that possessed both great economic and territorial authority throughout the Middle Ages and frequently beyond.

Women and Power: Beyond the Extraordinary

In the 1970s, feminist historians set out to show that women very much had had a history before the modern era, and that archives housed innumerable

sources testifying to the lives, deeds, and agencies of premodern women. They argued that the historiographical silence regarding women was not due to a lack of documents, but resulted from the dominant male view on history that had simply omitted these sources. In a second step, women's historians set out to show that the overlooked histories of women from all ranks of society mattered. Scholars, such as Joan Kelly, argued that the bypassing of historical women had yielded a distorted perception of the distant past in general. And that taking into consideration female perspectives would force historians to reconsider the discipline's master narratives, including its periodization.[7] Kelly and others demanded that historiography as a whole needed to be overhauled and history be rewritten to include women.

The then new field of Women's History had departed from a defensive position. Its proponents sought to prove that women's history mattered for the discipline as a whole, a quest that was met with much resistance. Moreover, this defensive position brought with it a paradox. On the one hand, feminist scholars argued against the notion of female invisibility in the medieval world. On the other hand, they did so while operating within the conceptual framework of male power and female subordination in premodern Europe. As a result, much of the field's work tended to conceive of female agencies as exceptional and as having to be wrestled from a more or less encumbering patriarchy. In recent years, the field's historiographical narrative has begun to change from a defensive one, where women had to fight for their space and independence, to a more affirmative one that readily assumes that elite women naturally partook in power.

Operating with a more nuanced definition of power was the prerequisite for altering the narrative. When Georges Duby, and others with him, had argued that women were incapable of exercising power in medieval Europe, their assertion largely rested on a simplified version of the Weberian concept of power: Since women did not fight wars in medieval Europe, they were incapable of exercising power.[8] The question of women and power has been revisited many times since the 1990s.[9] In my view, one of its most useful reconceptions is that of German medievalist Christine Reinle. In her 2015 essay "Was bedeutet Macht im Mittelalter?," she assumed a strictly structuralist perspective.[10] Reine did not contend herself with the notion of power as the ability to command and punish. Rather, drawing on sociologist Michael Mann, she established a structural definition of power and rule first, which allowed her to answer the question about women and power, second.[11]

Max Weber famously defined power as the ability to impose one's will within a social relationship despite resistance.[12] The problem with such a broad definition of power is the same as Duby's variation of it – it is too vague to be operable. Weber was keenly aware of the problem and shifted his attention to authority instead. Authority is closely connected to power, but it is structurally more tangible.[13] Many sociologists after Weber have taken the same route, including Michael Mann. Mann defines authority as a form of power which the affected groups and institutions consider beneficial.

Legitimate authority, according to Mann, is based upon a set of shared values, such as notions of respect, adhesion to norms, and hierarchical structures. Like other sources of power, also authority is socially constructed. It is rooted, among other things, in economic, military, and/or political influence.[14] Mann's definition of authority also includes the aspect of imposing one's will, which is central to any definition of power and authority. However, as Mann's definition also considers the means through which the imposition of will is achieved, it opens the circle of those capable of exercising authority beyond men wielding arms. Christine Reinle used Mann's definition and adapted it to make it operable for inquiries concerning medieval Europe.

When applying sociological concepts of power and authority to the Middle Ages, one needs to take into consideration a number of prerequisites which a ruler had to meet. According to Reinle, these include physical integrity and marital legitimacy. In addition to such cultural requirements, Reinle identifies access to material and social resources as the *sine qua non* for the effective exercise of authority and rule in medieval Europe.[15] Material resources include the discretionary disposition of land, money, warriors, horses, etc., while social resources comprise the ability to appoint individuals into (lucrative) offices.[16] The effectiveness of authority in medieval Europe thus depended on its bearer's structural, infrastructural, and social wealth. In other words, an authoritative ruler needed to possess the material resources to impose their will, to keep the peace among their people, and the social resources to grant favors and disfavors and thus to be able to effectively foster and regulate patron-client relationships.[17] Whether women had access to such material and social resources depended on a number of things, including their social status and local laws of succession. However, the female sex was not a marker that excluded them from exercising authority.[18] If women disposed of the social and material resources, they could, and indeed, they did, wield authority in medieval Europe, as the growing number of studies engaging with medieval queenship and female aristocrats show.[19]

Nevertheless, one needs to be careful to not go overboard. Although recent studies have demonstrated that authority exercised by a female was not exceptional in medieval Europe, it also remains true that the Middle Ages were uncomfortable with a female ruler. Especially where secular rule was concerned, medieval society always preferred a man on the royal or ducal throne.[20] But, there was one vast area of dominion where women were the natural, even the only, choice: female monasteries. Early and high medieval abbesses were vested with much of the same authorities as secular lords. Just as secular lords, abbesses ruled over their convents' seigneuries, they dispersed justice, levied taxes, and generally were the highest authority. This omnipresent "secular" aspect of female monasticism has hitherto largely escaped both scholars of medieval queenship and scholars of female monasticism.[21] And this study sets out to contribute to filling this gap.

Female Monasticism and Their Forgotten Power in Medieval Europe

Monasteries were the archives of the Middle Ages. Not only centers of religious, philosophical, and medical knowledge, their walls also guarded a convent's chartered rights, privileges, and other legal documents. The wealth of written sources that has come down to us from monasteries is unrivaled. It is therefore not surprising that monastic history has long been a traditional field of medieval inquiry. However, here as elsewhere, historians of the nineteenth and of the first half of the twentieth centuries tended to focus on male orders.[22] This is true in terms of both historical studies and source editions. Only over the course of the past 30 years, historical scholars have begun to take an interest in the overlooked influence of female monastic communities. This observation holds particularly true for Germanophone and Anglophone scholarship.[23] In the latter, female monasticism has become a rich and diverse field of research since the late 1990s.[24] Closely tied to the cultural turn and the rise of gender history, studies have engaged with monastic communities as places of cultural production and learning, gradually debunking the myth of unlearned nuns and even revealing their convents as places of politics.[25]

The focus of Germanophone historiography has been slightly different. Because of its traditional ties to *Landesgeschichte*, studies tend to be strictly empirical – sometimes bordering on the descriptive. *Landesgeschichte* can be described as regional history on an academic level with a distinct methodology which insists on considering every historical source available for the object or region under study.[26] *Landesgeschichte* has a long tradition within German academia in general and the study of medieval monasticism in particular. Moreover, and going beyond the disciplinary limits of *Landesgeschichte*, German historians have long been interested in the early medieval foundations of female convents and their role for the Christianization of Central Europe and the stabilization of Frankish rule.[27] A number of recent *Landesgeschichte* studies have begun to shed light on their later medieval fates and have shown that these aristocratic convents frequently remained socially and economically influential throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.[28] However, resulting from its strict confinement to regional history and limited interest in comparison on a larger scale, scholars of the field frequently assume that these powerful convents of early medieval origin (*Stifte*) were a German specificity which fundamentally differed from nunneries elsewhere.[29] As the following chapters will show, this assumption does not hold up to transregional scrutiny.[30]

While the geographical focus of *Landesgeschichte* is one factor for explaining the lack of transregional studies, the general lacuna of studies engaging with French nunneries is another. France is the natural region of comparison because of the shared Frankish origins of modern-day Germany, Switzerland, and France, and because Frankish Europe was the period to which date the origins of many powerful female monasteries.[31] Apart from a few notable

exceptions, French historiography has traditionally paid little attention to female monasticism, although medieval France was particularly rich in powerful convents.[32] The absence of source editions and reference works further complicates any research project on medieval French convents. And much work remains to be done here.[33]

Authority and Landownership

This monograph engages with different types of authority held by female monasteries and enquires as to how these developed in the long durée. Moreover, it asks about the factors and strategies that determined the institutions' long-term economic success or eventual decline. Especially for monastic institutions of early medieval origin, landownership was a central source of both their economic wealth and authority. Thus, the terms "feudalism" and "manorialism" immediately come to mind when wanting to put names on their economic nature. However, the concepts of "feudalism" and "manorialism" have seen a similarly exhaustive scholarly engagement as the notions of "power" and "authority." While I do not wish to enter the debate, the terminological evolution along with a delamination of the terms' usage in this study needs addressing.[34]

Scholarly debates about feudalism date back to the eighteenth century. At the time, the notion had been shaped by two centuries of academic discussions on feudal and agrarian laws.[35] With the birth of the modern university and academic social and historical studies during the nineteenth century, social theorists and historians began to avail themselves of these previously strictly legalistic terms. The period's scholars expanded their usage and gave them a broader meaning. They applied the terms to describe the economic and social constitution of the medieval political system.[36] In other words, during the nineteenth century, *feudalism* (and *manorialism*) changed from legal terms as found in medieval charters to analytical categories meant to reflect the structure of medieval society and economy at large.

That in itself is nothing unusual, as historians avail themselves of a great number of analytical categories, which are necessary to make the distant past intelligible to modern minds. This is also true for *feudalism*, which has brought about a number of groundbreaking studies that have allowed for a better understanding of the complexity and diversity of medieval societal structures, including, of course, Marc Bloch's *La société féodale* (1939).[37] However, after over a century of feudal and manorial studies, the categories have been criticized as having become so general that they fail to describe something in particular.[38] It would be futile to engage at length in the criticisms and defenses of their continuous usage, as others have done so sufficiently.[39] Instead, it shall suffice to briefly outline the meanings attributed to them in the subsequent chapters.

As the concepts were only born in the "post-feudal ages" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is evident that no medieval man or woman would

have described their societal environment as feudal, nor would they have understood what such a description might imply. However, although the terminology is modern, the phenomena it seeks to describe are not. Along with the late Susan Reynolds, I will distinguish feudalism "in the narrower, feudo-vassalic sense of relations between lords and vassals within the noble class" from "*seigneurie* or manorialism, that is, relations between lords and peasant."[40] For the most part, the ties this study discusses fall into the category of manorial relations between lords (monasteries) and peasants. But naturally, it also touches on feudal ties whenever relationships between said monasteries and other nobles, such as kings or emperors, are concerned.

All manorial relationships have land at their center. In medieval Europe, landownership usually came with a number of rights over the people who lived on it. The character of these rights was not static and changed over time, and manorial authority was the most exhaustive during the early and high Middle Ages. Authority derived from landownership is what is meant when the following chapters speak of manorial or seigneurial authority. However, not all prerogatives of a *seigneur* were tied to the land he or she owned. A seigneur's suzerain could transfer additional authorities to a local representative. Such was the case when Henry III vested the abbess of Fraumünster with the *regalia*, which effectively allowed her to govern Zurich in the eleventh century. In that case, the abbess of Fraumünster yielded both, manorial authority over her peasants and feudal authority over the citizens of Zurich.[41] Thus, a clear-cut distinction between feudal and manorial authority is not always easy to make, as they could and often would overlap. Moreover, the actual power a manorial and/or feudal lord exercised over people also depended on their individual status. A lord had more authority over serfs than over free peasants, and urban citizens frequently enjoyed greater freedoms than peasants, etc. Because of the inherent blurriness and complexity of both the terminology and its actual implications, I only imply the minimal definitions, that is, simply distinguishing between relationships of lord and vassal and lord and peasant.

Such questions of terminology aside, landownership remained a central source of authority during the entire Middle Ages, not only in rural environments but also within cities. Throughout their existence, the three institutions of early medieval origin, that is, Notre-Dame, Buchau, and Fraumünster, drew their wealth and power primarily from their manorial and feudal authorities with which they had been endowed during the centuries following their foundations and which they kept throughout their existence. On the other side, later medieval institutions, such as Klingental of Basel, were usually not been given manorial rights upon their foundation. Nevertheless, also these younger institutions strove to acquire demesnes. While also late medieval landownership still came with a number of rights over the people working it, these were less comprehensive and not *stricto sensu* seigneurial. As a result, the objective behind amassing arable land was different for convents such as Klingental. As Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss in detail, it was primarily economic.

Top-Tier Female Monasticism

The following chapters center on Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau am Federsee, Fraumünster of Zurich, and Klingental of Basel. While these institutions differed in many regards, they are nevertheless a representative sample of wealthy and powerful convents whose abbesses, and in the case of Klingental prioresses, managed diverse economic portfolios. They were elite institutions, and entry into any one of them required not only the payment of a significant dowry, but for the most part also noble lineage.[42] All four of them were wealthy and did not have to worry about making ends meet. They did not depend on civic donations to maintain their convent nor was the community obliged to engage in paid labor to supplement their institution's resources.[43] In other words, Notre-Dame, Buchau, Fraumünster, and Klingental were upper tier convents. Considered in their upper-tier context, the nunneries of early medieval origin are typical, in that they were endowed with large territorial holdings which required long-term managing, whereas Klingental is an example of a late medieval urban convent whose influence was derived from its economic success. An important factor that all four communities shared was their self-government.

Of the four, only the Dominican convent of Klingental was part of a larger monastic network. Generally, female houses within a monastic order were less independent in their actions, as they usually required their abbot's (or prior's) consent for economic and other important decisions.[44] However, within some orders, such as the Dominican, individual houses enjoyed far-ranging independence. The absence of a paramount abbot or prior allowed these communities to act independently in matters concerning their convent and patrimony. At the same time, their independence allows us to discern their economic strategies and the scope of their actions more clearly in the sources than in those cases where they were mitigated through a superior abbot. However, independence from a superior abbot does not mean that the abbesses and their communities had no superiors or rivals. Quite naturally, they had to engage with bishops and negotiate with secular lords and city councils. The ways in which the institutions did so – if they were able to put family networks to use, and the ways in which they managed their ties to the citizenry over time – were crucial for maintaining their long-term economic health and independence.

From a structural perspective, these monastic institutions shared a number of resemblances with the periods' secular lords. As landowners and financial heavy weights, they were economically influential. The abbesses of feudal and manorial convents were the heads of seigneuries where they collected taxes and dispersed justice. In addition – and unlike their secular counterparts – these abbesses frequently also held religious authorities, as their patronage rights allowed them to appoint priests to the parish churches of their seigneuries. While the economic setup of later foundations differed from that of their early medieval siblings, their structure allowed them to venture in

the economic fields that opened up in the new cities. Provided they had the means to do so, they could generate wealth and economic power through financial investments. In this, they acted quite similar to the merchants and bankers who were on the rise in late medieval cities.

Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau, Fraumünster, and Klingental thus represent types of elite female monasticism that continued to be omnipresent in the late medieval Europe. The basis of their wealth and authority either continued to come from their manorial origins, or, in the case of younger institutions, it came from the new markets which their urban environment provided. While not representative of late medieval female monasticism *per se*, the study of these top-tier institutions allows for drawing general conclusions about the often-overlooked influence of wealthy female institutions in late medieval Europe, where they continued to be ubiquitous.

Due to their omnipresence, the number of possible institutions to choose from was vast, forcing me to select a manageable number. Originally, I had intended to consider a larger sample with an equal representation of Swiss/German and French institutions. It was neither a lack of institutions which qualified for this genre of inquiry nor was it due to a lack of sources testing to their seigneurial and economic power that prevented their inclusion. Rather, it was the disparate state of research and, especially, of available editions that forced me to cut down the sample. Due to the scope of economic sources required for this project, the number of previously unstudied institutions for which no editions were available had to be limited in order to complete the study in a reasonable time frame. The problem lay primarily with the French institutions. While the source material for them was often tremendously rich, the respective corpuses not only lacked editions, but frequently even an archival inventory.

Of my initial preselection of French convents, only Notre-Dame de Soissons made the final cut. The reason for this choice was twofold. For one, I selected Notre-Dame because of its blue print character for the imperial convent of Herford, which, in turn, served as an example for the foundations of many other convents, including Buchau and Fraumünster. This monastic lineage allows for establishing comparability between west and east despite geographical distances. The second reason was a more personal one. Notre-Dame's history is rich and powerful. As we will see, its abbesses were impressively able governors who maintained and increased their institution's wealth over the course of 11 centuries and succeeded in maintaining the abbey as an important local player until the French Revolution. And they did so in a region that was dense with influential players, that is, rivals. Yet, modern historiography has never engaged with the abbey's history, although it is certainly relevant enough to be investigated. In other words, I chose to tell the story of Notre-Dame because it is a particularly poignant example of the many stories that to this day continue to be overlooked – presumably because its protagonists were women.

Sources

The majority of sources that have come down to us from monastic institutions are documents testifying to their patrimony and finances. This is not surprising as these types of charters were usually kept after a monastery's dissolution and were transferred to the nascent state archives. There, they often have been collecting dust since. The degree to which these sources are accessible in critical editions varies greatly, as it is contingent on the local research and editorial traditions discussed above. Thus, the charters of Buchau Abbey have completely been edited in the context of the *Germania Sacra* series.[45] Buchau is certainly a beneficiary of the ardor of *Landesgeschichte* to collect and make available every piece of historical document. This is particularly noteworthy, as Buchau was the least powerful and wealthy convent of the four discussed in this study. To a lesser degree, also the charters of Fraumünster have benefited from the zeal of local historians, and most of them have been edited since the nineteenth century. However, without reaching the editorial standards of the modern *Germania Sacra* series.[46] Contrary to these comparatively accessible sources, those of Notre-Dame de Soissons and Klingental have seen little to no editorial engagement, albeit for different reasons.

As mentioned earlier, Notre-Dame has hitherto escaped the attention of scholars, despite the fact that its source corpus is rich and even bundled in a single cartulary. The cartulary, which is housed at the Archives départmentales de l'Aisne in Laon, was commissioned by Notre-Dame's abbess Françoise Marguerite de Roye de la Rochefoucault (†1766) 50 years before the French Revolution brought about the end of Ancien Regime monasticism. In 1739, the abbess charged François Miquel, head archivist of Notre-Dame de Paris' cathedral chapter, to compile a detailed inventory with translations of the abbey's fifteenth-century cartulary, which, in turn, contained copies of the convent's most significant charters. The result of François Miguel's labor is a 708-folio-page manuscript comprising both Miguel's inventory and the late medieval cartulary in a single volume.[47] The volume contains mainly information about Notre-Dame's territorial and economic history from the time of the abbey's foundation to approximately the sixteenth century.[48] The source base is particularly dense for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its study thus allows reconstructing the abbey's territorial possessions and their evolution since the early Middle Ages along with discerning the economic activities of the abbey's late medieval abbesses.

The situation for Klingental is different, and the sheer number of sources kept at the Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt may have prevented any editorial engagement with them from the get-go. When Basel embraced the Reformation in 1529, the city's monastic institutions were gradually dissolved. Instead of selling their patrimony, the city council continued to administer it. That way, Basel was able to continue collecting the monastic revenues, which the city used to finance urban charity and public schools until the nineteenth century.[49] To get an overview of the innumerable chartered rights of Basel's monastic institutions, the city council had to master the archival chaos. In an

impressive administrative effort, the council sent scribes into the city's former monasteries to inventory their archives in the years since the late 1520s. This effort took more than a decade to complete, and Klingental's archives certainly were particularly challenging due to their mere size.

From Klingental's archives, the city's officials selected about 2,700 charters along with a number of account and anniversary books to be transferred to the new urban archive. In addition to those, the scribes produced close to 20 registers, each several hundred pages strong, which were meant to facilitate the administration of Klingental's demesnes, rents, and other revenues. The content of charters and registers testifies not only to an incredibly wealthy convent, but also poses a challenge for any historian desirous to work with them. Thankfully, there is a digital inventory with summaries of the legal content of Klingental's 2,700 charters, to which the staff of the Staatsarchiv Basel Stadt granted me access. This, and the indefatigable patience of Dr. Agnes Schormann, who cross-checked the information gathered in the inventory with the historical documents, made it possible to include Klingental's chartered holdings and revenues in this study.[50] In addition to the charters, I also considered one of Klingental's anniversary books. The anniversary book, Klingental H, was probably begun in the mid-fifteenth century and continued until the convent's dissolution in the sixteenth.[51] Comprising about 900 entries, mainly focusing on the transferal of money and goods to the convent in exchange for commemorative services, Klingental H is a document providing precious insights into a late medieval convent's post-obit economy.[52]

It is the nature of the selected sources that they provide insights into the economic, political, and territorial activities of these convents while revealing comparatively little about the communities' religious or intellectual life. The focus of this study justifies this as it is not primarily interested in religion, despite its engagement with women religious. Of course, religion is not entirely bypassed. These were religious institutions after all, and their territorial and economic endowments originated in them being religious women. Nevertheless, the following is an economic history rather than a religious one. Another point that needs addressing is the comprehensiveness of the considered source material. With the exception of Buchau, I have not considered all available sources. There are simply too many. Gathering all economic and legal documents, standardizing the information they contain in order to collect them in a database and make them comparable, would have turned this book project into a multi-decade quest. Nevertheless, even if not exhaustive in a *Landesgeschichte* sense, the abundance of sources considered for each convent has allowed to discern the economic and territorial developments, and abbatial strategies, along with causes for success or decline of a given institution.

Database and Method

For this study, I used the information extracted from thousands of charters dating from different eras and stemming from different regions. To make the data usable, it was necessary to structure it in a database and find

ways of standardizing it. The process of doing so was more than diligent and, frequently, tedious work. Rather, it required a number of methodical considerations – especially in regard to the conceptual categories used.[53] One example of the questions that needed addressing is the following: were Notre-Dame's *avoueries* structurally similar enough to Buchau's *Vogteien* to be captured in the same category? While such questions of categorizations may at first glance seem overly concerned with details, they are indeed of methodological relevance as they touch on one of the classic methodological concerns within the discipline. To wit, how much abstraction of source terminology is possible and necessary in order to garner a more general comprehension of medieval structures without compromising the findings?

Traditionally, there have been two answers to this question. The first eschews standardization or categorization wherever possible and will abide by the terminology of the sources. An example for this is the *Deutsche Rechtswörterbuch* which lists 192 different types of *Vögte* – only within Germanophone regions.[54] In other words, by seeking to avoid abstraction, this option generally results in a high number of very precise descriptions. The second option grants more interpretative agency to the historian. That is, moving beyond the terminology of historical sources, it allows for establishing analytical categories which are based on the shared characteristics of, in this case, *Vögte*. Thus, while authorities and precise administrative tasks may have differed between an *avoué* appointed by abbess of Notre-Dame and *Vogt* appointed by the abbess of Buchau, they both shared a number of characteristics. These included their duty to provide armed protection and to exercise high justice where the abbey had the right to yield it. In the context of this project, I have opted for the second approach. Not only because it is the more operable one for questions going beyond legal history in the narrow sense, but also because the logic of both the present monograph and its underlying database makes comparability a prerequisite. As for *Vogt* and *avoué*, minimal definitions that consider the shared characteristics form the basis also for all other categories throughout the study.

The database, which is the empirical backbone of this study, contains some 7,400 entries. With well over 4,000 entries, the biggest set of data concerns individuals who, in one way or another, engaged with the monastic institutions. Every individual mentioned in the charters – tenants, vassals, rival bishops, kings, etc. – has been registered along with any additional information about them, including family members, the nature of their relationship to the respective convent, and the year(s) their interactions took place. More than 1,000 entries concern all varieties of monastic possessions. Here, fields, forest, mills, quarries, houses, churches, and entire seigneuries owned by a given convent are gathered. Wherever possible, their location was identified and their geodata equally registered. This Global Positioning System (GPS) data was then used to generate the maps used in later chapters and those accessible online in the public history spin-off of this research project.[55] The third of the big tables registers the rents the convents collected. The vast

majority of these, namely 900 out of the 1,378 rents, went to a single convent: Klingental of Basel.

With some 300 entries each, two mid-sized tables concern *regalia* and conflicts, respectively. The former table may be the most diverse of the entire database. Here, we find patronage and justice rights, but also exemptions from paying annates or the duty to deploy soldiers, along with other feudal rights and obligation the convents were endowed or burdened with. A similar number of entries testify to the many legal conflicts these convents and their abbesses fought over the centuries. These conflicts, or rather their resolutions, which is what was generally registered, shed light on the convents' defense of their traditional rights. However, this rubric is the one that may be the most skewed, because it is so fragmentary and biased. This is particularly true for Notre-Dame de Soissons. All source information entered into the database come from the aforementioned cartulary. The verdicts copied into the cartulary appear to have been primarily those confirming important rights of the abbey. Moreover, while not all verdicts gathered in the cartulary reveal Notre-Dame as victor, most of them do. One is thus left to wonder which verdicts were included, and just as importantly, which ones were left out. This tendentious and partial character of the transmission is hardly surprising, but it is something to be aware of. As a whole, the database comprises far more information than was used for this study. This is especially true for the comprehensive prosopographical data. However, it is my hope that future studies will make use of the gathered information and maybe enlarge the database with that of other convents. To this end, I have made its content accessible online on Harvard Dataverse.[56]

Overview of Book

The study's chronological focus is on the late Middle Ages. Thematically, it enquires about the different kinds of power female monasteries possessed and about their long-term strategies to maintain and even expend them. Because of the different backgrounds, Chapters 2 and 3 engage with the institutions that originated in the early Middle Ages, and Chapters 4 and 5 center on the much younger convent of Klingental. Chapter 2 discusses the foundations of Notre-Dame, Buchau, and Fraumünster, their early patrimony, and their intimate connection to contemporary politics. Ebroin († c. 681), Neustrian mayor of the palace, founded Notre-Dame close to the border of Austrasia, which he sought to subject to his authority. Buchau's foundation happened a century later in the context of the Frankish consolidation of power over Alemannia. Fraumünster of Zurich, finally, was the only personal monastic foundation of Louis the German (r. 843–876), whose daughters would serve not only as abbesses but also as royal representatives in the region. As was typical for the period, all three convents were endowed with important territorial possessions along with manorial, feudal, and patronage rights.

Chapter 3 revisits these early medieval foundations in the late Middle Ages and enquires as to how they fared politically and economically half a millennium after their respective foundations. For the most part, the monasteries' administration was an effective one. Over the course of several centuries, it saw the concentration and connection of territories and the monopolization of authority within their respective seigneuries. These developments reveal the institutions and the women who led them as able managers, an observation which challenges the historiographical narrative that has long suggested a more or less universal economic and moral decline during the later Middle Ages.[57] However, as always, the story is neither a linear nor a universal one, and not all convents fared equally well. While the history of Notre-Dame and Buchau is one of long-term success in so far as they accomplished to connect and increase their territories in the late Middle Ages, Fraumünster gradually declined both territorially and financially since the late fourteenth century. The reasons for the different developments were to a large extent the result of differing economic strategies. Those institutions who refrained from alienating the land they owned and succeeded to adapt to the structural changes of the late medieval economy continued to fare well many centuries after their foundation.

Chapters 4 and 5 are dedicated to Klingental, a community of Dominican nuns who settled in Basel in 1274. There, the nuns of Klingental quickly revealed themselves as knowledgeable investors. The convent was wealthy from the beginning and the women acquired a number of diverse assets. In a first wave, they bought arable lands which provided them with a regular and very sizable influx of grain and wine. In a second wave, they invested in Basel's flourishing economy. By the waning fifteenth century, Klingental owned more than 100 houses, and was the recipient of a great number of annual rents which they purchased especially during the fifteenth century. The revenue and rent payments the convent received eventually made Klingental Basel's wealthiest monastic institution. Klingental's very detailed economic source material allows us not only to put numbers on the convent's income, but also to discern the women's highly able financial strategies which permitted them to become an economic force in late medieval Basel.

While the four institutions did not thrive equally, they generally fared well over very long periods of time. Thus, Notre-Dame de Soissons and Buchau existed for more than 1,100 years before the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Secularization caused their dissolutions in 1792 and 1806, respectively. The ends of Fraumünster and Klingental were also caused by a social revolution rather than internal implosion. In their cases, the Reformations of Zurich and Basel brought about their end. Of the four nunneries, only Fraumünster was internally weakened at the time of its dissolution, while the others remained strong both in numbers and economically. For the entire period this study is interest in, nothing indicates that the nuns' authorities diminished or that their contemporaries challenged their authority – feudal, manorial, or financial – on the grounds of their gender. Or that they perceived

their wealth and power as exceptional. These communities and their abbesses or prioresses were ruling women like many other women of that period. And for their subjects, it made no difference if they worked the land of a duchess, a bishop, an abbess, or an earl. They had to pay their dues regardless.

Notes

1 The primary source for Notre-Dame's possessions is 708-folio-page cartulary today housed at the Archives départementales de l'Aisen: AdA H 1506, fol. 81, 83 v.
2 Amy Livingstone, "Recalculating the Equation: Powerful Women = Extraordinary," *Medieval Feminist Forum: A Journal of Gender and Sexuality* 51, no. 2 (2015): 20.
3 Georges Duby, *Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jane Dunnett (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), vii.
4 Georges Duby, "Women and Power", in: *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 84.
5 Among others: William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012); Amelia Fößel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich. Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2000); for a look into the family dynamics of medieval aristocrats, see among others: Amy Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin. Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000–1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010); Jörg Rogge (ed.), *Fürstin und Fürst. Familienbeziehungen und Handlungsmöglichkeiten von hochadeligen Frauen im Mittelater* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2004), especially section 2 «Herrschaft, Repräsentation, politische Konflikte», 153–282; a general overview of queenship studies until 2015 can be found in Claudia Zey, "Mächtige Frauen? Königinnen und Fürstinnen im europäischen Mittelalter (11.–14. Jahrhundert) – Zur Einführung", in: *Mächtige Frauen? Königinnen und Fürstinnen im europäischen Mittelalter (11.–14. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Claudia Zey. Vorträge und Forschungen. Hg. vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Bd. LXXXI (Ostfildern: Jan Thobecke, 2015), 9–34.
6 And they were not limited to the highest echelons of medieval society. The habitual and unquestioned economic influence of urban women has also been the subject of a growing number of studies. Suffice it to name two exemplary ones: Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives. Women, Law and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Gabriela Signori, *Von der Paradiesehe zur Gütergemeinschaft. Die Ehe in der mittelalterlichen Lebens- und Vorstellungswelt* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2011).
7 Joan Kelly's 1977 groundbreaking essay remains mandatory reading for many undergraduate courses in Women's Studies to this day. Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance", in: *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 20–48.
8 This is a simplified summary of Duby's argument in: Duby, *Women*, 70–75.
9 Almost any study engaging with powerful women or even a powerful woman will at least in passing engage with the conceptual framework of women and power in the Middle Ages. A monograph centering on a male medieval ruler, however, can do without such conceptual justifications. In other words, a king is just assumed to have had power, while a queen's power has to be proven. See, for example, Janna Binachini, *The Queen's Hand. Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 5–8;

Jennifer C. Edwards, *Superior Women. Medieval Female Authority in Poitier's Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); and my own *From the Cloister to the State. Fontevraud and the Making of Bourbon-France* (London: Routledge, 2021), 4–7.

10 Christine Reinle, "Was bedeutet Macht im Mittelalter?," in: Zey (ed.), *Mächtige Frauen*, 35–72.

11 Duby, *Women*, 69.

12 Max Weber, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 5. Revidierte Auflage (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1980), 28.

13 This is not to suggest that sociology and sociologists have abandoned defining power, far from it. However, for the purposes of this study, a focus on authority and rule is more beneficial. Considering that sociological and historiographical engagements also with the concepts of authority and rule have been vast, the following is strictly limited to the factors relevant for the present inquiry which shares Christine Reinle's concept of authority and rule.

14 Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: A History of Power from the Beginnings to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 22–32.

15 Reinle, "Macht," 47–48.

16 Reinle, "Macht," 45; 49–51.

17 Reinle, "Macht," 49–50; 52; 54.

18 Reinle, "Macht," 52

19 See, among others, Binachini, *Queen's Hand*; for medieval Iberian queens in general: Nikolas Jaspert, "Indirekte und direkte Macht iberischer Königinnen im Mittelalter. «Reginale» Herrschaft, Verwaltung und Frömmigkeit", in: Zey (ed.), *Mächtige Frauen?* 73–130; Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois. Countess and Lord (c. 1067–1137)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007); Rogge (ed.), *Fürstin und Fürst*; Fößel, *Die Königin*; and William Monter's 2012 monograph *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe* captures the changing historiographical perspective on female power in its title. Monter's choice to refer to woman sovereigns as female kings is more than an oxymoronic word play. It is meant to show that while their gender was different, their authority was the same:

> Women monarchs could govern effectively in most places at most times because most men adapt quickly to obeying orders from a legitimate commander who happens to be female. Today, in what is probably the closest approximation to absolute rule among civilians in a democracy, male crew members will unquestionably obey a female pilot. Her voice may sound different, but the messages it transmits are not.
>
> Monter, *Rise*, 41–42

20 Janna Binachini discusses this predicament of queenship being an inherent part of medieval monarchy and not a faulty deviation from it, and, at the same time, taking into account the discomfort of medieval society with a female ruler, which however did not necessarily lead to a diminished authority of the queens in question; Binachini, *Queen's Hand*, 1–16; 19.

21 One important exception from this rule is Sigrid Hirbodian's work engaging with the worldly dominion of women religious. Sigrid Schmitt (Hirbodian), "Die Herrschaft der geistlichen Fürstin. Handlungsmöglichkeiten von Äbtissinnen im Spätmittelalter," in: Rogge (ed.), *Fürstin und Fürst*, 187–202; and Sigrid Hirbodian, "Weibliche Herrschaft zwischen Kirche und Welt. Geistliche Fürstinnen im 11–14. Jahrhundert," in: Zey (ed.) *Mächtige Frauen?* 411–436.

22 To just name the illustrious examples of St. Denis in France or the abbeys and orders of Cluny and Cîteaux. All of which have seen centuries of historiographical engagement. Michel Félibien's "Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint Denys en France" from 1706 was the first learned history on the important royal abbey.

Many more have followed since. **BREPOLiS Medieval Bibliographies comprises** 291 studies published since 1960 alone. **The bibliography is similarly extensive for the famous monastic orders, and there seems little value in listing a more or less arbitrary selection.**

23 Examples include, but are certainly not limited to, Sigrid Hirbodian, *Geistliche Frauen und städtische Welt. Kanonissen – Nonnen – Beginen und ihre Umwelt am Beispiel der Stadt Straßburg im Spätmittelalter (1250–1525)* (unpublished habilitation: University of Mainz, 2001); Fiona Griffiths, *The Garden of Delights. Reform and Renaissance for Women in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Julie Hotchin and Fiona Griffiths (eds.), *Partners in Spirit. Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissinnenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert: Umkämpft, verhandelt, normiert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 3 (Berlin, and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2012); and Jasmin Hoven-Hacker, *Zo dat se eren ffurstliken stadt mede holden. Geistliche Töchter von Reichsfürsten im späten Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit* (unpublished PhD dissertation: University of Greifswald, 2021). The important work of many years of Constance Hoffman on female Cistercians can be found brought together in Constance Hoffman Berman, *The White Nuns. Cistercian Abbeys for Women in Medieval France* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); similarly, the fruit of many years of research is Eva Schlotheuber's *"Gelehrte Bräute Christi". Geistliche Frauen in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018); Edwards, *Superior Women*; and my own *From the Cloister to the State*.

24 While somewhat dated, Jo Ann Kay McNamara's *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns Through Two Millenia* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1996) was undoubtedly pathbreaking for this development.

25 Also, here the literature has grown extensive over the past 30 years. On literary production, see, among others, the works of Alison I. Beach, especially *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); the works of Fiona Griffiths referenced above, and Virginia Blanton, Veronica O'Mara, and Patrizia Stoop (eds.), *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); for memory building, see, among others, Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past. Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Elisabeth Van Houts (ed.), *Medieval Memories. Men, Women and the Past 700–1300* (London: Routledge, 2001); and Anne Winston Allen, "The Observant Reform Versus the Reformation: Women's Scriptoria, Books and the Resistance", in: *Konfrontation, Kontinuität und Wandel: Selbstwahrnehmung und Ordnungsvorstellungen in geistlichen Frauengemeinschaften in Zeiten der Bedrohung durch die Reformation*, ed. Sigrid Hirbodian, Tabea Scheible, and Agnes Schormann (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2022), 39–56. For late medieval female cloisters as places of politics, see Edwards, *Superior Women*; and Müller, *From the Cloister to the State*.

26 Sigrid Hirbodian defines *Landesgeschichte* as being:

> focused on a defined space but it is also interdisciplinary, drawing on history, archaeology, art history, cultural studies, and other areas. And *Landesgeschichte* works across historical periods. It is not bounded by the Middle Ages, but can reach into the early modern and modern periods in order to investigate the long-term formation or re-formation of the region under study across epochs. Regional

> historical developments are always placed at the center, and comparison and the drawing of broader conclusions are only warranted when these can be based upon thoroughly researched regions. Finally, *Landesgeschichte* is committed to the intense study of every available piece of historical evidence for the region in question (…). The work that historians in the field of *Landesgeschichte* do is thus deductive; they first collect all of the available sources and then try to answer historical questions that have emerged during this source-intensive work.
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> Sigrid Hirbodian, "Research on Monasticism in the German Tradition", in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West. Vol II. The High and Late Middle Ages*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1143–1144.

27 See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion and historiographical references.

28 The research group Arbeitskreis Geistliche Frauen im Mittlelater (AGFEM) founded by Sigrid Hirbodian, Alison I. Beach, and others have played a central role in bringing later medieval convents somewhat into the historiographical limelight. The group's annual meetings have supported a number of studies (dissertations and habilitations) in the field. Among others, Klapp, *Das Äbtissinnenamt*; Christine Kleinjung, *Frauenklöster als Kommunikationszentren und soziale Räume. Das Beispiel Worms vom 13. bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Korb: Didymos Verlag, 2008); and, more recently: Tjark Wegner, *Handlungswissen, Kommunikation und Netzwerke. Der Ulmer Rat im Konflikt mit geistlichen Einrichtungen, 1376–1531* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2023); Agnes Schormann, *Identitäten und Handlungsmöglichkeiten von Kanonissen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020); and Hoven-Hacker, *Zo dat*.

29 The idea that *Stifte* were a German specificity has a long tradition within *Landesgeschichte*. It rests largely on a legalist distinction between nuns who followed the Benedictine rule and certain types of canonesses whose rule, written following the Synodes of Aachen (816–819), was more lenient, allowing the possession of private property, etc. For a classical (and typical) discussion of these legal differences, see, for example, Karl Heinrich Schäfer, "Die Kanonissenstifter im Deutschen Mittelalter. Ihre Entwicklung und Innere Einrichtung im Zusammenhang mit dem altchristlichen Sanktimonialentum," in: *Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, vols. 43 and 44, ed. Ulrich Schulz (Suttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1907), 11–23. Within *Landegeschichte*, the strict distinction between canonesses and nuns remains a staple until today. See, for example, Sabine Klapp, "Geistliche Frauen – Mächtige Frauen? Die Äbtissinnen von Buchau im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit", in: *Frauen in Württemberg. Landeskundig. Tübinger Vorträge zur Landesgeschichte*, vol. 1, ed. Sigrid Hirbodian, Sabine Klapp, and Tjark Wegner (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2016), 82–83.

30 See Chapter 2.

31 The methodological discussion about the merits of comparative history versus regional (or "national") history is an old one. In the tradition of Marc Bloch, I advocate that the comparison between related, that is, structurally similar, societies can be a fruitful one, allowing to discern European phenomena and not falling prey to overestimating regional exceptionalisms, even if the regions are not equally thoroughly researched and thus do not meet the strict criteria of *Landesgeschichte*. Cf. above, note 27; Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1939), 14–15.

32 Exceptions include Micheline de Fonette, *Les religisieuses à l'âge classique au droit canon. Recherches sur les structures juridique des branches féminines des orders* (Paris: Vrin, 1967); Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq, *Le monachisme féminin dans la société de son temps. Le monastère de La Celle (XIe-début du XVIe siècle)*

(Paris: Cujas, 1989); Jean-Marc Bienvenu, *Les Premiers Temps de Fontevraud, 1101–1189. Naissance et Evolution d'un Ordre Religieux* (unpublished doctoral thesis: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1980), along with a number of articles derived from his PhD thesis: the work of Jacques Dalarun which have, however, mostly focused on the male founder of Fontevraud. Jacques Dalarun, *L'Impossible Sainteté. La vie retrouvée de Robert d'Arbrissel (v. 1045–1116), fondateur de Fontevraud* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985); Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest (ed.), *Histoire de l'Abbaye Sainte-Croix de Poitiers. Quatorze siècles de vie monastique* (Poitiers: Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 1986); Catherine Letouzey-Réty, *Ecrit et gestion du temporel dans une grande abbaye de femmes anglo-normande: La Sainte-Trinité de Caen (XI^{e}-XIII^{e}siècle)* (unpublished doctoral thesis: Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2011); and most recently, Michel Melot, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Fontevraud. Notre-Dame-des-Pleurs* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2022). In recent years, English language studies have begun to engage with select French nunneries. Among these are Edwards's *Superior Women* engaging with Sainte-Croix de Poitiers, my own work on Fontevraud, and certainly Constance Hoffman's many years of studying female Cistercians. However, of these three examples, only Edwards centers on a nunnery of early medieval origin. For the model character of west Frankish convents for the foundation of east Frankish ones, see Chapter 2.

33 Fortunately, there are a number of inquiries on their way that will help start closing one of the most glaring lacunae in the field of female medieval monasticism. As this monograph is being written, several doctoral dissertations are underway that engage with medieval French convents. One of the projects is on Fontevraud's economic history carried out by Julia Cole at the University of Toronto; Soumaya Daoussi of the Université Sorbonne Paris Nord is starting to work on a comparative study of powerful abbesses in the late medieval kingdoms of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

34 Similar to the earlier discussion of authority and power, this overview does not claim to be exhaustive. Rather, both are strictly limited to the factors relevant for the present inquiry.

35 Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3.

36 Klaus Schreiner, "'Grundherrschaft': Entstehung und Bedeutungswandel eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Ordnungs- und Erklärungsbegriffs", in: *Die Grundherrschaft im späten Mittelalter I*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 65.

37 Bloch, *La société féodale*.

38 This observation is not new, of course. But the usage and meaning of feudalism, manorialism, and the German equivalent "Grundherrschaft" have been subject of much debate since the mid-twentieth century. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 1–14; and Schreiner, "Grundherrschaft," 46–64.

39 In addition to Reynolds and Schreiner, see Karl-Heinz Spiess's more recent introduction, along with Steffen Patzold, "Das Lehenswesen im Spiegel historiographischer Quellen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts", in: *Vorträge und Forschungen Vol. 76: Ausbildung und Verbreitung des Lehenswesens im Reich und in Italien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thobecke Verlag, 2013), 9–16; 269–306.

40 Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 2.

41 Cf. Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the abbess' rights.

42 Noble lineage was a prerequisite for entry into Fraumünster, Buchau, and Notre-Dame. The dowry for Klingental was so high (100 gulden) that only very wealthy families could afford it. However, noble lineage was not an official requirement.

43 Especially in the late Middle Ages, with the number of mendicant convents growing, cities sometimes had to support their religious institutions with donations of

money of grain. Sherri F. Johnsons discusses this for the thirteenth-century Bologna: Sherri Franks Johnson, *Monastic Women and Religious Orders in Late Medieval Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 136–143; 166–168. The same is true for Renaissance Florence, where some communities entered high-end textile production: Sharon T. Strocchia, *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 74–81; 116–126.

44 The Cistercians can serve as an example. Although it took a while for visitation rules and control to be established, as of 1240, father abbots frequently visited the order's nunneries, and the local abbess was not allowed to contradict these abbots' decisions to whom they were subjected; Berman, *White Nuns*, xi.

45 Rudolf Seigel, Eugen Stemmler, and Bernhad Theil (eds.), *Die Urkunden des Stifts Buchau: Regesten 819–1500*, Inventare der nichtstaatlichen Archive in Baden-Württemberg 36 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009).

46 For Fraumünster, this study relies primarily on the sources edited in Georg von Wyss, *Geschichte der Abtei Zürich* (Zürich: Zürcher und Furrer, 1851–1858), Beilagen.

47 AdA H 1506.

48 For a codicological discussion of the cartulary, see Annalena Müller, "Le ms ADA 1508: Le cartulaire de Notre Dame de Soissons. Une étude codicologique contextualisée," in: *Femmes et hommes d'Eglise dans l'Aisne*, 115–132. Fédération des Sociétés d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Aisne 65, Laon, 2020, 115–132.

49 Annalena Müller, "Totgesagte leben länger. Das Kloster Klingental als Verwaltungseinheit in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft," in: Hirbodian, Scheible, and Schormann (eds.), *Konfrontation, Kontinuität und Wandel*, 57–74.

50 Efforts to structure the contents of the sixteenth-century registers have a long history of their own, dating back to the seventeenth century. At that time, the objective was to ensure that the city council obtained all revenues it was owed as Klingental's heir. Efforts since the nineteenth century, however, have been aimed at making the registers' content accessible in a structural way sensible for archives; Müller, "Totgesagte," 66–73.

51 StABS Klingental H; cf. Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of the source.

52 Cf. appendix for the abridged tabular content of Klingental H.

53 For a brief discussion on some of the main challenges, albeit on a more general level, see Hedwig Röckelein, "Monastic Landscapes", in: Beach and Cochelin (eds.), *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism*, 825–827.

54 A case in point example for this is the online version of the *Deutsche Rechtswörterbuch* which lists 192 different types of *Vögte* – naturally only for the German-speaking areas: https://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw-cgi/zeige?index=lemmata&term=*vogt&darstellung=u, DRW. Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch Online, https://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw-cgi/zeige.

55 In 2021/2022, the Swiss National Science Foundation generously founded the development of the interactive website www.rulingwomen.ch which makes the history of female medieval monasticism accessible to a wider public. The website is available in German and English.

56 N.B, I used FileMaker to design my database. Due to the open-access character of Harvard Dataverse, the database's content was exported into excel and those can be accessed under: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KTTSZ2.

57 The observation that the late Middle Ages need scholarly engagement free from preconceived notions of the era having been one of decline is certainly not new. Yet, it holds still true. For a discussion of that narrative and its legacy, see Kaspar Elm, "Verfall und Erneuerung des Ordenswesens im Spätmittelalter," in: *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, ed. Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 188–238.

Part I

Early Medieval Structures and the Late Medieval Economy

2 The Early Medieval Background

Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau Abbey, and Fraumünster of Zurich

Three of the four institutions at the center of this study are of early medieval origin. Founded between the seventh and the ninth centuries, Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau Abbey, and Fraumünster Abbey were all endowed with important territorial holdings and far-ranging feudal and regal rights. All three were typical monastic foundations of this period – their communities were aristocratic and their patrimony plentiful. The latter especially was a *sine qua non*: in order for any monastery to prevail in the long run, to support its present and future inhabitants, it needed to be as self-sufficient as possible. While monasteries understood their patrimony as acquired for eternity, said patrimony was, quite naturally, subject to change over time. In order to appreciate the able management that allowed a monastery's tenures to continue to yield income centuries after their initial acquisition and to evaluate the changes that they underwent in terms of structure, size, and connectivity, one needs to be aware of their origin and their original purpose.

No religious community could live on faith and the love of God alone. No matter how small or large a convent, its economy was pivotal for its existence. The so-called Plan of St. Gall (Figure 2.1), a ninth-century map of an ideal Carolingian monastery, today housed in the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gall, illustrates this well. About half of the depicted buildings do not serve a religious purpose in the narrow sense, but rather cater to the daily needs of a community of up to 350 souls.[1] Smaller communities would likewise require a similar set of buildings: stables for different livestock, storage rooms, kitchens, a bakery, and a brewery. While the compound depicted on the Plan of St. Gall was never actually built, at least not in the Middle Ages,[2] its ratio of religious to economic buildings may be considered typical of a medieval monastic complex of that period. Its stables and stockrooms were filled with the dues peasants owed to the monastery for working its land or using its forests, pastures, and quarries.

The bulk of a monastery's landed possessions was usually donated early in its existence by powerful patrons, who were often guided by a number of motives ranging from personal piety to more earthbound strategic considerations. As a result, the ties between the political elites and the foundation of monasteries in early medieval Europe tended to be close ones. In this regard,

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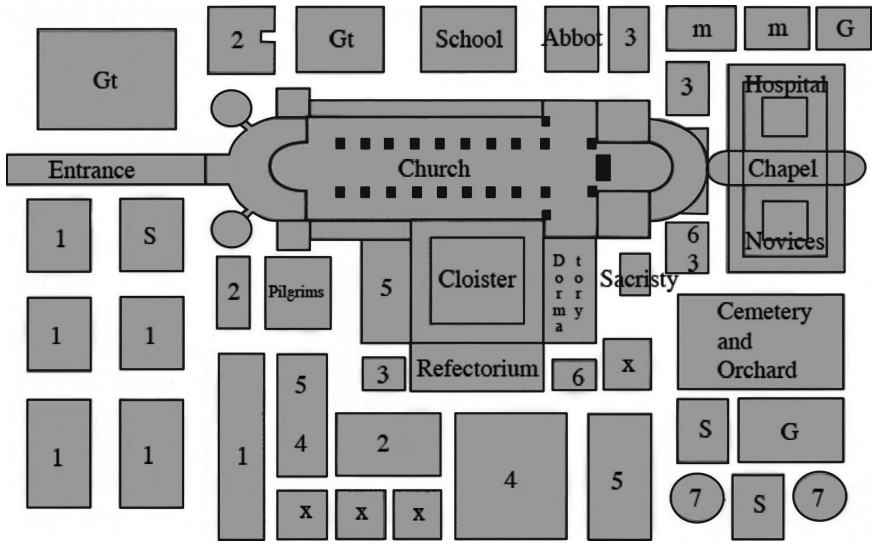

Figure 2.1 Schematic rendering of the Plan of St. Gall.
Source: Author.

Notre-Dame, Buchau, and Fraumünster were again quite typical, as were the circumstances and motives leading to their respective foundations.

Notre-Dame de Soissons is the oldest of the three, founded in the mid-seventh century by Ebroin († 680/681), mayor of the palace of Neustria, and Leutrude, his wife.[3] In his lifetime, Ebroin gained notoriety as a ruthless ruler who strove to subject Austrasia to Neustria.[4] His founding a monastery in the Neustrian marches bordering Austrasia can be assumed to have stemmed from both a desire to claim power and a need for personal redemption. The origins of Buchau Abbey date to the late eighth century and were closely connected to the increasing Frankish penetration of Alemannia at that time.[5]

Scholars have long recognized how female monasteries served to entrench and solidify Frankish power in this period.[6] Usually governed by a Frankish princess who administered the lands the monastery owned, these convents were places where the children of the local nobility were educated and where the *memoria* of their ruling Frankish patrons was kept.[7] Both Buchau and Fraumünster were typical examples of such foundations. However, the foundation of Fraumünster-Abbey differed in both size and importance. In 853, King Louis the German founded the abbey and donated all of his territorial possessions in the region of Zurich and Uri to his monastery, and he vested its abbesses with far-ranging authorities.[8] The abbess of Fraumünster acted as a royal governor who remained on-site while the king traveled his realm and who kept Zurich a safe *curtis regia* for the royal entourage on their way to Rome.[9]

* * *

Whereas the general focus of this monograph lies on the later Middle Ages, this chapter will explore the early medieval origins of Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau Abbey, and Fraumünster Abbey. In order to evaluate their later development, which will be the subject of the following chapter, one needs to understand the context of their respective foundations, which provided them with the lands and *regalia* they would, for the most part, still dispose of half a millennium later.

Notre-Dame de Soissons

The historiography has all but forgotten about Notre-Dame de Soissons. No modern study sheds light on this once powerful nunnery whose abbesses appointed priests, wielded low, middle, and high justice, sent soldiers to war, and managed hundreds of serf-peasants, and again that many fief-holders of all social ranks. Today, only a single wall of the abbey church, bearing two large Romanesque windows, hints at the impressive dimensions of the former compound located in the heart of Soissons, close to the River Aisne. At the peak of its medieval wealth, the abbey housed an average of 200 women. In addition to the usual buildings – the abbey church and various living quarters and economic buildings – an aqueduct, built in the eleventh century, brought running water to Notre-Dame's inhabitants.[10] The thirteenth century saw the building of a new prison for abbey subjects awaiting trial and of tunnels which connected the cloister to the outside world, allowing for secret access or escape in case of a city siege.[11]

In its time, Notre-Dame was not only powerful, but also famous. It provided the blueprint for the foundation of the imperial abbey of Herford, the oldest imperial nunnery in the Duchy of Saxony.[12] And Notre-Dame remained an important player in Soissonaise history throughout the Middle Ages. However, unlike Herford, Notre-Dame has received no scholarly attention in its own right.[13] The reasons for this are twofold. As a general rule, historians of medieval monasticism once dismissed nunneries as having only secondary importance, and therefore long bypassed them. And although recent scholarship has shed more light on the long overlooked influence of female monastic communities, this process has only recently begun for French nunneries.[14]

What complicates things further in the case of Notre-Dame is that not only the abbey's history has remained out of the spotlight, but also, for the most part, that of the city which was home to the nuns. Soissons was one of the most important cities of the Merovingian Empire. Together with Paris, it formed the political and strategical center of the Frankish subkingdom of Neustria.[15] Therefore, the city's early medieval history has been the subject of some study.[16] However, although Soissons remained a cultural, economic, and ecclesiastical center of northern France throughout the Middle Ages, no comprehensive urban history of Soissons exists aside from Bourgin's 1908

monograph on the commune of Soissons.[17] The absence of modern scholarship on either Notre-Dame or high and late medieval Soissons obviously poses an obstacle when seeking to engage with Notre-Dame's history, as the histories of the abbey and the city that was its home are, of course, closely entangled.[18]

But, for now, let us focus on Notre-Dame's beginnings. In 657 or 658, Ebroin, a Frankish nobleman of uncertain lineage, became mayor of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy.[19] Apart from the 18 months he spent in exile at the monastery of Luxeuil (673–675), Ebroin maintained his position until his assassination in 680/683.[20] By the seventh century, the Frankish *majordomi* had become the highest officers of the increasingly weak Merovingian kings. In the Frankish subkingdoms of Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia, they appointed officers, issued charters in the name of the king, and de facto ruled the lands.[21] By the eighth century, the mayors of the palace openly grasped for royal dignity. In 751, Pepin the Short deposed Childeric, the last Merovingian ruler, and Archbishop Boniface anointed him as the first Carolingian king in Soissons. Quite tellingly, the Carolingians quickly abolished the office of *majordomo*. However, in Ebroin's lifetime, the mayors of the palace did not yet dare to reach for the crown, but still pursed modest aims, only striving to increase their own individual power. Ebroin was no exception.

One of Ebroin's main political objectives was to subject Austrasia to his authority. At the time, the Pepinids, the forefathers of the Carolingian dynasty, were the *majordomi* in Austrasia and thus Ebroin's greatest rivals. Had Ebroin attained his goal, he would have become the most powerful man in all of Francia. However, in 680/683, Pepin II had Ebroin assassinated before his rival got a chance to eliminate him. Yet, in the 650s, when Ebroin and Leutrude founded their nunnery, Ebroin's political rise was only just beginning. And it was certainly with an eye on neighboring Austrasia that he chose Soissons, located in the Marches of Neustria, as the location for his convent.

It was not uncommon for a *majordomo* to found a monastery. Ebroin's predecessor, Erchinoald (r. 641/642–657/658), had founded Saint Wandrille, a congregation of Columban monks, whom he settled in Normandy.[22] For his own monastic foundation, Ebroin chose one of Neustria's political centers.[23] According to Notre-Dame's internal historiography, Ebroin, Letreude, and St. Drausin, then bishop of Soissons, granted the community extended liberties from the start.[24] A copy of the founding charter, somewhat dubiously dated to 656 and possibly a copy based on a later (partial) forgery, opens Notre-Dame's comprehensive cartulary. The alleged year of foundation raises doubts, as do the liberties granted to the community, which seem far-ranging for the seventh century.[25] According to the charter, the nuns were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, enjoyed the right to ban anyone from entering the abbey, and had complete control over the convent's possessions "of which no ecclesiastic, bishop of even the king may take nothing."[26]

The community was further granted the right to freely elect an abbess from among themselves, and the abbess-elect could freely choose the bishop carrying out her consecration.[27]

Next in the cartulary are two confirmations of the abbey's rights and possessions issued by Charles the Bald in 846 and 858, respectively.[28] These two charters are interesting especially in regard to Notre-Dame's patrimony, which is listed in detail and which presumably came in large part from Ebroin and Leutrude. The charter lists 11 seigneuries, 78 vineyards located near Soissons, and a total of 508 farms with serfs, several villages, and a number of lands held in fief, along with 12 houses in the city of Soissons.[29] Most of Notre-Dame's early patrimony was located in a radius around Soissons and thus firmly on Neustrian territory. However, several of the abbey's possessions listed in the royal confirmation lay further east, deep in Austrasia – seven fiefs in Alsace, 59 farmsteads near Cologne, and a village called Zurachimin in the lands of Worms.[30]

While Notre-Dame certainly owned this patrimony in the ninth century, we cannot say with certainty when it was acquired. The lands in and around Soissons were probably part of the abbey's possessions from its foundation. Its tenures in the eastern regions of the Frankish Empire leave room for speculation. It seems most likely that they were gifts from the Pepinids and early Carolingians, once these had won the battle for power over Ebroin and Neustria and began to send their own daughters to Notre-Dame.[31] Whoever was at the origin of these eastern possessions, they vanished from Notre-Dame's records by the thirteenth century, at a time when its abbesses increasingly focused on expanding and connecting their seigneuries in the Soissonais.[32]

If the cartulary sheds at best a dim light on Notre-Dame's early privileges and possessions, we know even less about the congregation's early religious life. Notre-Dame's first abbess, Eterie, was a Columban nun from Jouarre, a nunnery founded about a generation earlier in the 630s.[33] We may therefore assume that the early nuns of Soissons lived by the rule of St. Columban before they embraced Benedictine life sometime after the reform of the Synods of Aachen (816–819).[34] As would have been common for such types of monastic foundations, we may also assume that one of the early congregation's spiritual tasks was to keep the *memoria* of Ebroin and his family. We can further assume that the nuns' task was to educate the local elite in the convent's school and keep or, if necessary, render them favorable to Ebroin and his family. However, due to the lack of sources, all this has to remain educated guesswork.

Similar to its foundation, the first centuries of Notre-Dame's existence can only be spottily reconstructed. The community grew quickly, and according to the 858 conformation, Notre-Dame housed 216 women in the second half of the ninth century.[35] Among these were 30 cloister nuns, 16 novices, and 40 *conversae*, that is, women, such as widows, who had joined the religious life after having lived in the world. The remaining 130 inhabitants were servants.[36] The next information dates from 1176, when Pope Alexander III

limited the number of cloister-nuns to 80.[37] Two centuries later, the turmoil of the Hundred Years' War forced Gregory XI to temporarily decrease the number to 60 nuns.[38] These latter two charters only mention consecrated nuns, and they pass in silence over servants and novices who, as was typical for this type of monastery, certainly continued to live at Notre-Dame. Thus, we should assume that the total number of inhabitants, religious and lay, always remained well above 200, even in the worst times of war.

An ever-present danger, war would often come to the city of Soissons. During the ninth and tenth centuries, northern France suffered both Viking raids and armed conflicts between the West and East Frankish kings, such as when Otto II ravaged Attigny, Soissons, Compiègne, and conquered Laon in 978. Yet, Notre-Dame always bounced back. The convent's close ties first to the Carolingians and then to the kings of France certainly helped. And while Notre-Dame would always remain an aristocratic cloister, its ties to royalty were particularly close during the convent's early period when its abbesses were of royal blood. According to Notre-Dame's seventeenth-century chronicler, Michel German, the convent's third abbess, Eremburgue († c. 740), was the daughter of an Austrasian king or *majordomo*, and the sixth, Giselle († 810), was supposedly one of Charlemagne's sisters.[39] Later centuries would likewise endanger both the Soissonais and the convent. However, the more robust source base allows us to paint a clearer picture of the community's responses to them during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And they reveal Notre-Dame's later medieval abbesses as impressively able stateswomen, as Chapter 3 will discuss in detail.

Buchau Abbey

Located in the bishopric of Konstanz, Buchau was one of a great many eighth-century monastic foundations in Alemannia. Among them are such famous monasteries as St. Gall (719) and Reichenau Abbey (724). While the foundations of the latter two were linked to Christian missions into Alemannia, that of Buchau was tied to the later consolidation of Frankish authority over the region. Buchau's origins are usually dated to the 770s.[40] However, as with Notre-Dame, we have little certain information about Buchau's earliest times. Only about 835 of the abbey's surviving 3,300 charters date from the period before 1600, and most of those concern the later Middle Ages. The reason for the archival silence is as simple as it is sad: in 1032, a fire devastated Buchau and destroyed its archives.[41] So, as with Notre-Dame, much of Buchau's earliest history remains uncertain.

This includes the question of which rule the convent originally followed.[42] By the fourteenth century, Buchau clearly emerges as a congregation of canonesses. The situation before then is less obvious.[43] Despite its long historiographical tradition, the discussion of whether Buchau was founded as a Benedictine convent and if so when it transitioned is in the end inconsequential.[44] Steven Vanderputten has recently shown that the distinctions between

the two forms of religious life were less clear-cut than the rhetoric of the ninth-century Carolingian reformers has led scholars to assume.[45] The differences between the two forms of life, canonic and monastic, were largely legalistic, often with little bearing on convent life, at least not in aristocratic cloisters. The legalistic distinction maintains that contrary to Benedictine nuns, canonesses did not take perpetual vows. They would have thus been able to leave their community to get married. However, as canonesses very rarely chose to do so, this right mostly remained legal theory throughout the Middle Ages.[46] The same is true of the second distinction, namely that canonesses were allowed to own personal property and nuns were not. This difference in particular does not hold up to empirical scrutiny. As we will see in the following chapters, the nuns of Notre-Dame and those of Fraumünster, along with many others in aristocratic cloisters all over medieval Europe, enjoyed private property – and their doing so was generally condoned by papal privileges that exempted them from the Benedictine mandate to forego all personal possession and live a life in voluntary poverty. Whatever rule the early Buchau community originally followed, we may assume that the congregation lived a monastic life typical for their time and social station.

Despite the silence of the sources regarding Buchau's foundation, we can nevertheless observe a few things from its historical context. While Frankish power in the west could and did build on old Roman infrastructures and cities, many of the lands east of the Rhine were only sparsely populated, their infrastructure was underdeveloped, and their Christianization was only superficial at best.[47] This was true for medieval Saxony, Bavaria, and Alemannia, all of which the Franks gradually subdued between the sixth and tenth centuries.[48] Historiography generally identifies three phases of Frankish conquest: the first phase saw repeated military campaigns against local clans who had to pay tribute to their Frankish overlords; at the same time, Christian missionaries from the English Isles were also active in these areas; the second phase saw the (re)foundation and strengthening of ecclesiastical infrastructures – bishoprics and monasteries; and during the third phase, the old local elites either merged or were gradually replaced with loyal Frankish aristocracy, both secular and ecclesiastic.[49] While the first two phases happened more or less simultaneously, they were not part of a strategic master plan. Rather, the interests of the missionaries, such as the famous Columban († 615) and Boniface († 754/755), coincided with the expansionist desires of the Frankish rulers.[50]

For the Christianization of Alemannia, Priminus († c. 753) was of central importance. His missionary work, under the protection of Austrasian *major-domo*, Charles Martell († 741), took him to the regions between Alsace and the Danube. Priminus served as the first abbot of Reichenau Abbey (724–727), where he helped establish and train its first monastic community.[51] The role of monasteries such as Reichenau for the "Frankization" and Christianization of the region was fundamental.[52] Their foundations in the Alemannic heartland effectively established Frankish outposts, and this frequently

provoked local leaders. This also happened to Priminus at Reichenau. Only three years into his tenure, Lantfried, *dux Alamannorum*, violently forced Priminus to abdicate his abbacy and leave the land.[53] However, despite such measures, Lantfried could not stop the "Frankization" of his duchy.

From a strictly religious perspective, monasteries such as Reichenau, played an important role for the lasting Christianization of Alemannia. At the abbey, highly educated monks trained the next generation of clerics who went on to minister to the spiritual needs of the people in their vicinity. Both male and female congregations taught local elites at their convent school and thus helped Christianity to take a deeper root than could passing missionaries. At the same time, the monasteries' impact necessarily remained geographically confined to their immediate vicinity – to the local elites they educated and the parishes they ministered to. It was thus crucial to have a comparatively dense net of monastic communities to bring about the lasting Christianization of Alemannia.[54]

As stated above, the foundation of monasteries in recently subdued and only superficially Christianized regions was more than a pious act. The Franks granted land donations to male and female convents alike and vested them with regal rights, like that of high justice, over the people living and working those lands.[55] At the head of such a convent, the founders placed an abbess (or an abbot) who, generally, was recruited from among the new local Frankish nobility.[56] The ties of the monastic foundation to politics – or more specifically, to the interests of the Frankish colonizers of the eastern fringes of the empire – were thus intimate ones. The convents, their foundation, territorial equipment, and government by nobility loyal to the Frankish overlords served to gradually penetrate and thus incorporate these eastern lands into the fast-growing Frankish Empire.[57]

Buchau's foundation took place in this context. Although Buchau's earliest charters vanished in the fire of 1032, a foundation legend from the fifteenth century suggests that a certain Adelindis founded Buchau. According to this legend, Adelindis was the widow of a Frankish nobleman named Atto, who had died in a war against a Hunnic invasion. After Atto's death, she donated all her possession to Buchau and governed the community as abbess until her death in 809.[58] However, recent scholarship has identified a different Adelindis as foundress – Adelindis, daughter of Hildebrand of Spoleto. She and her husband, Count Warin, were among those Franks sent to the region to restructure and incorporate Alemannia into the Frankish empire after the duchy had officially lost its independence in 746. Nevertheless, it seems that the legend's Adelindis and Atto also existed and enjoyed family ties to Buchau, albeit around the year 900.[59]

In terms of Buchau's possessions and *regalia*, Lake Federsee and the lands administered by the convent's 12 *Meierhöfe* were probably part of its original endowment. A *Meierhof* was a seigneurial farmstead, a manor, and the residence of the *Meier* (mayor), who was a seigneurial administrator, in this case, appointed by the abbess of Buchau. The mayor was in charge of a

number of subordinated (serf-)peasants and their lands. He collected their dues and served as the agent between the abbatial seigneur and the peasants working the abbey's lands. Throughout the Middle Ages, Buchau's 12 mayors formed the seigneurial court which wielded all three degrees of justice over the abbey's subjects. The sources do not reveal if this organization and administration dates from the eighth century or if it was a high medieval development. However, certainly in place by the High Middle Ages, its administrative structure reveals Buchau as a manorial and feudal institution which yielded state-like powers over its subjects. In this, Buchau was no different from the other institutions under investigation in this study (and countless other monastic establishments all over Europe), but in Buchau's sources this structure is particularly clear-cut.

Contrary to Notre-Dame, Buchau was not exempt from episcopal authority and always remained under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Konstanz. And, again compared to Notre-Dame, its congregation was much smaller in size. In the fifteenth century, Buchau's chapter comprised 12 nuns and four male canons, who had the same right to vote as the women.[60] The oldest source mentioning the presence of canons at Buchau dates from 1080, but they are generally assumed to have been part of the community from the very beginning.[61] Their role, as in other comparable institutions, was to assure the women's spiritual care – they were their confessors and priests.[62] The canonesses appointed the canons, and at least in later times, usually chose them from among the parishes over which the abbess of Buchau enjoyed the *jus patronatus* – the right to appoint priests.[63] The canons were thus subject to the women, but their suffrage gave them a voice in important decisions.

While Buchau was smaller than Notre-Dame, its structure was similar – and to some extent more clear-cut and favorable than that of the latter. Buchau was a textbook manorial institution. Contrary to urban communities such as Notre-Dame or Fraumünster, it was located outside and a distance of long-established infrastructures where the number of elites rivaling to expand their respective influence was traditionally denser. Moreover, Buchau enjoyed close and long-lasting familial ties to the regional nobility, whose interests the abbesses represented, and from whom Buchau's members were recruited throughout the Middle Ages (and beyond). Like Buchau, Fraumünster Abbey would also always remain a small congregation, but, at least in the beginning, it was set up as the most powerful of the three institutions.

Fraumünster of Zurich

The area of Zurich has been continuously populated since the first century BC. At the time, the Celtic settlement grew into a small Roman harbor town, where goods were loaded from the lake onto riverboats.[64] Located at some distance from the great Roman trade routes, the settlement of *Turicum* long remained small in size. In the fourth century AD, it was fortified to provide protection from increasingly frequent Alemanni incursions. This fortified

complex outlasted the Roman Empire, and, by the ninth century, Zurich had grown into a sort of capitol of southern Alemannia.[65] At that time, a royal donation reflected Zurich's growing strategic importance. On July 21, 853, Louis the German transferred his possessions in the area to a women's monastery. The king's endowment comprised the *curtis Turegum*, that is, Zurich, along with wide-reaching possessions located in the modern-day Swiss cantons of Aargau and Luzern, along with the *Albisforst*, consisting of vast swamp lands and forests in today's canton of Zug and the lands of Uri. Fraumünster's endowment formed a relatively connected territory which comprised 55 villages with about 120 serfs.[66]

The king appointed his daughter Hildegard as abbess and vested her with all the immunities customary for proprietary monasteries of the period.[67] When Hildegard died only three years into her abbacy, her younger sister, Bertha, succeeded her on the abbatial throne and governed the abbey until 877. The abbey's church was built during Bertha's tenure, and her father, the king, donated further possessions, namely the *curtis regia* of Cham, located in the modern-day canton of Zug.[68] In 877, Richardis succeeded Bertha. Fraumünster's third abbess is another example of the close ties between royal households and convents and the ambiguous lay character of a great many noble Carolingian abbesses. Richardis was the wife of Charles III, who, in turn, was the son of Louis the German. She was thus the sister-in-law of her two predecessors. Like Bertha before her, Richardis simultaneously also served as abbess of Säckingen, another important Alemanni convent.[69] Moreover, Richardis governed the Alsatian convent of Andlau, which was also her main place of residence, along with St. Marinus in Pavia and the male convent of Zurzach. And while Charles III famously tried to divorce Richardis in 881, they remained legally married until his death left her a widow in 888. Richardis was thus not a cloister-nun, but rather a lay governor of these five royal monasteries, all of which possessed vast territories in strategically important regions of the kingdom.[70]

However, let us return to Zurich and the foundation of Fraumünster Abbey. Why did Louis the German choose this location for the only personal monastic foundation of his reign?[71] As for any aristocratic monastic foundation of that period, one key element was the concern to secure his dynastic *memoria*.[72] But the choice of location was owed to strategic and practical deliberations.[73] Louis needed reliable representatives of his authority in southern Alemannia, ones who would ensure his agency during his prolonged absences.[74] Early medieval rulers had neither a capitol from which they ruled nor could they rely on an administration and bureaucracy in the modern sense. Instead, they were itinerant and their courts moved from palatinate to palatinate.[75] In their absence from a given region, the rulers therefore depended on a network of people to ensure their authority, to collect taxes, and to keep the peace. As observed already in the case of Buchau, monasteries were favored representatives, as their community and their abbess or abbot tended to remain on site.[76]

While the geopolitical alliance between itinerant rulers and more local ecclesiastics was essential for early medieval government in general, this was particularly the case during the reign of Louis the German (843–876). Following the Treaty of Verdun (843), which divided the Frankish Empire into three subkingdoms, Louis the German became king of East Francia. However, his kingdom was economically and structurally underdeveloped in comparison to Middle and West Francia. Moreover, only a fraction of the political and ecclesiastical elites were loyal to Louis, while an important part remained in favor of his brother (and enemy) Lothar.[77] In his new and as yet unstable kingdom, Louis needed trustworthy representatives and mediators of his power. Thus, the king's ecclesiastical policy was to place loyal men and women in the most influential bishoprics and monasteries.[78] Although Louis' main territories were in Franconia and Bavaria, Alemannia was of particular strategic importance.[79] His three daughters would all govern Alemanni convents: Irmengard presided over Buchau, and Hildegard and Bertha consecutively governed Louis' only personal monastic foundation in Zurich.[80]

As alluded to above, Louis' choice of Alemannia in general and Zurich in particular was the result of strategic deliberations closely tied to the geographical realities after the Treaty of Verdun. Agreed in 843, ten years before the foundation of Fraumünster, the said treaty divided the Frankish Empire among the sons of Louis the Pious. Charles the Bald, the youngest of the three brothers, obtained West Francia. Lothar I, the oldest and thus bearer of the imperial title, henceforth ruled Middle Francia, and Louis, whom his father had formerly disinherited, succeeded to win East Francia for himself in a bloody battle against Lothar.[81] The 843 division of the empire made Zurich a place close to the border of Middle Francia, a border which Louis would quickly seek, and eventually succeed, to push further west.[82] Moreover, Zurich was *en route* to the Gotthard Pass, one of the main routes to Italy.[83] Both the proximity of the western frontier and its location on the road to Italy were thus crucial factors for Louis' choice.[84]

The ties between the Fraumünster and the rulers remained close throughout the early Middle Ages, and they continued to be so under the Ottonian and Salian dynasties. During a visit on his Italian campaign, Otto I granted the abbey immunity in March 952, freeing it from any obligations to and legal claims of others, whether bishops or nobles.[85] Fraumünster was subject only to the king (or emperor). And in his absence, the imperial *Vogt*, an office traditionally held by the duke of Alemannia, was to assist the abbess in juridical and administrative matters.[86] The abbess of Fraumünster was thus legally more independent in her daily actions than the abbess of Buchau, who was under the authority of the nearby bishop of Constance. In Zurich, the abbatial position continued to be solidified throughout the first decades of the eleventh century, which saw a high number of royal visits as the kings traveled to Italy. Between 1045 and 1055, King Henry III often resided in Zurich and vested the abbess with the *regalia* during one of his visits.[87] The abbess henceforth minted the city's currency, which bore her portrait, she set

and levied duties, and held markets. By the mid-eleventh century, she was, effectively, the city's royal governor.

This first peak of power was but a short one. When Italy became less important within imperial politics in the second half of the eleventh century, the rulers' interest in Zurich and the importance of the city as a palatinate declined accordingly.[88] The royal absence and the resulting power vacuum in the region allowed the dukes of Zähringen and those of Staufen to contest hegemony in Swabia. In 1059, the Zähringer obtained the office of the imperial advocateship of Zurich (*Reichsvogtei*), which they used to expand their authority.[89] Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Zähringer built their Swabian power on urban authority. They founded a number of cities, including Freiburg im Breisgau (1120), Fribourg (1151), and Bern (1191), and they sought to subject extant cities to their authority. In Zurich, they came to dispute the abbess' right to mint coins which they claimed for themselves, along with the authority over the abbey's own officers, including the *iudices* and *villici*.[90] While the Zähringer failed to entirely strip the abbess of her secular power, she had lost most of her regional influence to the dukes by 1200.[91] The political decline of Fraumünster might have continued if it hadn't been for genealogical (mis)fortune. In 1218, the Zähringer dynasty died out, and this allowed the abbesses of Fraumünster to rise to power again.

In a different area, the Fraumünster nuns actually had benefitted from the changing times of the twelfth century. In the context of the Investiture Controversy, the abbey succeeded in freeing itself from imperial patronage.[92] Rather than being royally appointed, abbesses were henceforth elected from among the convent's community of nuns, and the bishop of Konstanz consecrated the abbess *electa*, who after the act referred to herself as *confirmata*.[93] As a result of their independence, the convent also attained complete control over the abbey's revenues.[94] This brought economic relief for the community, which was used to vast annual payments to the king, who had remained the proprietor of most of the abbey's possessions until the twelfth century.[95] Eventually, with both the Zähringer and much of the economic restraints gone, the abbey and her abbesses rose again to be the city rulers of Zurich – however, only for a short while.

Notes

1 Lynda L. Coon, *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 170.
2 Near Konstanz, a team of enthusiasts and scholars are building a monastery according to the Plan of St. Gall using only medieval tools. The project is scheduled to take several decades. For more information, see https://www.campus-galli.de.
3 AdA H 1506, fol. 34 r.
4 Johannes Fischer, *Der Hausmeier Ebroin* (Chemnitz: Wilkau-Haßlau, 1954), 7–16.
5 Irmgard Dienemann-Dietrich, "Der fränkische Adel in Alemannien im 8. Jahrhundert", in: *Grundfragen der alemannischen Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen*,

vol. 1, ed. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1952); for more specific references, see the section below engaging with Buchau.

6 Cf. bibliographical references throughout this chapter, especially in the contexts of the foundation of Fraumünster and Buchau.

7 Irene Crusius, "Im Dienste der Königsherrschaft. Königinnen, Königswitwen und Prinzessinnen als Stifterinnen und Äbtissinnen von Frauenstiften und –klöstern," in: *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen. Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Tagung vom 21. Bis 23. September 2005 in Frauenchiemsee*, ed. Eva Schlotheuber, Helmut Flachenecker, and Ingrid Gardill (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008), 61–62; 68.

8 Bernhard Theil, *Das (freiweltliche) Damenstift Buchau am Federsee*, Germania Sacra. Neue Folge 32. Bistum Konstanz 4 (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1994), 217.

9 Christine Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits und jenseits der Limmat," in: *Das Fraumünster in Zürich. Von der Königsabtei zur Stadtkirche*, ed. Peter Niederhäuser and Dölf Wild (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2012), 18.

10 AdA H 1506, fol. 70v; 83, 84v.

11 AdA H 1506, fol. 81, 83 v; and Michel German, *Histoire de l'abbaye Royale de Notre-Dame de Soissons, de l'Ordre de Saint Benoit. Divisée en quatre Livres. Avec les Preuves, et Plusieurs Titres, tirez des Archives de cette Abbaye* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1675), 91–92.

12 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 2. For Herford, see, among others, Rainer Pape, *Sancta Herfordia: Geschichte Herfords von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Herford: Busse Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979).

13 An article by Anne L. Clark engages with the precious relics the nuns of Notre Dame owned that were donated to them after the Fourth Crusade. Anne L. Clark, "Guardians of the Sacred: The Nuns of Soissons and the Slipper of the Virgin Mary," *Church History* 76, no. 4 (2007): 724–749.

14 Some recent examples engaging with French female monasticism include Berman, *White Nuns*; Edwards, *Superior Women*; and Steven Vanderputten, *Dark Age Nunneries: The Ambiguous Identity of Female Monasticism, 800–1050* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).

15 Michel Rouche, "Remarques sur la Géographie Historique de la Neustrie (650–850)," *Beihefte der Francia* 16, no. 1 (1989): 1–23.

16 Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königstum und Fürstenmacht. Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1981), 589–597, especially notes on pp. 590–591.

17 Georges Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons et le groupe communal soissonnais* (Paris: H. Champion, 1908).

18 Dominique Roussel's excavation report from 2002 sheds some light on this interconnection. Dominique Roussel, *Soissons. Documents d'évaluation du patrimoine archéologique des villes de France. Soissons* (Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 2002).

19 It was long assumed that Ebroin was of humble origins. While this hypothesis is outdated, nothing is known for certain about Ebroin's background. Fischer, *Hausmeier Ebroin*, 76–79; and Ingrid Heidrich, "Les Maires du Palais Neustiens du Mileu du VIIe au Milieu du VIIIe siècle," *Beihefte der Francia* Bd. 16, no. 1 (1989): 217.

20 Heidrich, "Les Maires," 217; 220.

21 Fischer, *Hausmeier Ebroin*, 176.

22 Heidrich, "Les Maires," 222; and Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am*

Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert) (München and Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1965), 128–129.

23 Rouche, "Remarques," 7.
24 AdA H 1506, fol. 34 r.
25 Forgeries granting extended rights and legitimizing it with a long tradition were a common phenomenon in medieval Europe. In later times, Notre Dame's exempt status would be subject of conflicts with the bishop of Soissons and the Cathedral Chapter – a fact that also suggests that this early charter may be a forgery. For forgeries in general, see *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historicae,* München, 16–19. *September 1986*, vol. 1 (Hanover: Hansche, 1988), especially Elisabeth A. R. Brown, "Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis. Medieval Forgers and Their Intention," 101–119. And more recently, Constance B. Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors. Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
26 AdA H 1506, fol. 34 r.
27 AdA H 1506, fol. 35 v.
28 AdA H 1506, fol. 36 r and fol. 33 r., v.
29 AdA H 1506, fol. 33 r–v. See also Chapter 3.
30 A list of Notre Dame's earliest possessions is found in the 858 confirmation of Charles the Bald, AdA H 1506, fol. 33 r., v.
31 This would have been a common policy to win the loyalty of institutions founded by defeated enemies. Crusius has shown this for Charlemagne after he overthrew Tassilo in Bavaria in the late eighth century: Crusius, "Im Dienste der Königsherrschaft," 61–62. That both Merovingian and Carolingian nobles sent their daughters to Notre Dame and, along with them, made generous donations seems not only likely but is also suggested by Notre Dame's seventeenth-century historian who had access to the abbey's archives now lost. German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 23–24.
32 According to Michel German, they were last mentioned in a treaty with the abbot of Laon in 1164. *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 26–27. For the territorial politics of Notre Dame's later medieval abbesses, see Chapter 3.
33 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 3–4; 15.
34 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 15; and Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum*, 129. For a brief overview of the reform of Frankish monasticism, see Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*, trans. James D. Mixson (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2016), 38–49. For a critical rereading of the reform, especially in regard to female monasticism, see: Vanderputten, *Dark Age*, 13–20.
35 ADA H 1508, fol. 33 r.
36 ADA H 1508, fol. 33 r.
37 ADA H 1508, fol. 56 r.
38 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 226.
39 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 118; 119–124.
40 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 49–50.
41 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 31; 36.
42 Vanderputten, *Dark Age*, especially the historiographical summary, 4–8.
43 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 54; 67–69.
44 Nevertheless, the distinction between nunneries and *Stifte*, as communities of canonesses are called in German, continues to play an important role in Germanophone historiography, especially within *Landesgeschichte*. Cf. Introduction.
45 Vanderputten, *Dark Age*, 11–36.
46 This is true in general, cf. note 44 above, but Theil has also shown it for Buchau in particular; Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 102.

47 Rudolf Schieffer, *Christianisierung und Reichsbildungen. Europa 700–1200* (München: C.H. Beck, 2013), 18; 21–22; Sönke Lorenz, "Die Alemannen auf dem Weg zum Christentum," in: *Die Alemannen und das Christentum: Zeugnisse eines kulturellen Umbruchs*, ed. Sönke Lorenz and Barbara Scholkmann (Leinfelden-Echterdingen: DRW-Verlag, 2003), 66–68. For an overview in English of the Frankish expansion into and Christianization of Central Europe, see Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion. From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1997), especially Chapters 6–8.
48 Fletcher, *Barbarian Conversion*, 193–227; for Alemannia, Lorenz, "Die Alemannen," 72–73.
49 Dienemann-Dietrich, "Der fränkische Adel," 190.
50 There is an abundance of scholarship engaging with all aspects of the Frankish Empire, its expansion, and the close ties to Christian missions. For the region of Alemannia/Swabia in which Buchau was located, see, among others, Lorenz, "Die Alemannen," 65–112; and Dieter Geuenich, "Alemannien im 6.–8. Jahrhundert," in: *Mission und Christianisierung am Hoch- und Oberrhein (6.–8. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Walter Berschin, Dieter Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2000), 23–34.
51 Eckhard Hauswald, *Pirmin Scarapsus*, Monumenta Germanie Historica. Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Band 25. Pirmin Scarapsus (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2010), xiii–viv; xvii.
52 If missions refer to initial contact between a non-Christian population and the Gospel, Christianization refers to the process of gradual conversion of the population and the permeation of the land by ecclesiastical structures; Lorenz, "Die Alemannen," 66. For Alemannia, the eighth century was a turning point. If Christianization had only been spotty before, by the mid-eighth century, Alemannia had become firmly incorporated into the Frankish Empire and its growing ecclesiastical infrastructures was an increasingly homogenous part of the Imperial Church; Lorenz, "Die Alemannen," 88; 111. During Charles Martel's tenure as majordomo, the rebellions of the Alemanni continued. It would be Martel's sons Carloman and Pepin the Short who secured the final submission of Alemannia in 746. Geuenich, "Alemannien," 32–33.
53 Geuenich, "Alemannien," 31–32.
54 The *Handbuch der Kollegialstifte in Baden-Württemberg*, which covers all ecclesiastical foundations in Swabia, shows just how dense the Swabian network was. Sönke Lorenz, Oliver Auge, and Sigrid Hirbodian (eds.), *Handbuch der Kollegialstifte in Baden-Württemberg* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbeke, 2019). For a map of monastic foundations in Alemannia until 730, see Alfons Zettler, "Fragen zur älteren Geschichte von Kloster Säckingen," in: Berschin, Geuenich, and Steuer (eds.), *Mission und Christianisierung*, 36.
55 Michael Richter, "Neues zu den Anfängen des Klosters Reichenau," in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, Bd. 144 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1996), 1–18, especially 3.
56 Crusius, "Im Dienste der Königsherrschaft," 59.
57 Lorenz, "Die Alemannen," 111.
58 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 45–46.
59 Siegel, Stemmler, and Theil, *Urkunden des Stifts*, 9.
60 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 88.
61 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 118.
62 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 123. This was the typical structure for these types of foundations. Jan Gerchow, "Die frühen Klöster und Stifte," in: *Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus Mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, ed. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn und dem Ruhrlandmuseum Essen (München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2005), 158.

63 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 119–120; 125; 127; 144.
64 Annina Wyss Schildkencht (ed.), *Die mittel- und spätkaiserliche Kleinstadt Zürich/Turicum*, Monographien der Kantonsarchäologie Zürich (Zürich und Egg: Baudirektion Kanton Zürich, 2020), 37–38.
65 Wilfried Hartmann, *Ludwig der Deutsche* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), 91; for the development of the county of Zurich in Carolingian times, see Michael Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thobecke, 1984), 78–110.
66 Judith Steinmann, *Die Benediktinerinnenabtei zum Fraumünster und ihr Verhältnis zur Stadt Zürich 853–1524* (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1980), 11; 15–16.
67 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 11.
68 Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 91.
69 For more information on Säckingen, see Friedrich Wilhelm Geier, *Die Grundbesitzverhältnisse des Stifts Säckingen im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (PhD dissertation: Universität Heidelberg, 1931); and Fridolin Jehle and Adelheid Enderle-Jehle, *Die Geschichte des Stiftes Säckingen* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1993).
70 Simon MacLean, "Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe," *Past and Present* 178, no. 1 (2003): 20–24; Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 18; Guido Faccani and Philipp von Cranach, "Zurzach (Stift)," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/012124/2018-02-05/. That a lay abbess governed one or several convents was typical rather than exceptional in Carolingian times.
71 To be precise, the king granted these possessions to an already extant convent, about which we know no details other than that it existed. The transferal of Louis' possessions and the investiture of his daughter as abbess has traditionally been seen as the refoundation of the nunnery; Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 11–12.
72 For a concise description of the nature and concept of medieval donations and memoria, see Michael Borgolte, "Der König als Stifter. Streiflichter auf die Geschichte des Willens," in: *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. Tillmann Lohse (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 309–333, in particular 310–312.
73 Louis donated great wealth to a number of monasteries and convents. Indeed, such pious donations were an integral part of his kingship. However, Fraumünster Abbey would be his only royal foundation. Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 187–188; and Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire. Kingship and Conflict Under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 96–97; 157–158.
74 Cursius, "Im Dienste der Königsherrschaft," 64.
75 Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes, and Simon MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 170–184.
76 Of course, this statement is relative. Royal abbesses of that period sometimes administered more than one convent at a time, as we have seen, and they partook in political life. For example, Matilda I (955–999), abbess of Quedlinburg, acted as regent of the kingdom (968–972 and 997–999) and accompanied her brother Otto II to Rome in 981. Moreover, she was present at and even hosted a number of *Hoftage* (imperial diets) throughout her tenure. While Matilda is certainly the most powerful and the best documented example of such a princess-abbess, she was not unique. And her example shows that abbatial life at the time was certainly not cloistered, nor was it firmly tied to one location. Nevertheless, in comparison to the bishops and abbots of that period who would accompany the king on military campaigns, abbesses were certainly more locally stable and present than their male counterparts. Gerd Althoff, "Gandersheim und Quedlinburg. Ottonische Frauenklöster als Herrschafts- und Überlieferungszentren," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25, no. 1 (1991): 123–144.
77 Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 40–41; 43–44; and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 114–116; 119; 186–187.

78 Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 96.
79 Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 88–93.
80 Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 77–78. Louis had a fourth daughter, Gisela, of whom nothing is known. Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 78. Outside of Alemannia, Louis' three daughters governed additional monasteries in Franconia (Münsterschwarzbach) and in Bavaria (Frauenchiemsee); Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 197.
81 The war between the three brothers reached a climax in June 841 at the Battle of Fontenoy, where the combined armies of Louis and Charles decisively defeated that of Lothar. As a result of this battle, the Treaty of Verdun (843) divided the Empire among the three brothers; Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 37–38.
82 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 11; Costambeys, Innes, and MacLean, *Carolingian World*, 379–383; and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 233–262. The division of Middle Francia between Lothar's three sons in 855 made Zurich an even more strategical location, allowing access to a desired region with a weakened government.
83 Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 91.
84 In detail, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, 263–334; more cursorily, Hartmann, *Ludwig*, 101; 120–122.
85 Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 16. For an overview of Otto's Italian policy and his kingship of Italy (951–973), see Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen. Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 96–108.
86 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 17–18.
87 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 13; 28; and Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 17–18.
88 Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 18.
89 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 23; and Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 18.
90 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 29; 32–34.
91 Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 18.
92 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 35.
93 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 36; the election procedure is described in detail for the first time in a charter from 1218, ZUB 13, nr. 387.
94 Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 18.
95 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 16–17; 19–20.

3 The Worldly Dominions of Women Religious in Late Medieval Europe

By the thirteenth century, societal and political structures had fundamentally changed from those of the early Middle Ages. Neustria had merged into the kingdom of France, while Alemannia had become Swabia and exchanged its frontier status for a position solidly within the Holy Roman Empire. Settlements had grown into towns and cities. Trade and an increasingly monetized economy allowed for the rise of new social groups seeking political influence and challenging existing structures. One of the central questions of this monograph is whether early medieval monastic structures fared well in late medieval society and economy – and if so, what factors allowed them to do so. To address these questions, I suggest to imagine success as a three-tiered podium: The first tier of success was reached if a convent still existed several centuries after its initial foundation; the second tier, if a monastery maintained its status and wealth; and the third, if it, in fact, increased its wealth and influence in these changed circumstances. Fraumünster, Buchau, and Notre-Dame all attained the first tier – all three still existed in the late Middle Ages. And two of three climbed the top of the podium.

***

This chapter will center on the territorial and economic evolution of the three convents in late medieval Europe. It builds directly on the previous chapter, and it will argue that while structural developments were an important factor, they did not determine a convent's fate in the long term. To a large extent, an institution's success depended on its leaders' economic abilities and political foresightedness. Faced with fundamental economic changes since the thirteenth century, its administration needed to adapt the convent's economy – a process that usually took more than a century and was therefore a multigenerational effort. Second, it was pivotal for a convent to establish and maintain external independence in combination with relative internal peace. Finally, a lasting identification of a convent's members with their institution was important, especially in times of crisis. The following pages will look closely at the evolution of each convent in the period between ca. 1200 and 1450 while centering on those developments that proved determining. The following does not render a comprehensive account of the institutions'

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late medieval histories. Rather, this chapter focuses on select developments and the institutions' reactions to them. This is particularly true for the histories of Fraumünster and Buchau Abbey, as both have seen previous scholarly engagements.

Fraumünster Abbey

From its foundation, Fraumünster had been endowed with a comparatively contiguous territory stretching from Zurich along the shores of Lake Zurich deep into central Switzerland (see Figure 3.2). The abbey owned large demesnes, as well as rights over the people working them, and it received a large variety of tithes as revenues. As was common in the early Middle Ages, the majority of them were paid in kind. The most frequent currencies were grain, wine, wax, and livestock such as chickens and pigs. Cash payments, while extant, were usually small, and they made up only a fraction of the abbey's incomes. Possessing vast lands and collecting plentiful revenues while having to maintain only about 11 nuns along with their servants, early and high medieval Fraumünster was by all means a wealthy and powerful institution.

Historical reality was, of course, more complicated. As discussed in Chapter 2, prior to gaining its independence from royal patronage during the Investiture Controversy in the twelfth century, the abbey did not fully control its own income. Effectively a proprietary convent, the king or emperor could freely dispose over the abbey's revenues. And the rulers would often do so, for example, to pay their daughters' dowries.[1] And while the abbey's vast landholdings and its ownership of Zurich made the convent an influential agent in southern Swabia, the abbey's political weight was closely tied to Zurich's role as an imperial palatine. After the 1050s, Zurich lost its role as *curia regis*. Prolonged royal absences created a power vacuum, which was eventually filled by Berthold II of Zähringen whom Henry IV appointed imperial advocate in 1098.[2]

An imperial advocate, sometimes also referred to as imperial bailiff or reeve, was the local representative of the king or emperor. As such, he wielded the highest penal authority, including death sentences, and he was the patron, protector, and administrator of the local crown lands. The imperial advocateship made Berthold II the acting governor of the area. Seventy-five years later, Berthold's grandson, Berthold IV, additionally obtained the ecclesiastical advocateship of Zurich's churches, making the dukes of Zähringen the de facto lords over both secular and ecclesiastical Zurich.[3] Meanwhile, the abbess of Fraumünster took a backseat and had to watch as the Zähringen dynasty sought to establish themselves not only as lords over Zurich, but also over the region at large. Although the dukes of Zähringen never obtained the ducal title of Swabia, they came to hold much ground in the region and in Burgundy during the twelfth century. Today, their heritage is still tangible in the architecture of the 12 cities they founded along the region's main trading routes. These cities include Freiburg im Breisgau, along with the Swiss towns

of Bern, Fribourg, and Thun. There, the Zähringen dukes quite literally set their territorial claims in stone.[4]

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Swabia and neighboring Burgundy were the home territories of three influential rival aristocratic houses vying for domination. In addition to the house of Zähringen, there were also those of Hohenstaufen and Habsburg. The Habsburg castle was located in the Aargau region near Brugg, roughly between the Zähringen foundation of Bern and Zähringen-ruled town of Zurich.[5] Zurich itself was strategically important because it was a junction of European trade routes. From here, roads led north to Basel and from there, further up the Rhine; to the northeast Zurich connected to Konstanz, and to the west lay Lausanne, which was reached via Bern. Across the lakes of Zurich and Lucerne, goods were transported south across the Gotthard and toward Como. The imperial and ecclesiastical advocateships of Zurich were thus both a strategic and lucrative gain for the dukes, as it affirmed their control over an important Swabian trading hub.

During their tenure, the dukes of Zähringen sought to consolidate their reign over Zurich by seeking to arrogate some of Fraumünster's core authorities, including the abbey's coinage rights. At the time, Fraumünster's abbesses were careful to maintain as much distance as possible from the powerful dukes, and they successfully protected their traditional prerogatives from their ambitious rivals – at least for the time being. Nevertheless, the abbey was clearly relegated to second place in terms of urban power during the twelfth century.[6] The situation changed in 1218, when Berthold V of Zähringen died without a male heir, leaving the imperial advocateship vacant. At this crucial moment in Zurich's history, Emperor Frederick II bestowed the right to appoint future advocates to Fraumünster. Desirous to avoid allowing another rival come to power in their town, they chose from among their local *ministeriales*. The abbesses thus ensured that the new advocate would be their inferior, bound by loyalty to the abbey.[7] With the Zähringer gone and the advocateship under abbatial control, Fraumünster Abbey reached its peak of power in the thirteenth century. However, to secure the abbey's leading position within Zurich and southern Swabia for the long term would require both political and strategical foresightedness. And while Fraumünster's abbesses disposed of these abilities when it came to their peers, they lacked them in regard to the new urban society that was forming on the other side of the Limmat River.

Since the early twelfth century, a new citizenry developed on the left bank of the Limmat.[8] From the time of its foundation, Fraumünster's core domain had been on the right river bank, where the abbey was located, and which had been Zurich's economic center since the early Middle Ages. Over the course of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the heart of the urban economy gradually moved from the right to the left bank. In 1145, the left-bank commune received the right to hold a market, and in 1218, the year of Berthold V's death, they formed a first city council.[9] Disposing only of little political power at the time of its formation, the council's influence

grew steadily during the thirteenth century. The genesis of a new citizenry in Zurich was part of the general rise of artisans and merchants in later medieval towns all across Europe. However, in Zurich, Fraumünster unwittingly enabled the citizenry's rise to urban power throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During this period, the convent leased several of its most lucrative urban privileges to the council and repeatedly sold land to the citizenry.

Among the abbey's most profitable prerogatives were the rights to mint coins and levy customs on commercial goods. In 1238, Abbess Judenta von Hagenbuch (1229–1254) leased these rights to two citizens who agreed to annually pay six silver marks in exchange.[10] Judenta renewed the contracts after three years for coinage and after six years for customs, and numerous charters show that subsequent abbesses likewise renewed them. Over time, both customs and coinage rights came to be viewed as customarily belonging to the citizenry.[11] Such a development of gradual alienation was not unusual for medieval institutions. In the short term, leasing out prerogatives freed an institution (or individual) of a number of burdens. To use the example of Fraumünster's coinage rights, leasing it to a third party freed the abbey from having to acquire the expensive silver needed for minting and from maintaining the infrastructure and personnel of a mint. For an institution in a financial crisis, exchanging the rights for a fixed payment in cash brought short-term economic relief. However, in the long run, the alienation of such feudal prerogatives deprived the institution of an important financial and political resource. In the context of the abbey's customs rights, this meant that the six marks silver paid for the right to levy customs remained stable – regardless of possible coin debasement, on the one hand, and growing trade volume in Zurich, on the other. The citizenry and the city's council, on the other side, not only gained financially, but they also gradually won control over Zurich's money and markets, as they were the customary buyers of Fraumünster's lucrative assets.[12]

In addition to minting and custom rights, the abbey also alienated a third prerogative to the citizenry: that of issuing *Fertigungen*. In medieval Zurich, the abbess of Fraumünster confirmed all donations, sales, or exchanges between the town's citizens and its monasteries. In a first step, she declared the good in question, for example, a vineyard, free to be sold or given away. In a second step, the abbess bestowed the vineyard to the monastery that the donor wanted endowed. The monastery in question received the land as a fief, allowing the abbey to secure itself the ultimate ownership of all goods within its town.[13] The process was registered in a *Fertigung*, which, along with the paper trail it generated, allowed to keep track of property changing hands within the city. It was typical for the Middle Ages that a payment was made in exchange for any notarial transaction. Each *Fertigung* thus added money, beeswax, and other forms of remuneration to the bursaress' chest. However, during the later thirteenth century, the abbey began to outsource most notarial tasks concerning property, including *Fertigungen*, to the city council.[14]

Perhaps Fraumünster's abbesses did not see much danger in this shift from abbey to council. It is possible they even welcomed the outsourcing of the administrative burden. Or maybe the convent was overconfident about their unwavering authority over their *ministeriales*. After all, the city council almost exclusively comprised knights bound in the service to the abbey. Whatever the reason, Fraumünster failed to establish any effective control mechanisms over the council's activities. By the early fourteenth century, the council was effectively in charge of the city's trade, minting, and property exchange.[15] Hitherto loyal to the abbey, the council's allegiance changed after the city's guilds rose in rebellion in 1336. In the aftermath of the rebellion, a new political order was implemented in which the guilds effectively took control over the city council. Elisabeth von Matzingen (1308–1340) and Fides von Klingen (1340–1358), the abbesses in office during the era of urban rebellion, had little choice but to acknowledge the political changes and accept the de jure loss of rights which the abbey had outsourced several decades prior.[16]

Fraumünster's loss of urban influence came at a time when the convent faced growing economic problems. In the fourteenth century, the majority of the abbey's revenues continued to be paid in kind. The account of rents collected in eight of the abbey's communities in 1328 provides only a snapshot of the entirety of the abbey's rents. But this snapshot is revelatory for the types of revenues Fraumünster received. From Boswil, located about 22 km east of Zurich, the abbey obtained 13 *scheffel* rye and 9 *scheffel* wheat in 1328.[17] From Rümlang came another 130 *scheffel* of wheat. The majority of the abbey's villages rendered a mixture of money and *naturalia*. Thus, Muri paid 118 *scheffel* grain and 6 pounds, 15 shillings in monetary rent. Wipkingen, today a neighborhood of Zurich, paid the abbey 85 *scheffel* of wheat along with 3 pounds, 3 shillings monetary rent, another 81 *scheffel* and 3 pounds, 3 shillings came from Fällanden, while Stadelhofen, another Zurich neighborhood, owed 90 *scheffel* of oats and 6 pounds, 16 pennies. In Seebach, the abbey collected 70 *scheffel* of wheat, 6 malter of oats and 35 shillings, 4 pennies monetary rent, with Horgen adding another 15 *scheffel* of wheat, 10 *malter* of oats to the abbey's granges along with 17 shillings and 53 chickens and a pig.[18] Together, these eight villages rendered a total of 508 *scheffel* (c. 10,668 L) of wheat, 16 *malter* and 90 *scheffel* (c. 7,170 L) of oats, 13 *scheffel* (c. 273 L) of rye, the aforementioned livestock along with 21 pounds, 13 shillings, 8 pennies.[19]

That the majority of rents were paid in grain posed two problems – both of them potentially threatening the abbey's long-term financial health. By the fourteenth century, the urban economy had become increasingly monetized, but Fraumünster had done little to adapt, that is, the abbey had not created sufficient money generating sources of revenues. Of course, surplus grain was sold on Zurich's markets. But here, as elsewhere, the profit an institution could hope to make from its influx of grain depended on a number of things, including whether its tenants had actually been able to deliver their dues.[20] From the abbey's fifteenth-century account books, we know that this was a

frequent problem.[21] And historical context allows us to assume similar problems already for earlier periods. Ravaged by the plague in the mid-fourteenth century, the region also suffered recurrent violence between 1291 and 1475, as the conflicts between the House of Habsburg and the nascent Old Swiss Confederation devastated the countryside around Zurich, including the fields and the crops they were bearing.[22]

The second problem resulted from the lavish and therefore expensive lifestyle of Fraumünster's nuns. The women kept their own households and lived in their own apartments for which they paid with the prebends they received from the abbey.[23] At the same time, the convent spent vast sums on architectural changes, including the reconstruction of the square in front of the abbey and the nave of the abbey-church around the year 1300.[24] Faced with mounting financial difficulties, fourteenth-century abbesses alienated more and more of Fraumünster's lands to meet their financial obligations.[25] Between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries, Fraumünster gradually sold most of its cense rights in the area of Lake Zurich, along with tithes and territories in the Uri Valley. In particular, during the abbacies of Fides von Klingen (1340–1358) and of Anastasia von Hohenklingen (1412–1429), important parts of the convent's patrimony were alienated, which caused the abbey's landed possessions to significantly diminish by 1430 (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

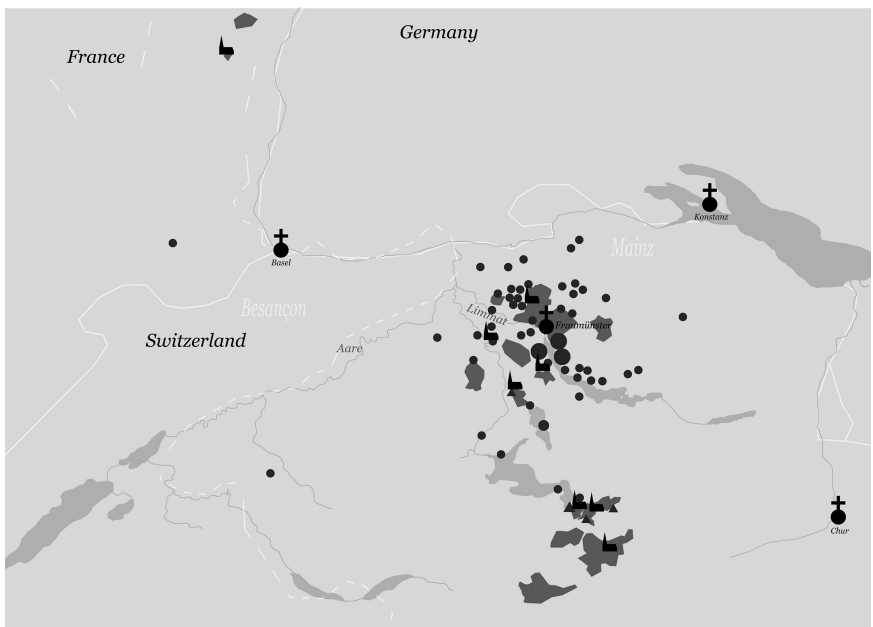

Figure 3.1 Fraumünster and its patrimony in the thirteenth century. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

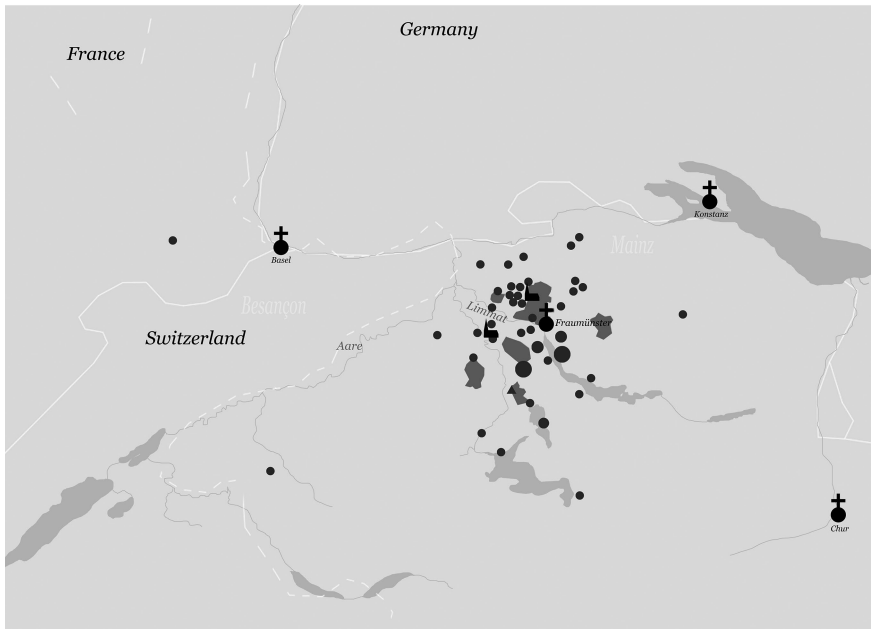

Figure 3.2 Fraumünster and its late medieval patrimony (c. 1430). Map design: Agnes Schorman.

Similar to the alienation of feudal prerogatives, also the selling of monastic patrimony brought short-term relief but caused long-term problems. On April 7 1345, Fides von Klingen (1340–1358) sold the seigneurie of Horgen, located on the southeastern shore of Lake Zurich, along with the abbey's the *jus patronatus*, that is, the right to nominate the local parish priest, to the Knights Hospitaller of Klingenau for 178 silver marks.[26] The charter explicitly names the abbey's debts as reason for the sale.[27] While alleviating the abbey's financial burdens for the moment, the alienation of Horgen deprived Fraumünster of both the religious influence it had hitherto exercised through the appointment of the priest and of the rents Horgen had provided.[28] Rather than other monastic institutions, the most frequent buyer of the abbey's lands was the city of Zurich, which began to build its own territory since the late fourteenth century.[29]

All in all, Fraumünster's late medieval financial strategy was not a winning one. Whenever the abbey sold pieces of its patrimony, it was either to settle debts or to pay for building measures, but never to invest. And the abbesses did not acquire a sufficient number of realty in Zurich which they could have rented out, nor other income-generating infrastructure such as mills or ovens that would have allowed the abbey to counterbalance the losses. Instead, the selling of property was guided by the short-term desire for immediate relief rather than long-term planning. From the inside, Fraumünster was also

wilting, as certain convent members began to exploit the institution for their personal gain. Two events from the abbacy of Beatrix von Wollhusen (1358–1398) are indicative for Fraumünster's internal problems. In 1373, the nuns Benignosa and Benedikta von Bechburg informed their brother, Johannes von Bechburg, about the courier en route to deliver Fraumünster's 50 gulden of annates to the episcopal court in Constance. Johannes von Bechburg had the courier robbed, which naturally caused a scandal, but remained without consequences for the two nuns involved in the plot.[30]

Twenty-four years later, Benignosa and Benedikta were also involved in the second incident. In 1397, the nuns of Fraumünster had their abbess evicted from Zurich, after Abbess Beatrix von Wollhusen had cut the women's prebends. Trying to solve the abbey's financial difficulties, the abbess also demanded the nuns to return to communal living rather than keeping individual apartments.[31] The women, desirous to defend their privileges, turned to the city council for assistance. The council, eager to acquire greater influence over the abbey, intervened on the nuns' behalf and demanded Beatrix von Wollhusen to leave town.[32] This incident was the council's first direct interference in the abbey's affairs, but it would not be its last.[33] During the decades that followed, the council consolidated its influence over the abbey as it began to dispatch *pfleger* (urban administrators) to Fraumünster. As the abbey continued to run a deficit, the *pfleger* were charged with overseeing the abbey's finances and help setting them in order.[34] Within only a century, Zurich's citizenry had risen from being the abbey's subjects into being its supervisory board.

However, by the fifteenth century, Fraumünster's decline had become irreversible. Her robbery plot notwithstanding, Benedikta von Bechberg became abbess in 1402. At that time, the convent had shrunk to only three nuns who refused to consider accepting daughters from families other than those from whom the convent traditionally recruited.[35] Withering on the inside and increasingly relying on the city's *pfleger* for their own financial administration, the gradual decline of Fraumünster fits the traditional historiographical narrative. This narrative tends to portray late medieval monastic women as unable to manage their finances, lacking both morality and political instincts, and who made up in vanity and status consciousness for what they lacked in the other areas.[36] And while fairly famous cases such as that of Fraumünster may have contributed to the genesis of the narrative in the first place, the image of generally inept female monastics is distorted. As the cases of late medieval Buchau and Notre-Dame de Soissons show, many monastic women were indeed very capable long-term managers.

Buchau Abbey

Structural developments at and around Buchau Abbey since the High Middle Ages had been less complex than those in the Zurich area. By the thirteenth century, the region had long ago lost its frontier status and now hosted four

mid-sized towns – Sigmaringen, Ulm, Memmingen, and Ravensburg – all of which were within 50 km of Buchau. By the late Middle Ages, Upper Swabia, roughly the area north of Lake Constance, was comparatively densely populated. The region benefitted from the overland trade routes leading to the important fairs of Frankfurt and Cologne to the northwest and via Lake Constance connecting to the major trade routes toward southern Europe.[37] This network of trade routes allowed a high number of communities to prosper, while their density prevented any single town from predominating.[38] Late medieval Buchau was situated in the heart of Upper Swabia, but at some distance from the region's main trading towns.

Although the abbey's vicinity remained rural also in the late Middle Ages, the settlement outside the abbey had grown into a small town since the High Middle Ages. This town is first mentioned in a charter of St. Gall Abbey in 1020. Three centuries later, Buchau Town obtained imperial immediacy and became legally independent from Buchau Abbey in 1320.[39] Although the citizenry was henceforth subject to royal authority only, the close proximity of abbey and town led to frequent conflicts. Usually, these conflicts concerned questions of jurisdictional delimitations, which peaked in the first half of the fifteenth century.[40] With the help of 43 treaties that were concluded between 1376 and 1794, convent and town succeeded to settle into a coexistence with clearly established boundaries, effectively preventing either one of them to gain power over the other.[41]

Throughout the Middle Ages, Buchau Abbey maintained its independence and succeeded to regulate its internal and external relationship. Cultivating a network of different benefactors prevented one single patron to gain excessive influence. In this, Buchau differed from Fraumünster, which relied successively on the kings and emperors who were also the convent's proprietors, and later on the city, which was nominally its subject. In the fifteenth century, Buchau's main allies were the town of Ulm, the bishop of Constance, and the Council of Basel.[42] In 1448, both Buchau Abbey and Buchau Town purchased the citizenship of Ulm in exchange for an annual payment of 20 gulden.[43] Ulm's citizenship brought them legal advantages, as it granted both Buchaus the right of counsel and support in legal matters.[44] Naturally, Buchau Abbey also saw its share of internal conflicts. These mainly concerned the relationship between chapter and the abbess.[45] As with their external relations and again contrary to Fraumünster, Buchau found ways to regulate internal matters through legal agreements.

Thanks to these regulations, conflicts between chapter and abbess did not tend to escalate. In the fourteenth century, the convent, that is, the canonesses and canons with voting rights in Buchau's chapter, established itself as a second political body within the abbey. Upon the election of Anna von Weinberg (1303–1353), abbess and convent concluded a contract which detailed their respective prebends and rights.[46] As of 1381, chapter and abbess disposed of separate seals, meaning that certain legal actions, such as the selling of land, henceforth required the confirmation (i.e., the seal) of both

monastic bodies. Such regulations effectively limited abbatial power, but they also introduced internal checks and balances. Through their right of codetermination, the body religious of Buchau ensured that decisions concerning the abbey's patrimony were made consensually. A formal agreement for abbess and chapter to meet every Friday to discuss and decide jointly about current issues concerning the institution further bolstered this practice in 1427.[47] In the long term, the division of Buchau's internal power ensured a meditated patrimonial and economic policy.

The story of Buchau Abbey differed from that of Fraumünster also in terms of its patrimonial evolution. Throughout the later Middle Ages, Buchau succeeded to affirm and intensify its territorial rule (Figure 3.3). Due to the loss of Buchau's oldest documents, we know little about the abbey's early possessions. However, its seigneuries, which were located in a radius of approximately 30 km around Buchau, were probably part of its foundational endowment.[48] Buchau's oldest comprehensive *urbarium*, a manorial land register, dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, and it allows insights into the abbey's late medieval territorial development.[49] During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Buchau sold a number of fiefs and land parcels to other monasteries.[50] At that point in time, Buchau seems to have been steering down a similar path as Fraumünster – selling off land to meet financial obligations.[51] However, contrary to Fraumünster, Buchau succeeded in turning things around. In particular, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Buchau actively acquired demesnes, cense rights, and even seigneurial prerogatives, including the right to appoint bailiffs and the right to exercise jurisdiction over a number of villages the abbey also acquired at the time. By 1499, the abbess exercised high justice in the villages of Kanzach, Dürnau, and Kappel, in addition to low justice, which she exercised in close to 50 farmsteads and villages.[52] The fifteenth century marked a turning point in Buchau's history: from a territorial convent in decline, Buchau reemerged as a local seigneurial authority (Figure 3.3a–c).

Even at the height of its power in the late fifteenth century, Buchau's area of influence remained geographically confined. The villages, demesnes, and the abbey's other patrimony continued to be situated in the same radius of about 30 km around the abbey where also their earliest possessions had been located. However, within this circumference, Buchau's abbesses and convent connected their individual possessions, expanded their judicial rights, and thus successfully affirmed their authority. The highest density of manorial possessions lay in the vicinity of Buchau itself and near the town of Saulgau, located about 12 km southeast of Buchau.[53] In addition to the abbey's late medieval territorialization, that is, its acquisition of land to form a connected territory, the evolution of abbatial jurisdiction best shows Buchau's consolidation of authority.

The oldest document shedding light on Buchau's court days is a charter promulgated in the twelfth century, which defined the bailiff's judicial rights over the abbey's subjects. The charter stipulated the bailiff to hold court once

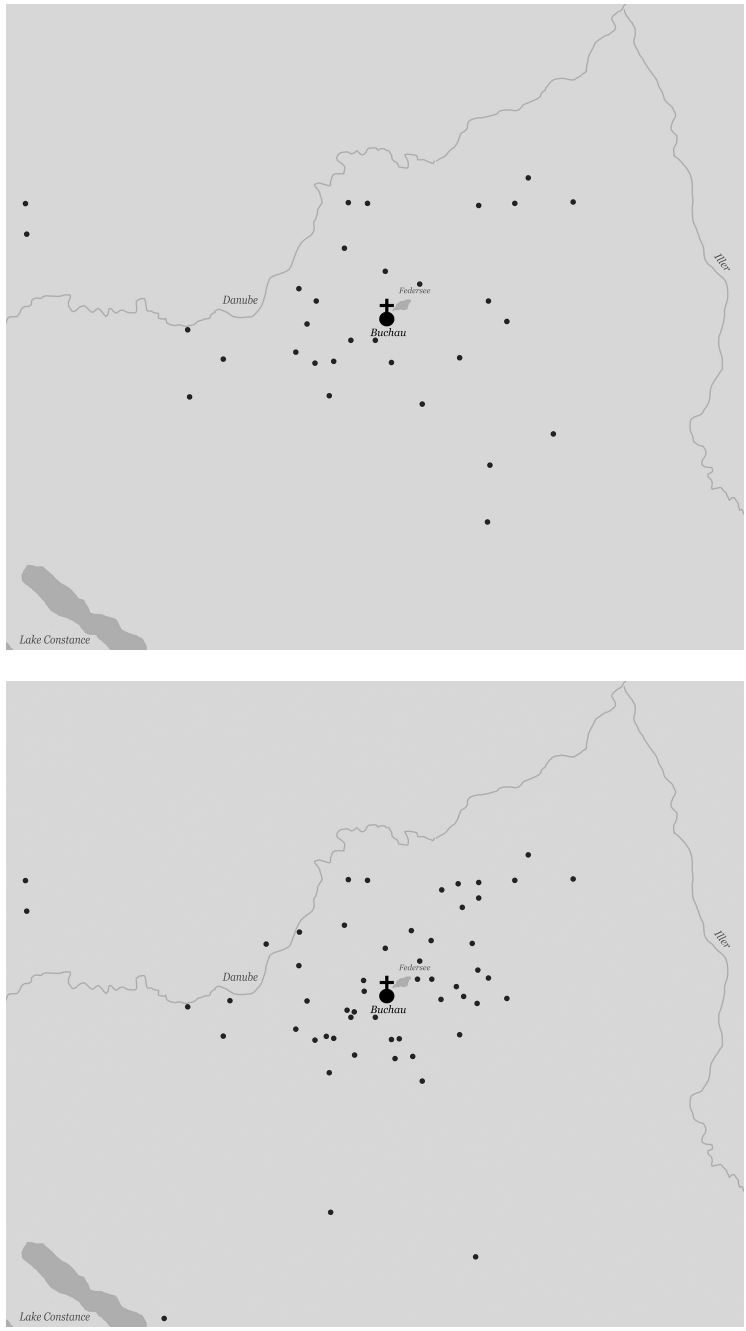

Figure 3.3 (a) Buchau's patrimony in the thirteenth century. (b) Buchau's patrimony in the fourteenth century. (c) Buchau's patrimony in the fifteenth century. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

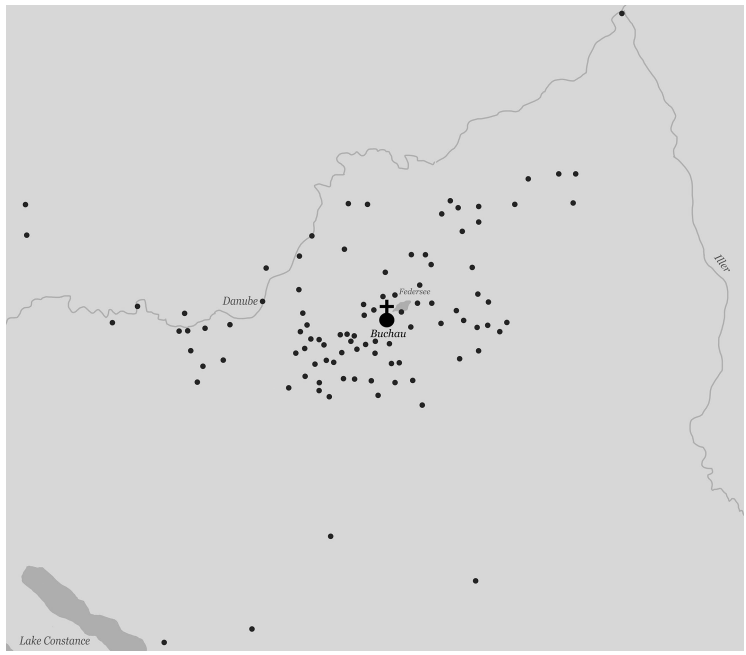

Figure 3.3 Continued

a year, but only with the explicit consent of the abbess. Of the fines collected on court days, he was to keep one-third, while the abbess received the remaining two-thirds.[54] By the fourteenth century, the situation had changed, and Buchau's abbesses now regularly sat court themselves. At least once a year, the abbatial court convened to dispense justice over Buchau's subjects.[55] One century later, the number of sessions had tripled. A 1434 charter by Emperor Sigismund reveals that the abbatial court sat three times a year at Buchau Abbey and that the abbess had the right to punish anybody, including by the use of force, who behaved in a disorderly manner on court days.[56] While Buchau's 12 mayors assisted the abbess, she often presided court herself.[57]

Abbesses and convent of late medieval Buchau actively consolidated their institution's manorial and feudal authorities through the acquisition of further lands and the intensified exercise of the abbesses' judicial rights. Also economically, Buchau was more proactive than the late medieval Fraumünster. In the fifteenth century, the vast majority of the dues rendered to the abbey by both its serfs and free peasants were paid in cash; and payments in kind only played a minor role.[58] The abbey thus successfully transitioned into the new economic order. Moreover, throughout the fifteenth century, Buchau had consolidated and even increased the abbey's authority. By 1500, the abbess appointed 11 priests, exercised jurisdiction over 40 farmsteads, six villages, and owned the advocateship of three towns by the late fifteenth century (Figure 3.4).[59]

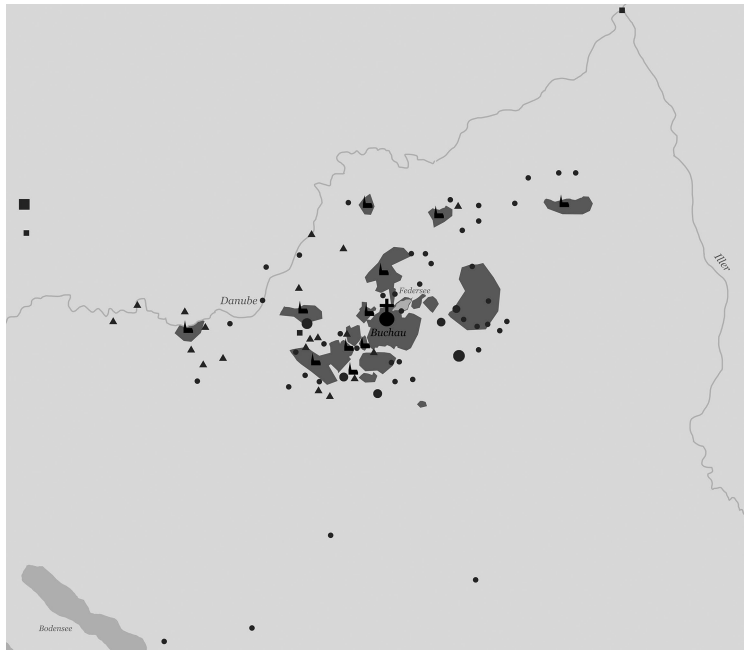

Figure 3.4 Buchau's patrimony in the fifteenth century with *jus patronatus*. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

Although Buchau successfully consolidated its authority throughout the fifteenth century, the area where the abbey exercised secular authority remained restraint. This was owed to the structural situation in Upper Swabia discussed earlier. The density of urban and monastic centers stymied the expansion of the territorial influence of any one of them. Whereas the possibilities of geographical expansion were limited, local institutions could focus on consolidating their territorial authority within their respective setting – and in this, the abbesses and convents of Buchau succeeded. Buchau's fifteenth-century abbesses, members of the powerful Swabian aristocratic families of Gundelfingen, Montfort, and Werdenburg, were particularly able managers – it was during their administration that Buchau saw its economic and territorial comeback.[60] Of course, Buchau's development was not a linear path to success. Unsurprisingly for an institution with more than 700 years of history by 1500, Buchau had seen a great number of internal and external challenges, most of which this chapter has only mentioned in passing.[61] But Buchau's remarkable territorial and economic resurrection in the fifteenth century testifies to its capable long-term and highly circumspect governments. This chapter's conclusion will revisit the factors that led to Buchau's success. But first, we will turn to Notre-Dame de Soissons, whose late medieval development is the most impressive of the three institutions under discussion.

Notre-Dame de Soissons

Early Notre-Dame de Soissons was more comparable to Fraumünster than to Buchau, as both institutions were endowed with vast territorial possessions. However, contrary to Fraumünster, Notre-Dame's early patrimony did not form a connected territory (Figure 3.5). As discussed in the previous chapter, a bulk of the abbey's possessions lay at a great distance from Soissons, in the Rhineland – seven fiefs in Alsace, a village in the lands of Worms, and 59 farmsteads near Cologne.[62] About 350 km separate Soissons and Cologne. Even on modern roads, travelling this distance by foot would take more than 70 hours (according to Google Maps). In medieval Europe, with its unpaved and unsafe roads, travelling such great distances took much longer and came with many risks, and it therefore complicated effective administration. Despite these vast distances and the challenges that came with them, Notre-Dame only alienated its eastern patrimony after the twelfth century, at which point they disappeared from the abbey's archives.[63] More interesting than the fact that these distant possessions were eventually sold is the time frame when this happened – presumably at some point during the thirteenth century.

The thirteenth century was a turning point for Notre-Dame's manorial and seigneurial administration, and this turning point has left ample traces in the abbey's cartulary. At the time, Notre-Dame's abbesses intensified their traditionally active politics of territorialization. Already in the centuries following its foundation, the abbey had acquired more dominions. Between the ninth and the mid-thirteenth centuries, Notre-Dame obtained a total of 15 seigneuries, more than doubling its manorial possessions from the original 12 to 27.[64] Although the exact dates of their respective acquisition are uncertain,

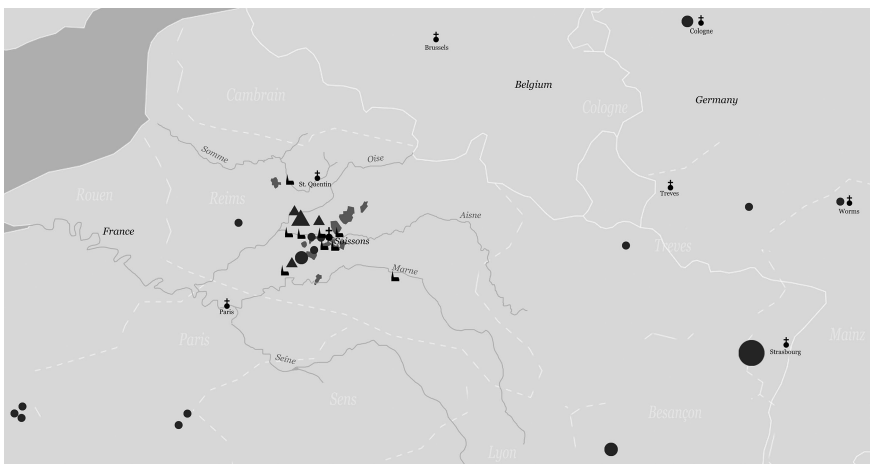

Figure 3.5 Notre-Dame's ninth-century possessions according to the confirmation by Charles the Bald (858). Map design: Agnes Schormann.

we can establish a rough timeline from royal and papal confirmations and other charters. In 858, Charles the Bald confirmed the abbey's original 12 seigneuries. In 1147, a papal confirmation of the abbey's possessions by Eugene III lists ten new seigneuries in addition to those confirmed by Charles three centuries earlier. Several charters, dating between 1187 and 1240 and concerning purchases and tithe rights inform us about the abbey's ownership of five further seigneuries, namely Bassevelle, Coupru, Mercin, Vaux, and Saconin (Figure 3.6) – establishing their final number at 27 by the mid-thirteenth century.[65]

Because of the many regional differences, there is no universal definition of *seigneurie*. Most generally, a seigneurie is a territory under the authority of a given person or institution.[66] In the cases of Notre-Dame and the other institutions discussed here, a seigneurie designates a territory comprising a number of different structures such as arable land, mills, ponds, or forests. This territory, which can vary in size from a few square kilometers to several hundred square kilometers, was generally under the administration of a mayor who, in turn, was appointed by and accountable to the abbess. Within its seigneurie, Notre-Dame enjoyed a number of legal prerogatives, including jurisdiction, which in all but two cases comprised the highest penal authority of wielding capital punishment.[67] Abbatial high justice mostly remained legal theory, however. In practice, Notre-Dame's abbesses appointed judges instead of sitting court themselves. The abbesses also had the right to pardon sentenced criminals, and that was a prerogative Notre-Dame's abbesses repeatedly availed themselves of.[68] In at least three seigneuries, Notre-Dame's abbesses also chose the *advocatus*, and in two she had the status of viscountess – and thus enjoyed the highest secular authority.[69]

Abbatial authority was not limited to secular matters. Of the total 19 parishes where the abbess appointed the priest through her *jus patronatus*, seven were located within Notre-Dame's own seigneuries (Figure 3.6).[70] In those seigneuries, where the abbess had both seigneurial and ecclesiastical prerogatives, her authority was the most comprehensive: she wielded the legislative, judicial, and executive powers, and through choosing the parish priests, she also assumed spiritual responsibility for her subjects. Regarding the comprehensiveness of abbatial authority, Notre-Dame's abbesses were as powerful as other seigneurs. Indeed, in certain regards, they were even more powerful, as lay seigneurs rarely nominated parish priests.

While Notre-Dame's cartulary sheds only spotty light on the life and administration at the abbey, it is an unusually rich source when it comes to Notre-Dame's economic and territorial activities. Beginning in the waning twelfth century and continuing all through the thirteenth, Notre-Dame pursued a remarkably active politics of territorialization, at the end of which the abbey stood at the head of connected seigneuries which formed clusters of territorial and spiritual authority (Figure 3.6). Moreover, the nuns of Notre-Dame sought to connect their seigneurial lands also within. Within each seigneury, they acquired land parcel after parcel, purchased neighboring houses

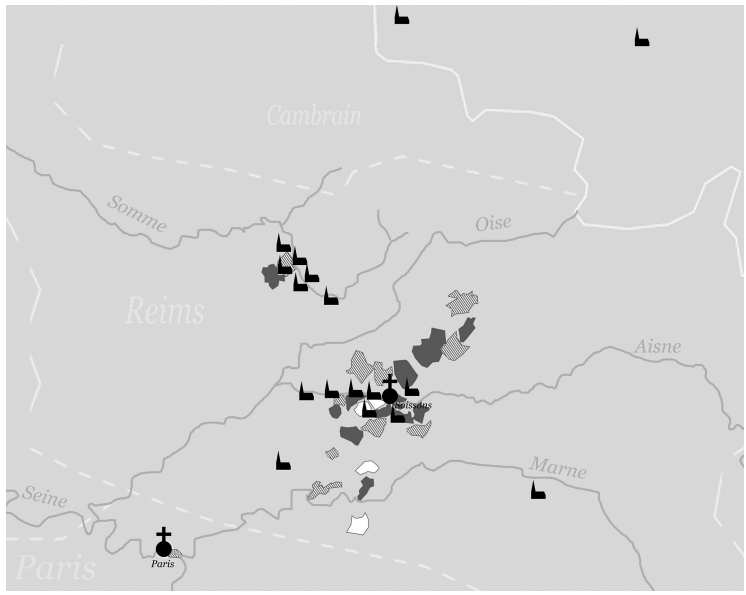

Figure 3.6 Notre-Dame's seigneuries and churches with *jus patronatus*. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

and farmsteads, and thus consolidated their authority within them as they gradually established the abbey as the only landowner.

Among Notre-Dame's territorializing abbesses, Odeline de Trachy (1256–1273) is particularly noteworthy. Odeline came to the abbacy as a compromise. The election of her predecessor, Agnes of Cherisy (1236–1256), had caused a stir, as Agnes was the third consecutive member of the powerful Cherisy-Bazoches family who climbed the abbatial throne. Fearing that the family would gain too much influence over the abbey, the nuns only accepted Agnes, after the latter made a significant concession to the convent. In 1239, the convent – that is the body of nuns eligible to vote in the chapter – received its own seal. Henceforth, the convent's seal was required in addition to the abbatial seal for all contracts pertaining to the abbey's temporalities. As at Buchau, also Notre-Dame's convent thus secured itself a seat at the table when it came to patrimonial decisions.[71] While the prerequisite of the convent's consent to important decisions effectively limited abbatial rule, the introduction of this system of checks and balances did not impede Notre-Dame's consolidation of territorial power. If anything, it helped secure it, as the consent of both abbess and chapter was necessary for any major acquisition (or sale), curbing potential excesses. Despite securing the rights of codetermination, the convent still wanted to avoid a Cherisy-Bazoches monopoly. Thus, after her death in 1256, they elected Odeline de Trachy rather than another member of the Cherisy-Bazoches family. Although a compromise

which briefly interrupted the Cherisy-Bazoches rule of the abbey, Odeline's abbacy was central to the consolidation of Notre-Dame's territories.[72]

The abbey's cartulary lists 31 acquisitions during Odeline's tenure alone, ten of them added lands within the seigneurie of Chaudun. By far, the biggest purchase was that of a 360-*arpens*-sized forest in 1270.[73] Three hundred and sixty *arpens* are about 180 ha – or roughly the equivalent of 180 soccer fields. The possibility to make such a large acquisition was rare. And it was expensive. The price for the forest of Secannoy was at 4,100 *livres* – an impressive sum that even a wealthy abbey, such as Notre-Dame, was not readily able to pay all at once. To obtain the forest nonetheless, Notre-Dame joined forces with the monks of St.-Jean-de-Vigne, another wealthy Benedictine monastery in Soissons. Together, the two abbeys bought the forest, and all rights that went with it, from Raoul de Soissons. Raoul, brother of the count of Soissons, made the sale so that he could follow his king to the Holy Land, in what would later be known as the Eighth Crusade.[74] Crusading was expensive, and Raoul needed the money, while Notre-Dame saw the opportunity to expand their seigneurie of Chaudun. Moreover, the forest of Secannoy was an investment that would yield regular income from wood and hunting rights that the two abbeys divided among themselves.[75]

Notre-Dame's acquisitions were rarely of such an impressive size, however. For the most part, abbess and convent bought smaller units such as fields, ovens, and rights over individual roads. More typical were the purchases of a grange from the monks of St.-Jean-de-Vignes in 1261[76] or that of several small units of land bought from local landowners, often adjacent to fields already in the abbey's possession.[77] As in Chaudun, Odeline and her convent also acted in the seigneuries of Jaignes, Changy, and Ressons. Here, they purchased, among other things, nine *arpents* (about 4.5 ha) of land located in their censive, a manor with its arable land; pieces of land, including their *cens*, that is, the annual land rent; or just varying pieces of arable land, along with the roads connecting individual seigneuries and land holdings.[78]

Evidently, the objective of these endeavors was to gradually and lastingly establish a monopoly of possession and authority over all the lands, tithes, censes, and other revenues within the abbey's seigneuries. If the abbey was the only land proprietor, the only one collecting tithes and censes, the only owner of the local infrastructure such as mills and ovens, then Notre-Dame was consequently the undisputed lord over their seigneuries and all of their parts. Although Notre-Dame's territorialization policy peaked during the abbacy of Odeline de Trachy, it was a long-term strategy that abbesses before and after Odeline also pursued, spanning the entire thirteenth century and beyond.[79] As a result of this multigenerational effort, the abbey established a network of fairly connected seigneuries, churches, and demesnes in which Notre-Dame collected a variety of revenues, appointed priests, and exercised justice in a radius of roughly 60–65 km around Soissons (Figure 3.7).

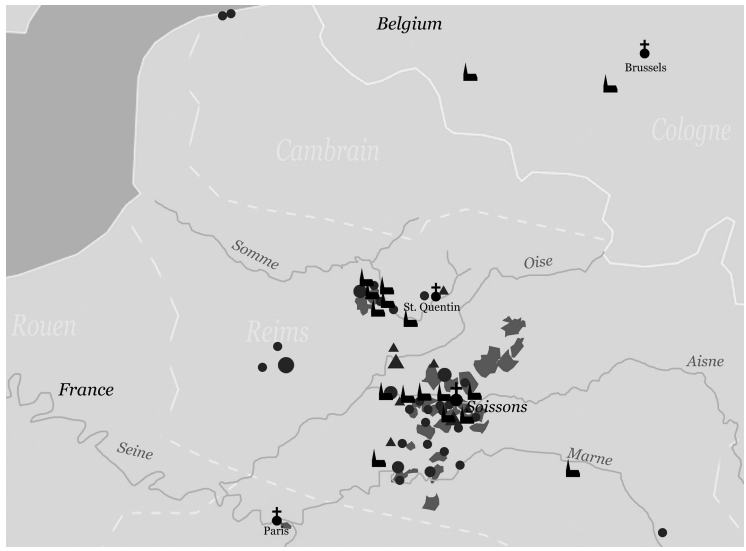

Figure 3.7 Notre-Dame's patrimony in the late fourteenth century. The vast majority of the abbey's possessions were located in the vicinity of Soissons. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

In terms of structural similarities, Notre-Dame shared more traits with Fraumünster than with Buchau. This is true regarding the size of their patrimony, their rivalries with local potentates, and their general economic set-up. Similar to Fraumünster, Notre-Dame continued to collect a significant part of its rents in kind in the late Middle Ages. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these included hundreds of herrings, several hundred liters of wine, cakes, eggs, and of course, large quantities of grain.[80] However, contrary to Fraumünster, Notre-Dame began to diversify its revenues in the thirteenth century by investing in the city of Soissons to increase their regular monetary income. Beginning in the 1240s, that is during the tenure of Agnes de Cherisy (1236–1256) and reaching a peak in the late thirteenth century, Notre-Dame started to purchase rents.

A typical example for such a rent agreement is that between Robert and Izabelle Le Pignier and the abbey. In 1281, Robert and Izabelle sold 20 *sous* of perpetual annual rent to the abbess and convent of Notre-Dame.[81] The price for this sale was at ten *livres*. In other words, the couple received a one-time payment of ten *livres* in cash from the abbey and in return, they agreed to pay Notre-Dame 20 *sous* annually. Twenty *sous* are the equivalent of one *livre*. That is, after ten years of annual payments from Izabelle and Robert, the convent broke even, and from year 11 on, Notre-Dame made a profit.[82] The medieval system of selling and buying rents was similar to taking out a loan from a modern bank. Although de facto generating an interest, the rent

economy did not qualify as money lending and therefore it did not violate its canonical ban.[83] Throughout the later Middle Ages, monasteries all over Europe came to use this form of investment widely, as Chapter 5 will discuss in greater detail.

For Notre-Dame, rents were a means to diversify the abbey's economic portfolio rather than a major source of income. The cartulary contains only 49 entries for rents. However, the actual number was probably higher as only select rents would have been included in the cartulary when it was first assembled, whereas the majority of rents would have been registered in specific account books.[84] Most of the rents were paid in money, but a mixture of *naturalia* and money was also common. Thus, Jean, provost of Notre-Dame's seigneurie of Charly, sold Notre-Dame for 105 *livres* and 10 *sous* annual rent of three *livres*, 12 *rasures* of oats, 24 loaves of bread, 3 *setiers* (about 400 L) of wine, and 6 chickens.[85]

In addition to rents, late medieval Notre-Dame acquired houses in Soissons. Since its foundation, Notre-Dame had owned houses in the city – the charter of Charles the Bald mentioned 12 in 858, but their number grew over the centuries.[86] Abbesses and convent seem to have followed a strategy – acquiring as many houses as possible in their *quartier* of Notre-Dame.[87] The abbacies of Adée de Bazoches (1273–1282) and Beatrix de Martinmont (1283–1296) are particularly noteworthy in this regard. Between 1280 and 1294, Notre-Dame bought five houses, all located in the censive and jurisdiction of the abbey within the town of Soissons.[88] Owning houses within Soissons not only secured a regular monetary income for the abbey, which would lease them, but there was also a territorial objective for Notre-Dame's venture in real estate. Purchasing houses in the abbey's quarter followed the same rationale as buying land parcels within the abbey's seigneuries: to consolidate the abbey's authority in areas under its jurisdiction. In both cases, Notre-Dame sought to protect its own interests and keep at bay its powerful neighbors who would have certainly been interested in expanding their own influence if they saw the chance.

Unlike Buchau, but again similar to Fraumünster, Notre-Dame was only one of several powerful actors in their town. An episcopal seat since the fourth century, the bishop's authority naturally stretched far beyond the part of Soissons directly under his jurisdiction.[89] Soissons had likewise long played an important role politically. Two Carolingians, namely Pepin the Short and his son Carloman, were elected kings there in 751 and 768, respectively.[90] When the later Capetian kings shifted their attention toward Paris in the late tenth century, the counts of Soissons filled the local political void, similar to the dukes of Zähringen in Zurich.[91] By the twelfth century, the count and the bishop had become the dominant figures of the flourishing city, while Notre-Dame settled for third place. The city's commune, which had its formal origins in the twelfth century, also sought influence, but the triad of bishop, duke, and abbey made sure they never succeeded to obtain much political weight.[92]

Bishop, count, and abbess followed similar tactics to secure their respective authority within Soissons.[93] They consolidated their areas of influence

within the city and beyond through territorial possessions striving to create monopolies of power wherever possible. Within late medieval Soissons, the bishop controlled the quarter south and north of his cathedral, the count administered the northeast of the city, while Notre-Dame governed the *quartier de Notre-Dame* located in the southeast.[94] Like the bishop's quarter, also that belonging to Notre-Dame was an enclosed one, walled and independent from the rest of the city. The *quartier de Notre-Dame* had its own administration – under the authority of the abbess, who wielded all three degrees of justice – a hospital, a market hall, and several chaplaincies.[95] The abbey's quarter was a town within the town, so to speak, one whose rights the abbess watched over and knew to consolidate. Despite the various challenges that both the abbey and the region at large witnessed throughout the Middle Ages, Notre-Dame prevailed. The abbey not only maintained its independence from rivals, but, as this chapter has shown, consolidated and even increased its bases of power during the late Middle Ages.[96] And until the abbey's dissolution during the French Revolution, Notre-Dame would remain a wealthy and powerful actor in the Soissonais region.

Factors of Decline and Success: A First Assessment

As already declared in the chapter's introduction, each of the three convents reached the first tier of success. They all survived into the late Middle Ages, and their patrimonies continued to provide their communities with sufficient income to maintain a high standard of living. However, the evolution of the convents' economy and secular authority differed markedly. Naturally, structural factors played an important role for the possibilities of a convent's long-term territorial development. The relative density of towns and monastic institutions in upper Swabia limited the possibility of Buchau's expansion, whereas both Fraumünster and Notre-Dame were confronted with powerful local actors striving to expand their own areas of influence at the cost of the respective convent. In the face of such local rivalries, the convents had to develop proactive policies that were circumspect of the changing world around them. Buchau did so primarily by forging a number of parallel alliances with bishops, neighboring towns, or the Council of Basel. While not discussed in detail, Notre-Dame also forged alliances, primarily with the rivals of its rivals, that is, the bishops of Rheims and the kings of France.[97] But most importantly, the abbeys actively pursued policies of territorialization within its seigneuries and, in the case of Notre-Dame, its *quartier*. A means to ensure that no rivals would undermine the abbey's authority and economic foundation, which, as was typical for a manorial and feudal institution, remained firmly rooted in the grounds it owned.

In addition to keeping ambitious neighbors in check, a crucial factor for a monastery's long-term success was to ensure its enduring economic soundness. While territorial possession and the revenues these generated remained a crucial pillar of both income and authority for all of these institutions (and for late medieval society at large), institutions of early medieval origin had

to adapt to the growing importance of the monetized economy in the late Middle Ages. Buchau and Notre-Dame did so in different ways. As of the thirteenth century, Buchau shifted to collecting its revenues primarily in cash. Of the three institutions discussed here, Buchau's economic adaptation was the most complete. Notre-Dame, by contrast, gradually diversified its economic portfolio. As the abbey's patrimony was much larger than Buchau's, a complete switch to monetary dues would have been hardly feasible for Notre-Dame.

Thus, in addition to collecting revenues in the form of grain, wine, and livestock, Notre-Dame began to invest in a number of money-generating ventures. These were generally of two kinds: (1) houses in Soissons, which the abbey could lease to individuals or artisans, and (2) annual rents the convent purchased. These two types of investment – realty and rents – were typical financial pillars for late medieval monasteries. The regular cash flow into Buchau and Notre-Dame made it easier for these institutions to pay for the periodically necessary constructions without accumulating crippling debts or having to sell parts of their patrimony and thus gradually diminishing their economic and authoritative foundations.[98]

At Fraumünster, the situation evolved differently. Here, abbesses and convent omitted large-scale investments into new resources and gradually leased out their most profitable ones, such as their rights of coinage, customs, or *Fertigungen*. To maintain the convent's aristocratic standard of living or to finance construction work at and around the abbey, abbess and convent had to repeatedly sell parts of Fraumünster's territorial patrimony. This gradually diminished the institution's basis of power and income. The case of Fraumünster is also a good example for the pivotal importance of maintaining circumspect relations with local political actors, which the late medieval abbesses and convent of Fraumünster ignored at their own peril. Fraumünster's twelfth-century abbesses had been aware of this, and they carefully circumvented their Zähringen-rivals whenever possible and thus successfully avoided dependency on them. Later abbesses were less circumspect, and they failed to recognize the rising citizenry as potential rivals. Whether this was the result of aristocratic arrogance, overestimating their authority over their *ministeriales*, or the result of underestimating the importance of constantly securing one's authority is impossible to say. However, by allowing the commune's influence to grow unchecked and making the citizenry the customary buyers of its regalia and lands, Fraumünster unwittingly contributed to its own decline.

In addition to maintaining economic independence and being circumspect of rivals, a number of soft factors were also determining. Such factors included internal peace and a lasting identification of convent members with their respective institution. It is important to understand these factors as relative rather than absolute. Thus, one should not imagine "internal peace" as the general absence of conflicts. All three institutions saw conflicts, especially between abbess and chapter, along with contested elections. However, there

were important differences between the destructive conflicts at Fraumünster and those at Notre-Dame and Buchau. Those in Buchau and Notre-Dame eventually granted the respective chapters rights of codetermination in important decisions and allowed for internal checks-and-balances which benefitted the institutions in the long run. At Fraumünster, on the other hand, convent and abbess fought about money, chose their allies unwisely and shortsightedly, and tended to follow their individual agendas rather than act in the interest of the institution as a whole.

To conclude both this chapter and this first assessment, we can say that external structures played an important role for the long-term evolution of an institution. Location and geography could and did put limits on growth and bring about hardships that individuals could not influence. However, as influential as such structural aspects were, they did not determine an institution's long-term success or decline. Rather, the collective actors of the respective institutions and their actions did. The example of Fraumünster has shown this most clearly. From the outset, this institution was built up to be a regional center of power. It disposed of a connected territory from the beginning, along with far-ranging manorial and regal rights. And yet, poor management skills and shortsightedness caused the powerful abbey's decline in the second half of the fourteenth century, a decline that began at a time when Fraumünster would have required proactive leadership seeking to adapt the abbey's economic foundations to match the period's changing economic and political structures. The successful adaptations of such structurally diverse institutions as Notre-Dame and Buchau on the other hand show the scope of agency that abbesses and convents had. Moreover, these two examples also show that the late Middle Ages were by no means a period of female monastic decline, nor one of general economic hardship for territorial institutions of early medieval origin.

Notes

1 Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 16.
2 Berthold II obtained the position in a compromise with Frederick I of Hohenstaufen with whom he was competing for the title of Duke of Swabia at the time. Frederick I received the ducal title and Berthold the imperial bailiwick. Karl Schmid, "Zürich und der staufisch-zähringische Ausgleich 1098," in: *Die Zähringer. Schweizer Vorträge und neue Forschungen. Veröffentlichungen der Zähringer-Ausstellung III*, ed. Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke Verlag, 1990), 49–79.
3 Claudia Moddelmog and Andreas Motschi, "Die Zähringer in Zürich," *Mittelalter: Zeitschrift des Schweizerischen Burgenvereins* 23, no. 3 (2018): 138.
4 The foundation of the so-called "Zähringerstädte" was a complex process beyond the scope of the present discussion. For an overview of the state of scholarship, see Thomas Zotz, "Von Zürich 1098 bis Breisach 1198. Zum Stellenwert der Städte für die Herrschaft der Zähringer im Südwesten des Regnum Teutonicum und in Burgund," in: *Stadtgründung und Stadtplanung—Freiburg im Mittelalter. Fondation et planification urbaine—Fribourg au moyen âge*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schmidt (Wien, Zürich, and Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 35–37; and Armand Baeriswyl,

"Gewachsen oder gegründet? Archäologische Erkenntnisse zur Entstehung und Entwicklung von 'Zähringerstädten' im Mittelalter," in: Schmidt (ed.), *Stadtgründung*, 61–78. A map of the main trade routes of medieval Switzerland can be found here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schweiz_MA_Verkehr.svg. The map is based on those in Jörg Rentsch, Dominik Sauerländer, and Ernst Bruckmüller (eds.), *Putzger. Historischer Weltatlas, Schweizer Ausgabe* (Berlin: Cornlesen Verlag, 2004), 69; 73; and in Hektor Ammann and Karl Schib (eds.), *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz* (Aarau: Verlag Sauerländer, 1951), 17.

5 Bruno Meier, *Ein Königshaus aus der Schweiz. Die Habsburger, der Aargau und die Eidgenossenschaft im Mittelalter* (Baden: hier + jetzt, 2008), 11–12.

6 This was especially true for legal matters where they had recourse to the bishop of Constance rather than turning to the ecclesiastical advocates; Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 35; and Michael Mazke, "Siegel und Münzen der Zähringer," in: *Die Zähringer: Rang und Herrschaft um 1200*, ed. Jürgen Dendorfer, Heinz Krieg, and R. Johanna Regnath (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2018), 287–289.

7 The sources are not clear on this. However, Steinmann argued that it seems most likely that the abbesses appointed or at least selected the advocates, as they were often recruited from amongst the abbesses' *ministeriales* after 1218; Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 46.

8 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 31.

9 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 33; 48; and Thomas Lau, *Kleine Geschichte Zürichs* (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2012), 25. Also located on the right bank was the Grossmünster, whose canons also strove for more influence and vied with the Fraumünster for first rank in Zurich. This rivalry led to a disaster in 1375, when the heads of Fraumünster and Grossmünster met at the Kornmarkt at Pentecost for the traditional procession. Neither the abbess nor the provost was ready to make way for the other to lead the precession and a backlog of the many members of the procession crowding on a nearby bridge. Overloaded, the bridge collapsed and eight people drowned; Lau, *Kleine Geschichte*, 21. In the end, while the Grossmünster became the theological center of Zurich's Reformation, it was the citizens who finally prevailed and took charge of the city.

10 *Urkundenanhang*, charter 505; and Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 43.

11 The source edition of Georg von Wyss contains 11 leasing contracts for coinage rights between 1238 and 1415; *Urkundenanhang*, charters 227, 329, 427, 436, 437, 440, 441, 449, 452, 457, 505; four concern the leasing of the rights to collect dues; *Urkundenanhang*, charters 505, 448, 474, 456.

12 Thus, from the thirteenth century, the right to collect dues from merchandise entering the city de facto came to rest with Zurich's city council; *Urkundenanhang*, charters 456, 474.

13 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 51. There are many examples of such transactions, for example, during the abbacy of Elisabeth von Wetzikon (1270–1298); see, for example, von Wyss, *Urkundenanhang*, charters 218, 225, 248 for such donations to the convents of Oetenbach and Seldenau.

14 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 51–61.

15 Lau, *Kleine Geschichte*, 26.

16 Lau, *Kleine Geschichte*, 26–28; and Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 79.

17 von Wyss, *Urkundenanhang*, charter 412. One *scheffel* measured about 21 liters in Zurich; Anne-Marie Dubler, *Masse und Gewichte im Staat Luzern und in der alten Eidgenossenschaft* (Luzern: Rex Verlag, 1975), 38–39.

18 One *malter* measured about 330 liters in Zurich; Dubler, *Masse und Gewichte*, 74; and von Wyss, *Urkundenanhang*, charter 412.

19 1 pound = 20 shilling; 1 shilling = 12 pennies.

20 Of course, this was true for all feudal institutions. They all needed to find answers to address these challenges.

21 The abbey's later economic history has been thoroughly investigated in Christa Köppel's dissertation. Christa Köppel, *Von der Äbtissin zu den gnädigen Herren. Untersuchungen zu Wirtschaft und Verwaltung der Fraumünsterabtei und des Fraumünsteramtes in Zürich 1418–1549* (Zürich: Chronos, 1991).
22 Karl-Friedrich Krieger, *Die Habsburger im Mittelalter. Von Rudolf I. bis Friedrich III* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994), 118–121; and Köppel, *Von der Äbtissin*, 17–18.
23 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 83–84; and Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 22.
24 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 81; and Barraud Wiener, "Diesseits," 18.
25 Elisabeth von Wetzikon (1270–1298), who was the most powerful among the later Fraumünster abbesses, sold several tithes to help finance the reconstruction of the square in front of the abbey and, of course, to pay the abbey's debt; von Wyss, *Urkundenanhang*, charter 230. The objective of the square's reconstruction was to have a better stage for the ceremonies of royal visits; Dölf Wild, "Bühne für Äbtissin und König. Der Zürcher Münsterhof um 1300," in: *Das Fraumünster in Zürich: Von der Königsabtei zur Stadtkirche*, ed. Peter Niederhäuser and Dölf Wild (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2012), 114–117.
26 *Urkundenanhang*, charter 424.
27 The charter explicitly states that debts are the reason for selling; *Urkundenanhang*, charter 424.
28 *Urkundenanhang*, charters 190, 233, 253, 262, 355, 385, 412, 414.
29 Lau, *Kleine Geschichte*, 28.
30 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 82; and von Wyss, *Geschichte der Abtei Zürich*, 102.
31 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 82; and *Urkundenanhang*, charter 445.
32 When Beatrix refused to leave town, the council did not dare to use force; Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 82.
33 The council intervened repeatedly during the fifteenth century especially to address the abbey's continued financial difficulties, sending *pfleger* to oversee the abbey's finances; Köppel, *Von der Äbtissin*, 71–82.
34 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 87; and Köppel, *Von der Äbtissin*, 71–82.
35 Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 83.
36 The *topos* of late medieval monastic decline has a long tradition. See, among others, Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), especially 353–382; Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les Moines au Temps des Réformes. France (1480–1560)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2001), 225–232; and Steinmann, *Benediktinerinnenabtei*, 75.
37 For a map of the primary trading roads in southwest Germany, see Meinrad Schaab, «Geleitstraßen um 1550», in *Historischer Atlas von Baden-Württemberg. Erläuterungen*, 9. Online: https://www.leo-bw.de/media/kgl_atlas/current/delivered/pdf/HABW_10_1.pdf.
38 Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter, 1250–1500: Stadtgesellschaft, Recht, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988), 28.
39 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 55.
40 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 55.
41 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 55–56.
42 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 55.
43 StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 6. *Regesten 819–1500*, charter 452; and Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 56.
44 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 56.
45 Just as Fraumünster, also Buchau Abbey was a small convent, comprising up to 12 women and 4 canons. However, these numbers varied, and in the late Middle Ages, the number of residents was often lower. On average, there seem to have

been only two canons, and also the number of canonesses was often below the marker of 12; Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 89–90.

46 StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 6. *Regesten 819–1500*, charter 19.

47 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 97.

48 For a map of Buchau's early medieval possessions, see https://rulingwomen.ch/topographien-der-macht/.

49 Buchau's 1477 urbarium has not been edited. It is held by the Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, StAS Dep. 30/14 T 2 Nr. 1615.

50 Charters of such sales can be found in, among others, Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 200–206; 208–209; 211; *Württembergisches Urkundenbuch Online Band V*., Nr. 1366; Stand 17. January 2016 (http://www.wubonline.de/?wub=2018); StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 2; *Regesten 819–1500*, charters 6, 148.

51 Regarding the question as to whether Buchau faced economic hardship in the thirteenth century, see Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 86–88.

52 See note 59 for the complete list.

53 These mainly consisted of several fields and farmsteads, mentioned in StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 6. Regesten 819–1500, charters 27, 47, 83, 121, 135, 405, 448, 472, 927.

54 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 84.

55 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 85.

56 StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 6; *Regesten 819–1500*, charter 318.

57 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 92; *Regesten 819–1500*, charter 618 grants the abbess the right to convene a court comprising the abbey's 12 mayors along with the 12 judged from Buchau. Examples for cases where the abbess ruled herself can be found in *Regesten 819–1500*, charters 294, 295, 534, and 630. Examples of cases that abbesses presided over together with her council of mayors: *Regesten 819–1500*, charters 688, 701, 708, 746, 770, 841.

58 Less than half of Buchau's rents in the fifteenth-century charters mention payment in kind – usually in combination with money (75 out of a total of 167). Only 13 out of 167 entries mention payments purely in kind – usually in the form of grain and livestock. For payments in kind, see StAS Dep. 30/14 T 1 Nr. 6; *Regesten 819–1500*, charters 16, 21, 426, 432, 523, 580, 606, 607, 638, 725, 767, 876, 903.

59 The abbess of Buchau exercised jurisdiction over Buchau (partial), Assmannshardt, Attenweiler, Birkenhard, Brackenhofen, Braunenweiler, Bühl, Dietelhofen, Dietzenweiler, Dürnau, Einöde near Fronreute, Ellighofen, Ennetach, Frometsweiler, Fronstetten, Groth, Hagnaufurt, Hahnennest, Häusern, Hegheim, Kappel, Langenschemmern, Mietingen, Mittelbuch, Moosheim, Musbach, Oberwyler, Oggelshausen, Renhardsweiler, Reute, Riedhausen, Röhrwangen, Rüsseg, Schmalegg, Schweinhausen, Staffflangen, Stettberg, Straßberg, Tiefenbach, Ummendorf, Vollochmühle,Wifertsweiler, Willenhofen, Winkel, and Wolfhartsweiler. Buchau owned the advocateship of Kappel, Oberwyler, and Rüsseg. For complete source references, see database: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KTTSZ2.

60 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 226.

61 For more detailed insights into Buchau's history of events, see Bernhard Theil's extensively cited monograph; Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*.

62 A list of Notre-Dame's earliest possessions is found in the 858 confirmation of Charles the Bald; Ada H 1506, fol. 33r–v.

63 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 26–27.

64 In 1147, Matilde II de Toulouse (1143–1162) obtained a confirmation from Eugene III of Notre-Dame's possessions. In addition to those already mentioned in the 858 confirmation by Charles the Bald, the pope confirms the possession of Molinchart, Laffau, Colesy, Morsain, Chaudon, Chacrise, Jaignes, Bacheval, Noiseauland, and Chavigny; Ada H 1508, 50–51.

65 Of course, all of Notre-Dame's seigneuries also continue to be mentioned outside of royal and papal confirmations. The seigneuries depicted in Figure 3.7 were thus all still in Notre-Dame's possession in the late Middle Ages. The first mention of Bassevelle concerns tithes and dates from 1222; AdA H 1508, 165; Coupru is first mentioned in 1187 in a transaction confirming the juridical rights of the abbess; AdA H 1508, 179; Mercin-et-Vaux is first mentioned in 1213 in the context of the abbey purchasing a vineyard from the monks of Longpont; AdA H 1508, 254; and Saconin is first mentioned in 1240, equally in the context of a transaction with a neighboring abbey; AdA H 1508, 290.
66 A. Zangger, S. Grüninger, G. Egloff, B. Andenmatten, and G. Chiesi, "Grundherrschaft," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/008973/2013-10-01/.
67 In Jaignes, Notre-Dame only held low and middle justice; in Pargny, the abbey exercised high and half of middle justice; and in all other seigneuries, the abbey exercised all three degrees of justice.
68 See, for example, the pardoning of Henriet de Trois Fontaines in 1342; Ada H 1508, 73.
69 This was the case for Saconin, Pargny, and Charly; Ada H 1508, 289; 209; 169. She was viscountess of Saconin (Ada H 1508, 289) and Ressons (Ada H 1508, 305). However, considering the abbess' far-ranging juridical rights over Notre-Dame's seigneuries, it is probable that she at least influenced the choice of advocates of the other seigneuries also.
70 Notre-Dame exercised the *jus patronatus* in Courmelles, Morchain, and its affiliated church in Sommelens, Corcy, Couloisy, Chacrise, and Pargny; Ada H 1508, 4; 50–51; 209. As the abbey's cartulary is the only source that has come down to us, it is possible that other, now missing, documents testified to the abbatial right of appointing priests also in additional seigneuries.
71 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 183–185.
72 When Odeline chose to retire in 1273 due to her advanced age, the convent led to a draw: 32 votes fell for the abbey's treasurer, Marguerite de Canmenchon, and 34 votes for Adée de Bazoches. The nuns could not come to an agreement, and it took three years before Adée eventually secured the papal nomination with the help of her brother, Milon, bishop of Soissons; German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 197.
73 Ada H 1508, 192; 203–204; 207–209.
74 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 195.
75 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 195. Alas, we don't know how the two abbeys divided both administration and income from the forest amongst themselves.
76 Ada H 1508, 194–195.
77 In 1266, the abbey purchased 80 *essins* of land adjacent to their own property; Ada H 1508, 195–196; but smaller lands were also of interest to the convent. That same year, Notre-Dame bought three *essins* of land from "Henry, called Count of Croy, and his wife, Gilette"; Ada H 1508, 195. They also made such individual acquisitions in Chaudun; Ada H 1508, 196–197. All of them were acquired around the year 1266.
78 Ada H 1508, 186; Ada H 1508, 186–187; Ada H 1508, 186; Ada H 1508, 318–320; and German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, 193.
79 Odeline de Trachy's predecessor, Agnes de Cherisy, accounts for 14 entries in the cartulary, and her successor, Adée de Bazoches, for 13. For the acquisitions of Adée de Bazoches, see Ada H 1508, 65–66; 110; 172–173; 197–198; 260; for those of Agnes de Cherisy, see Ada H 1508, 63; 170; 180; 185; 192–194; 225–226; 243; 248.
80 AdA H 1508, 20; AdA H 1508, 26; AdA H 1508, 3.
81 AdA H 1508, 65.

82 Of course, this schematic explanation does not consider inflation. In times of monetary depreciation, which were common in the late Middle Ages, the time it took an institution to become profitable might have been longer. For the notoriously instable monetary economy, see the classical and posthumously published study of Marc Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1954).

83 Naturally, there was debate about the morality of the practice already in the Middle Ages, and medieval Church officials were quite aware that the rent economy did not actually differ from forbidden forms of usury. See, among others, Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Das kanonische Zinsverbot und seine theoretische und praktische Überwindung? Mitte 12. bis frühes 14. Jahrhundert," in: *Die römische Kurie und das Geld: Von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Maleczeck (Ostfildern: J. Thorbecke Verlag, 2018), 405–449; Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Christlicher Glaube und Ökonomie des Kredits im Spätmittelalter," in: *Ökonomische Glaubensfragen: Strukturen und Praktiken jüdischen und christlichen Kleinkredits im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet and Sven Rabeler (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018), 121–160; and R. Génestal, *Rôle des Monastères comme Etablissements de Crédit. Etudié en Normandie du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1901).

84 To my knowledge, no such account book has come down to us from Notre-Dame; thus, the only records of Notre-Dame's rent economy are found in the cartulary, which was compiled in two stages: the first, presumably in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the second in the mid-eighteenth century. Müller, *Le ms. ADA 1508*, 120–126.

85 AdA H 1508, 165.

86 AdA H 1506, fol. 33r–v.

87 A partial list can be found AdA H 1508, 40.

88 AdA H 1508, 65–66.

89 Dominique Roussel, *Soissons. Documents d'évaluation du patrimoine archéologique des villes de France* (Paris: Editions du patrimoine, 2002), 44.

90 Roussel, *Soissons*, 49.

91 Roussel, *Soissons*, 49.

92 Bourgin, *La commune de Soissons*, 23–34; 79–83.

93 Of course, Notre-Dame was not the only monastery in Soissons. However, intra muros, it was the most powerful one. St. Médard and St. Jean-des-Vignes, two further wealthy monasteries, were located outside the city walls – St. Jean to the south and St. Médard on the right bank of the Aisne River.

94 Roussel, *Soissons*, 55–57.

95 Roussel, *Soissons*, 57.

96 Throughout the Middle Ages, Soissons and the Soissonais experienced devastating wars. While not discussed here, these include Viking invasions, Ottonian conquests, and the Hundred Years' War, to list just the most famous ones.

97 The numerous conflicts Notre-Dame fought with bishops and counts testify to both the rivalries and NotreDame's turning to its rivals' rivals. For summaries of the conflicts that have left traces in the cartulary, see database: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KTTSZ2

98 This is not to say that Buchau and Notre-Dame did not have debts – they did, as did most premodern institutions. However, as opposed to Fraumünster, their debts were not so heavy as to cause them to have to alienate core assets in order to repay their creditors. For a historiographical overview on debt in the later Middle Ages, see Gabriela Signori, "Einleitung," in: *Prekäre Ökonomien. Schulden in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Konstanz and München: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2014), 7–14.

Part II

Monastic Economic Power in the Late Medieval City

4 Economic Strategists
Klingental in Basel I

The previous two chapters have engaged with early medieval foundations and inquired as to how they fared in the late medieval economy. Upon their foundation, early medieval convents were generally endowed with a territorial patrimony over which they exercised a number of manorial rights. In the later Middle Ages, this patrimony sometimes formed the basis of an active policy of territorialization. Similar to secular territorial lords, also abbesses and their convents sought to expand, affirm, and consolidate their areas of influence. Over the course of centuries, they not only attempted to enlarge the number of seigneuries, but also to establish economic and authoritative monopolies within their territories. At least, such tendencies can be observed among successful and economically able convents such as Notre-Dame and Buchau. While these manorial institutions could and did use their seigneurial prerogatives to effectively consolidate and even expand their territorial influence, they also needed to adjust to the significant political and economic changes in late medieval Europe.

The rise of cities – and with them, the citizenry – and the emergence of the monetized economy were some of the most significant challenges these intuitions, and the women who governed them, had to confront. The convents' traditional economic structure had been primarily agrarian. Landownership with vassals, tenants, or serfs who owed various degrees of services and different kinds of *naturalia* revenues were the pillars upon which the economy of these institutions had rested since the early Middle Ages. However, by the late Middle Ages, a solely territorial-agrarian set-up had become disadvantageous in a society increasingly dominated by a monetized urban economy. For institutions of early medieval origin to prevail in the long term, they had to diversify their economic portfolio. Buchau, a comparatively small convent – regarding both the size of its community and of its assets – shifted the majority of its economy from tithes paid in *naturalia* to revenues paid in money. Notre-Dame, a much larger institution than Buchau, diversified its economic portfolio and added monetary income through purchases of rent and realty. However, not all institutions succeeded in adapting and diversifying. Late medieval Fraumünster generated monetary income primarily through the

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sale of land and regalia. The abbey actively contributed to its economic and territorial decline in the fifteenth century through the gradual alienation of the very basis of its wealth.

If the previous two chapters have observed the long-term economic evolutions of convents of early medieval origin, the following two chapters will focus on a single monastic institution and its economic setup. Due to able financial investments, Klingental became the wealthiest of Basel's 15 monasteries. Founded in 1233 by a group of well-to-do women who wanted to embrace the monastic life, the community's first four decades saw a number of existential challenges. The convent, which originally established itself in rural Alsace, was forced to relocate twice to escape armed conflicts in their vicinity. After their initial settlement in Husseren became unsafe, they moved to Wehr in the Southern Black Forest, before they eventually sought the urban haven of Basel in 1274.

An unusually rich corpus of sources, comprising close to 3,000 charters, numerous account books, and two necrologies, shed light on Klingental's economic activities, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The documents reveal the convent's firm foothold in a number of economic ventures. As we will see, Klingental amassed a sizable patrimony of arable land during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On this land, the convent grew large quantities of grain and wine to both feed its community and to sell on the markets in and near Basel.[1] In addition to the levies Klingental collected from its agrarian possession, the convent collected various types of rents along with compensations for the liturgical commemoration the nuns practiced (Chapter 5). Klingental's comprehensive sources provide plentiful insights as to how a later monastic foundation successfully secured its long-term economic well-being, once more revealing female monastics as able financial managers. Because of its late medieval origin and the specific situation in Reformation-Basel, Klingental's sources are so plentiful that they allow for much more detailed insights into the convent's economic strategies than those of Buchau and Notre-Dame. This makes the study of Klingental particularly insightful, and it is the reason why two chapters are dedicated to this single nunnery.

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Divided into two sections, the first part of this chapter will engage with Klingental's urban environment and its early institutional history. Part 2 will take a closer look at Klingental's meticulous pursuit of acquiring an arable patrimony during the fourteenth century. In a comparatively densely populated region, it was not easy to amass clusters of arable land. And indeed, it was a long-term endeavor, taking Klingental the better part of the fourteenth century and much piece work to compile a sizable demesne. Both the effort and the money the convent invested in building its agricultural basis show the continuous importance of *naturalia* tithes also for late medieval urban institutions such as Klingental.

The Town: Basel in the Late Middle Ages

Settled since Roman times and episcopal seat since the early Middle Ages, medieval Basel was located on the Rhine on the borders of Burgundy, Alemannia, and Frankia.[2] By the late eleventh century, Basel had become an urban center, and Bishop Burkhard (r. 1072–1107) had the first city wall built which provided protection for the growing number of inhabitants.[3] Around that time, merchants from Basel are mentioned in charters issued as far away as Constance, suggesting both economic growth and trading activities.[4] The same is true for Basel's currency – more and qualitatively better coins were being minted, and by the twelfth century, the Basel penny (*Basler Pfennig*) was so commonly accepted in the region that other towns began to imitate it.[5]

In terms of monastic development, Basel was a late bloomer of sorts. In 1083, Bishop Burkhard founded the city's first monastery. St. Alban was located outside of the city walls and became the home of Cluniac monks.[6] Considering Burkhard's close ties to Henry IV during the early phase of the Investiture Controversy, his choice of installing a Cluniac community in Basel is at least interesting.[7] The canons of St. Leonard were the second monastic congregation to settle in Basel at some point between 1118 and 1133. If the town's monastic settlement had started slowly, it took up speed during the thirteenth century. In addition to chivalric orders, the new mendicants founded communities in Basel. By the late thirteenth century, the number of monastic houses had grown to 14, peaking at 15 with the arrival of the Carthusians in 1401.[8] This count does not include the Beguines, who did not form an official order, but who were plentifully represented in the Rhenish region, including Basel, which was home of 20 beginages in the fourteenth century.[9] By the late Middle Ages, the density of religious institutions was high – according to Werner Meyer, about 10% of Basel's population lived a monastic life of some sort.[10]

In terms of population, late medieval Basel had also become an important city by the standards of the time.[11] Based on fifteenth-century tax records, Hektor Ammann estimated the city's population diverged between 8,000 and 11,000 inhabitants.[12] This high fluctuation resulted from Basel housing the Council of Basel (1431–1449), which significantly increased the city's population for a prolonged period, the foundation of its university in 1450, and the city's role as a safe haven for many refugees from the wars that were endemic to Upper Alsace.[13] With an average of about 9,000 people, late medieval Basel was thus smaller than nearby Strasbourg, but significantly bigger than Zurich and Bern.[14]

Politically, Basel's later medieval history was marked by those struggles common to many late medieval towns. It had to deal with the realities ensuing from a number of local aristocratic families rivaling for domination. In the Basel region, those families were once again the powerful dukes of Zähringen (until 1218), the house of Hohenstaufen, and the counts of Habsburg. The death of Frederick II (1250) and the subsequent end of the Hohenstaufen

reign was followed by the so-called Great Interregnum (1250–1273), a period of quickly changing rulers that eventually saw the coronation of the first Habsburg king, Rudolf I (r. 1273–1291). When Rudolf was elected king in October 1273, his troops were in the process of besieging Basel. Rudolf and Basel's bishop, Henry III of Neuchâtel (r. 1263–1274), had long been at odds about their respective zones of influence, especially in Alsace and Breisgau.[15] However, feuding with the local count of Habsburg was different from rebelling against the king-elect of the Holy Roman Empire. Upon learning of Rudolf's election, Basel opened its city gates to the new king, who in return abandoned his objective of conquest.[16] To secure lasting peace, Henry III of Neuchâtel rendered Breisach, Neuchâtel, and Rheinfelden to the Empire. Rudolf's election effectively put an end to the territorialization efforts of the bishop of Basel, and it marked the beginning of the city's gradual transition from an episcopal to an imperial town.[17]

Internally, Basel's later medieval history saw the rise of the citizenry, guilds, and trade. Under Bishop Henry II of Thun (r. 1216–1238), the city's first bridge crossing the Rhine was built in 1225. The bridge henceforth facilitated regional and transregional trade toward the Gotthard route and the cities upstream such as Mainz and Cologne. Henry III of Neuchâtel in particular was important for Basel's urban development. The bishop fostered the city's growing artisanry, first allowing Basel's furriers and subsequently others to organize in guilds.[18] During Henry III's government, urban sources also started mentioning a council and referring to the *universitas civium*, the citizenry, which the bishop formally recognized.[19] During the thirteenth century, the rising citizenry did not yet pose a threat to episcopal authority. However, conflicts and rivalries between the two urban forces grew throughout the fourteenth century, eventually leading to Basel's de facto independence from episcopal rule in the 1390s.[20] Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Basel was a fast-growing and fast-changing city, where different elites strove for domination, where trade was on the rise, and where demographic growth was tangible in the fervent building activities on both banks of the Rhine. And it was this bristling urban environment of which the nuns of Klingental chose to become a part of when they relocated their convent to Basel in 1274.

The Institution: From Alsace to Basel

In 1274, the convent of Klingental moved to their third and final home. Their new convent building was erected on the right bank of the Rhine, in the fast-growing town of Kleinbasel. We know little about Kleinbasel's early history. Henry II of Thun granted the settlements the status of town sometime after 1220, and in 1392, Kleinbasel was incorporated into Basel.[21] In the early thirteenth century, Henry's interest in founding the town of Kleinbasel had been a strategic one. The settlement on the right bank was to serve as a base to regain influence over the Breisgau and the Black Forest, which Basel's bishops had lost to the House of Zähringen during the twelfth century.[22] Whereas the episcopal strive for territory eventually failed, Kleinbasel prospered.[23]

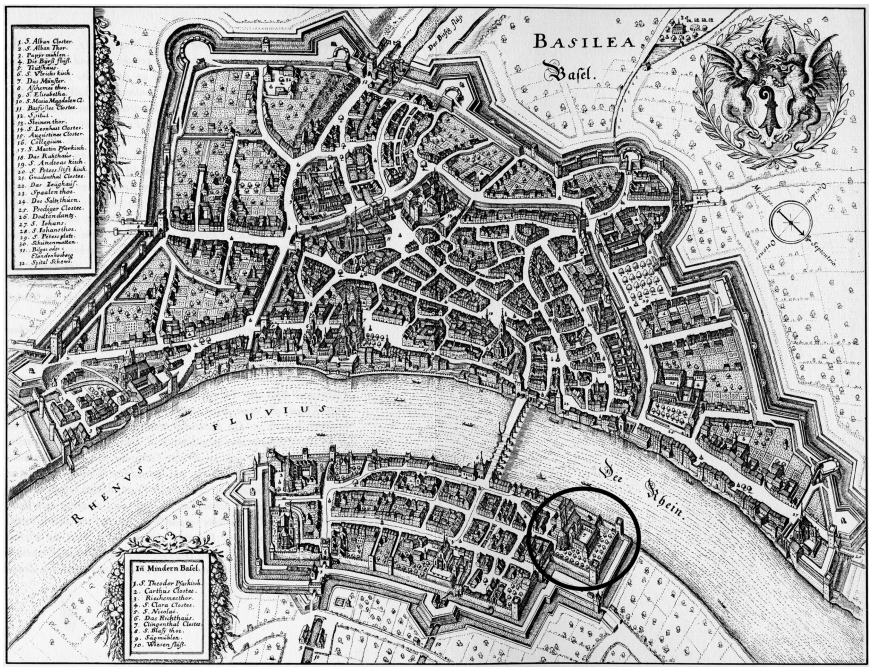

Figure 4.1 Map of Basel (Matthäus Merian, 1642) with Klingental.

The site of Klingental's convent was located about 150 m downstream from the bridge connecting Basel and Kleinbasel. In 1274, the nuns first moved into a small stone house, which they had acquired four years prior and which they had reconstructed to cater to the needs of their monastic community.[24] This first abode, later called *Kleines Klingental* (Klingental minor), was adjacent to the plot upon which the nuns' permanent home, the *Grosse Klingental* (Klingental maior), was built and which Matthäus Merian would render on his famous map of Basel almost four centuries later (Figure 4.1). The nuns and lay sisters transferred to the new, spacious cloister in the early fourteenth century, while the *Kleine Klingental* henceforth housed Klingental's lay brothers and pensioners.[25] Moreover, it remained in service as an administrative complex – it was the home of Klingental's *bursary* and *grainary*.

While Basel became the nuns' permanent home, it was not the place of the convent's foundation. Its origins lay 60 km northwest of the city in Alsace. There, a group of wealthy women, possibly widows, had decided to embrace the religious life in 1233. With the legal support of the bishops of Basel and Strasbourg, the women founded a convent at Husseren and subordinated themselves to the Dominican congregation of St. Marcus in Strasbourg. Like any new congregation, the women required spiritual guidance, and the nuns of St. Marcus dispatched sisters to Husseren to instruct the new nuns.[26] The young community prospered both religiously and economically. The 1240s

and the 1250s saw a number of land donations, and in 1246, Pope Innocent IV officially incorporated the convent into the Dominican Order.[27]

However, thirteenth-century Alsace was not a peaceful place, and the unending conflicts between the pope and the emperor were periodically fought out on a local scale.[28] When war broke out between the papal town of Rouffach and the imperial city of Colmar in the early 1250s, the young convent's existence was threatened.[29] Rouffach was located about 5 km south of Husseren and Colmar 14 km to the north – the nuns therefore found themselves quite literally between the fronts.[30] In 1253, the women decided to seek safer grounds and transferred their convent from Upper Alsace to Wehr in the southern Black Forest.[31] Wehr is situated in a valley on the Wehra River, about 30 km east of Basel. At this place, the local knight, Walter von Klingen, endowed the convent with five manses of land along with the *jus patronatus* for the parish church of Wehr.[32] In return, the nuns renamed their convent after their benefactor and their new valley location: Klingental.[33]

But also this new location turned out to be unsafe. In 1268, 15 years after the nuns' resettlement, the smoldering conflict between Basel's bishop, Henry III of Neuchâtel, and the future German king, Count Rudolf of Habsburg, worsened again.[34] As mentioned earlier, Henry and Rudolf had long rivaled for hegemony in the Breisgau and Jura regions. The conflict escalated when Henry rebuilt Werrach castle which overlooked the Habsburg town of Wehr. In 1272/1273, Rudolf of Habsburg conquered the castle and destroyed it.[35] It was presumably this renewed threat of war in their immediate vicinity that made the nuns decide to relocate once again – this time to Basel. Basel was the obvious choice; for one, because an urban *intra muros* settlement promised greater protection from the region's endemic warfare.[36] Moreover, the convent's move to the city meant shorter distances for the nuns' spiritual caregivers. Basel's Dominicans had assumed the nuns' *cura monialium* in 1259, and since then had been required to regularly travel the 30 km from Basel to Wehr.[37]

The women thoroughly prepared their move into the city. In 1270, four years before their relocation, the convent acquired three mills, a sawmill, and an unfinished stone house in Kleinbasel for 165 marks silver.[38] This was a significant purchase – not only in terms of its monetary value, but also in terms of establishing Klingental as an economic force in the still young town of Kleinbasel.[39] In 1273, the year before the convent moved, Klingental bought a number of farms in the region, and the nuns received half of the village of Kleinhünnigen as a gift in addition.[40] As we will see, once the convent was firmly settled, Klingental invested considerable amounts of money to acquire arable land in the area.

If the first four decades of the convent's existence had been challenging, the nuns' timing in relocating to Basel was nothing short of perfect. Basel was rapidly growing in the late thirteenth century, and the combination of readily available investment money and good economic instincts quickly made Klingental a leading economic player on both sides of the Rhine. Moreover,

as Habsburg loyals, the convent entered Basel in the victor's camp. Like their benefactor, Walter von Klingen, who had been a long-time ally of the Rudolf of Habsburg, also Klingental had chosen Rudolf's side during the conflict with Henry III of Neuchâtel.[41] With Rudolf's election in 1273, and when his close ally, Henry of Isny, become bishop of Basel two years later, the city as a whole became a Habsburg town.[42] Throughout Rudolf's reign, Klingental maintained close ties to the ruling couple. In 1277, Rudolf's wife, Anna, and six of her ladies-in-waiting spent the 40 days of Lent at Klingental.[43] However, the nuns did not solely tie their fate to that of the royal couple. In 1278, Klingental purchased Basel's citizenship.[44] The citizenship granted the convent comprehensive burgher rights and legal protection, and it concluded the process of establishing Klingental as an institution of Basel's upper society.

The Economic and Internal Structure

Klingental was not an aristocratic convent *per se*. However, the convent solely recruited from the upper social classes of the greater Basel region. At 100 gulden, the dowry was high, and therefore, only few families could afford to place their daughters at Klingental.[45] Those who could usually did so when their daughter(s) were still children. In average, the girls were between five and ten years old when they entered the convent.[46] The future nuns benefitted from several years of schooling before they took perpetual vows. At Klingental, each child lived with a "cloister mother" who was frequently a blood relative and who was responsible for raising her. Relationships between cloister mothers and their "daughters" appear to have been generally close. As adults, the former children often cared for their ailing cloister mothers and these often bequeathed their possessions, including their cloister cells, to their former wards.[47]

Although Klingental was a Dominican convent, and thus belonged to a mendicant order, the nuns never embraced an austere lifestyle. As was the case in many well-to-do monasteries of the period, Klingental's nuns had the right to own personal property. They dispensed of their money freely while alive and they were allowed to bequeath their possessions at the time of death, however, only within the convent community.[48] It was common for convent members to independently buy, sell, and lease land they owned as well as to grant loans as a means to increase their personal wealth.[49] While such practices were certainly far from the ideal of religious poverty that mendicant forefathers such as St. Dominic and St. Francis had had in mind, the situation at Klingental was not unusual for a late medieval convent – mendicant or Benedictine.[50]

Klingental's residents generally lived comfortably. In addition to their dowry, the women's families often paid them annual allowances.[51] The nun's personal wealth did not only comprise money and land, but also included various household goods, books, and liturgical objects, along with one or even several cloister cells. At Klingental, a nun did not automatically obtain

her own cell upon professing. Instead, the right to a cell was often inherited, frequently from her cloister mother or another relative.[52] If available, a professed nun was free to buy a cloister cell. The price for a "standard" cell was 20 gulden.[53] However, the price for a particularly spacious cell or one with a river view was higher.[54] The furnishing and decoration of each cell was left to the nun who owned it. A number of testaments and sales show that cells were furnished similar to apartments of Basel's upper class, containing beds, coffers, tapestries, silver tableware, white linen, and, of course, religious books.[55] Like cells, also beds and beddings were often bequeathed or sold among the nuns. The average price for a bed was 10 gulden.[56] Considering that this was half the price of an entire cell, we may assume the beds to have been rather exquisite.

Particularly wealthy and influential women often owned several cells at Klingental. Thus, Clara zu Rhein (c. 1395–1455), who served as prioress between 1447 and 1452, inhabited a total of nine cells. In her testament, Clara left detailed instructions as to what was to happen with them after her death.[57] The former prioress gave three cells along with three beds to Ennely von Bodem, another three cells along with three beds and linen went to the (blood) sisters Ennely and Margret von Eschenberg, while Stelly and Lully von Laufen received two cells along with four beds. Finally, Adelheid von Telberg and Elsy zu Rhein were to share one cell until the two cells inherited by Stelly and Lully would become available (presumably after their demise). At which point Adelheid and Elsy were to receive those also. However, the women named in Clara's testament only obtained the usufruct of the cells and beds. At the time of their deaths, each cell and bed was to be sold and the money to be added to the commemorative funds paying for Clara's perpetual anniversaries.[58]

Despite the nuns' undeniably comfortable lifestyle, one should not assume contemplation and religion to have been neglected at Klingental. As ever so often in such institutions, sincere religiosity and status consciousness coexisted, simply because medieval people were generally more tolerant regarding such ambiguities of norms and their parallel existence than we are today.[59] Nevertheless, the nuns' standard of living was not without critics, and in the second half of the fifteenth century, reformers began to advocate for more austerity.[60] Observant reformers found ample points of critique: the nuns did not live cloistered, they owned property, and they frequently interacted with the secular world. However, when confronted with demands to embrace an observant lifestyle – to accept enclosure and forego interaction with lay people – the nuns refused and even had recourse to violence. The subsequent chapter will return to the nuns' resistance, while the remainder of this chapter will focus on the convent's internal structure and agricultural economy.

The number of nuns who lived in Klingental varied. In 1274, when the convent moved from Wehr to Basel, it comprised only 12 women. In the late fourteenth century, an average of 50 nuns lived in Klingental, a number that receded to 30 in the early sixteenth century.[61] Depending on the size

of the community at a given time, between 6 and 12 nuns assumed leading positions as councillors (*Ratsschwestern*).[62] All of the convent's officers were chosen from among the councillors, including the prioress. As a board, the councillors assisted the prioress, and all officers were accountable to them as a board. As in other communities, also in Klingental, the most important office was that of the prioress. She was responsible for the community's administration and external representation. Within the convent, the prioress was the highest authority, and she had the right to punish nuns for wrongdoing. She was elected for a three-year term. However, reelections were both possible and frequent.[63] Because of the periodic elections and reelections along with the absence of thorough bookkeeping on Klingental's office holders, it is impossible to establish a list of the convent's individual prioresses. In 1483, following the averted reform, Klingental left the Dominican Order and became a community of Augustinian canonesses. Henceforth, an abbess instead of a prioress governed the monastery.[64]

In addition to the prioress (and after 1483, abbess), Klingental's most important officers were the grainary mistress (*Kornhausmeisterin*), the bursaress (*Schaffnerin*), and the vestiarian (*Kammermeisterin*). For religious life, the sacristan (*Küsterin*) and the calendarian (*Jahrzeitmeisterin*) were central figures.[65] The primary task of the vestiarian was to ensure that there were always sufficient linen and other household commodities in stock. The bursaress was in charge of procuring, storing, and distributing everyday goods – mainly food and drink.[66] At Klingental, most of the food and wine came from the convent's own fields and vineyards. Thus, the bursaress' account books mainly listed the purchases of those foods and spices that were not cultivated locally. And in these account books, the convent's wealth becomes once more apparent. On special feast days, the nuns treated themselves with rare and expensive goods. These included almonds and figs that had to be imported from the Mediterranean, and even tropical sea grapes are listed.[67]

For religious life, the sacristan and the calendarian were crucial officers. The sacristan was in charge of the choir, sacristy, bell tower, and churchyard. She had to make sure that the church was decorated and prepared for mass and the divine offices.[68] The calendarian was responsible for one of the central religious occupations of Klingental's nuns: the commemoration of the dead. She ensured that the many anniversaries and requiem masses were celebrated correctly; that the tombs of those commemorated were decorated; and that the required number of candles was lit. The celebration of anniversaries was both a religious and an economic act, as the convent received payments for their commemorative service. The calendarian and bursar collected these payments and made sure that they were used for the intended purpose. Often, a specific sum was given to the nuns and priests who performed commemorative masses and prayers, while some founders stipulated that the convent as a whole received a special treat on their day of commemoration.[69] The office of calendarian was thus one that not only required organizational skill, but that also came with financial responsibilities.

Along with the calendarian, another central economic office at Klingental was that of the grainary mistress (*Kornhausmeisterin*). The grainary (*Kornhaus*) was the place where the many tithes rendered in grain were registered and stored. The grainary mistress was responsible for this essential part of Klingental's revenues. Among other things, she had to ensure that there was always enough grain in stock to feed the convent's residents, including its employees and pensioners. However, the grainary was not only a place of income, but also one of spending. From its revenues, Klingental's mayors were paid along with the convent's many other employees.[70] Despite its plentiful income, the grainary was not always running a profit (in fact, many times it wasn't), partially because the bookkeeping was far from ideal. Nevertheless, it was one of the central economic offices of Klingental and contrary to many other female convents, it was usually run by one of the nuns rather than by external male stewards.[71]

Whereas the grainary was in the hands of the nuns, there were a number of male officers who assumed important roles also at Klingental. The two most important ones were the bursar (*Schaffner*) and the tithe monitor (*Zinsmeister*). Together, they administered Klingental's patrimony and collected the tithes and censes from its tenants. The bursar also represented the convent legally in court if and when the need arose.[72] In many monastic communities, the bursar also assumed the tasks of the tithe monitor. At Klingental, the offices were separated due to the high number of tenants and tithes along with the high number of the convent's other economic and financial engagements.

Both the bursar and tithe monitor were recruited from within the convent itself rather than externally appointed. At Klingental, they were appointed from among the lay brothers, a choice that testifies to the nuns' legal and economic farsightedness. While all female convents had male stewards to assist them in their worldly and economic obligations, it was far more common for these male officers to be external appointees who frequently followed their own agendas, at least as much as the interests of the convent they represented. As a result, conflicts between external representatives and convents over revenues were a common phenomenon in medieval courts.[73] Klingental circumvented this problem by appointing only *conversi* to important offices. This ensured that their primary loyalty always was with the institution rather than elsewhere.[74]

Of Land and Revenues

Klingental needed that many officers – both male and female – to overlook the convent's revenues simply because it received so many. Since its formation in 1233, Klingental continuously purchased arable land, tithes, and vineyards. And by the late fourteenth century, the convent had acquired a sizable agricultural patrimony along the Upper Rhine (Figure 4.2). Klingental's possessions formed three clusters: the first in Alsace, in the area of Rouffach, the convent's first home, the second in the vicinity of Wehr, its second home, while the vast majority of its patrimony was located in the Sundgau and

Baden regions to the northwest and northeast of Basel. The following observations only consider those acquisitions to which testify the charters housed at the Staatsarchiv Basel Stadt. The considered arable lands the convent acquired is almost certainly not complete, but for our purposes, it suffices to show general tendencies.[75] In terms of chronology, the fourteenth century saw most of Klingental's landed acquisitions – 223 charters in comparison to only 41 that date from the thirteenth century. The fifteenth century then saw an economic shift from land to rent acquisitions, which the following chapter will discuss in detail. All in all, Klingental and its officers managed an impressively vast and diverse economic portfolio by 1500.

The majority of Klingental's agrarian possessions consisted of grain fields and vineyards. Of the 57 vineyards the charters allow us to trace, only 8 were acquired after 1400.[76] These later acquisitions were usually the result of individual opportunities. Thus, the fifteenth-century charters indicate that the purchases often happened in the context of seizures because the owners had left town without paying their debts or died without heirs.[77] Things were different in the fourteenth century, when Klingental acquired the majority of its agricultural patrimony, including 40 vineyards. At the time, Klingental followed the objective of building an agricultural basis, and this policy is clearly discernable in the sources.

Klingental acquired its arable patrimony in various ways. The convent received a minor part as donations in exchange for housing pensioners at the convent. On September 15, 1374, Hedina, a widow from the Alsatian

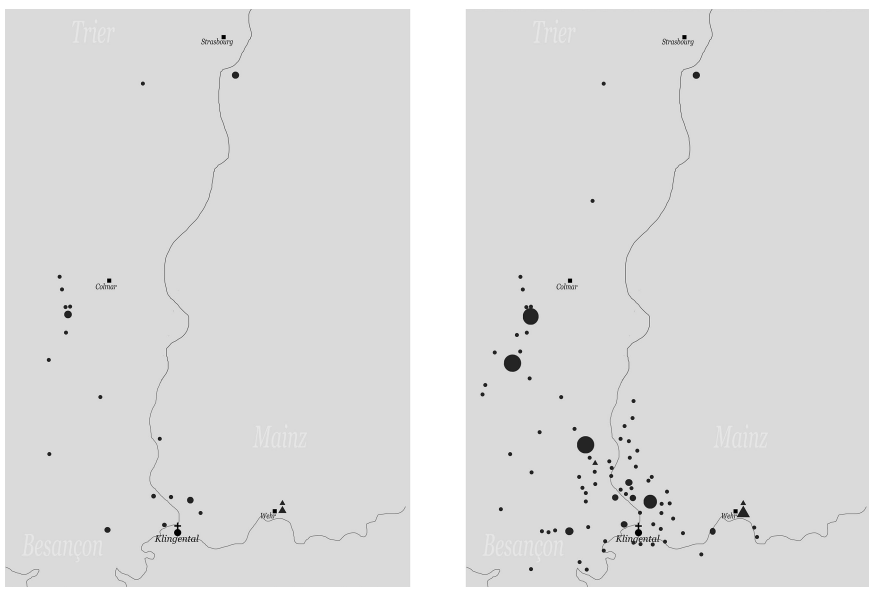

Figure 4.2 Klingental's landed patrimony and tithes in the late thirteenth (left) and late fourteenth centuries (right). Map design: Agnes Schormann.

village of Gommersdorf "donated herself and all her possessions" to Klingental.[78] Sometimes, entire families joined Klingental as pensioners. Thus, Mathis from Habsheim, his wife, Elsy from Lörrach and Mathis' mother, Agnes Botzenhartz, transferred all their possessions, including about 1 ha of grapevines in exchange for *Verpfründung* to Klingental.[79] The German terms *Pfründe* and *Pfründner* that are commonly used in this context are ambiguous as they may also designate a prebendary. However, in this specific context, *Pfründner* refers to pensioners. Monastic pensioners were a common sight in late medieval convents, and they were a source of income for them. In exchange for a valuable donation or annuity, the convent provided room, board, and care for its pensioners who lived out their lives in the community.[80] In the case of Klingental, there are about 30 charters that testify to individuals or couples transferring their possessions – lands, vineyards, tithes, sometimes unspecified wealth – to Klingental.[81] In other words, while pensioners were common also at Klingental, they weren't a central source of the convent's revenues.

Rather than obtained through donation, the nuns actively purchased the vast majority of their arable patrimony. Of the acquired 57 vineyards to which the charters testify, the nuns bought 33. Klingental's vineyards formed clusters near Sulz and Habsheim (Alsace) and Weil (Baden). Upon purchase, Klingental frequently returned the vineyard to its original owner as an inheritable fief in exchange for an annual rent of wine. The case of Ruediger, a vintner from Sulz, is typical in this regard. In January 1369, Ruediger and his son Ruetsche sold Klingental their grapevines for the sum of 140 gulden. In a second step, Klingental transferred the vineyards back to them as inheritable fief. In return, Ruediger and Ruetsche committed to annually deliver 24 *ohm* (c. 973 L) of white wine to Klingental.[82]

We don't know the reasons as to why father and son made the decision to sell. Ideally, such arrangements bore benefits for both parties. The selling party received a large amount of cash and the protection of a powerful institution which was henceforth responsible for the farm's upkeep. All the while, the sellers de facto kept both land and trade in the family. Klingental, on the other side, increased its annual wine revenues, which made the convent both independent from purchasing it and allowed the nuns to sell surpluses in the various markets around Basel.[83] Moreover, by leasing the vineyard back to the original vintner, the convent did not have to worry about (i.e., hire and pay) the high number of day laborers which were needed in viticulture.[84] This was the ideal scenario. However, there were also undeniable downsides, especially for the vintners or farmers. In addition to losing their independence, crop failure could cause tenants to accumulate debts with their overlord, thus increasing their dependence and potentially leading them into poverty.[85] Although poor harvests became a recurrent problem in the fourteenth century, relations between peasants and landowners seem to have generally remained peaceful in the region.[86]

In addition to vineyards, Klingental acquired arable land on which fruit and especially grain was grown. As the acquisition charters reveal, Klingental

followed a policy of buying adjacent pieces of land in order to create large fields. The previous chapter has discussed a similar tendency in the context of thirteenth-century Notre-Dame de Soissons. However, it is important to distinguish between the two cases. While Notre-Dame sought to create seigneuries where the abbey held the monopoly of authority, Klingental's objective was primarily economic. Founded after the classic feudal era, Klingental possessed none of the regal rights that early medieval foundations had been endowed with and which were frequently kept throughout their existence. Thus, Klingtental's prioresses did not dispense justice and with the sole exception of Wehr, they did not appoint priests. Of course, also Klingental's prioresses exercised a certain authority over their peasants who were tied to the land and thus required priorial consent in order to relocate or get married.[87] However, Klingental's authority over peasants was nowhere near as comprehensive as that of Notre-Dame, Buchau, or Fraumünster over their subjects. In other words, Klingental was an overlord, but not a seigneur in the feudal sense. Accordingly, Klingental did not strive for territorialization. Rather, the objective of buying adjacent land parcels was to create clusters and thus to ensure an effective agricultural production – which, naturally, is more lucrative on large connected fields than on a high number of unconnected smaller parcels.

Klingental acquired a considerable number of fields just north of Basel in the surroundings of today's towns of Weil am Rhein and Hésingue that face each other from opposite banks of the Rhine. There, Klingental bought field after field, on which primarily spelt was grown.[88] Between 1300 and 1399, the convent's charters testify to the acquisition of a total of 94 parcels of varying size.[89] Almost every year, the convent bought arable land, often in very small installments of one or two *jucharts*, sometimes even less.[90] For the period between 1320 and 1350, we can observe a higher frequency of purchases. During the 1320s, Klingental acquired 40 parcels amounting to a total of about 77 *jucharts* (ca. 26 ha) in and around Hésingue.[91] The 1330s saw the acquisition of 13 parcels, most of them again near Hésingue, while the 1340s saw a shift to the other side of the Rhine with a total of 12 acquisitions near Weil.[92] The remaining 29 land acquisitions were completed over the course of the remaining decades of the fourteenth century.

The steady continuity of Klingental's arable clustering is noteworthy in three regards. For one, the convent had an impressive amount of cash available to buy up parcels of land. Even for smaller pieces of land, Klingental frequently paid large sums of 50 gulden and more.[93] Despite the convent's two relocations and its building activities in Kleinbasel during the 1270s and 1280s, the convent always had large sums of money readily available. The following chapter will take a closer look at Klingental's cash flow. Second, their knowledgeable investments of that money which allowed them to assemble a comparatively large demesnes in a region where most arable land had long since been cultivated. That is to say, a region where land was not easily available even for wealthy buyers.[94] Nevertheless, Klingental succeeded to amass important clusters of fields over the course of a century. Finally, it is at least

worth remarking that Klingental's continuous pursuit of establishing the convent as a major agricultural producer was not derailed by anything, not even the major natural and epidemic crises that marked the fourteenth century.

In addition to a number of failed harvests, which brought great distress to the region in the first half of the fourteenth century, the 1340s saw a number of famines and epidemics, including the Great Mortality, which hit Basel in the summer of 1349. In comparison to other European cities, Basel's plight seems to have been somewhat lighter. Werner Meyer estimates that "only" about 10% of the population succumbed to the plague in 1349.[95] Seven years after the plague, a devastating earthquake and a resulting fire destroyed much of Basel in October 1456.[96] However, these catastrophes, which marked the city and its population for generations, seem to have had little impact on Klingental's agrarian policy. The convent continued its purchases in 1449/1450 and in 1456/1457, seemingly unaltered.[97] If nothing else, this observation emphasizes once more the centrality of Klingental's objective to acquire sizable and profitable demesne during the fourteenth century. An objective, the nuns saw through – no matter what.

Interim Conclusion: No Land, No Economic Power Base

Klingental's story was not off to a good start. Not through any fault of the convent's early community. Its early nuns brought everything to the table that the young congregation would need to succeed – financial means, extended political and ecclesiastical networks, and religious zeal, which had led these women to form a nunnery in the first place. However, the times were difficult, and within 21 years, the young convent had to relocate twice. In 1253, the nuns moved from their original location in Husseren to Wehr, and in 1274, from Wehr to Basel. While we lack narrative sources to shed light on this (or any other) phase of Klingental's history, it is easy enough to imagine the challenges that came with every relocation. In each new place, the convent needed to build suitable housing for its community, ensure the nuns' *cura monialium*, and find ways to administrate its patrimony that, with each move, became a cluster of lands that required management, but that was located outside the immediate vicinity of the convent's current location.[98] All this required influential networks, organizational skill, and most of all comprehensive resources. For a less wealthy community, these early challenges would have likely put an end to its existence.

However, while these events certainly weighed heavily also on Klingental, the convent recovered quickly each time. For one, the nuns benefitted from their good connections, which they had from the beginning. Thus, their connection to Walter von Klingen provided them with a new convent building in Wehr along with close ties to the first Habsburg king. Recruiting from the wealthy upper class, many of its nuns enjoyed parental ties to council members, and Klingental was also free of financial problems. Its many acquisitions during the fourteenth century testify to this. Once settled in Basel,

the nuns began to use their money to acquire arable land, and they thus laid the agrarian foundation for a thriving monastic economy. They did so meticulously and patiently. In a region with a number of urban centers located in close proximity – namely, Basel, Colmar, Strasbourg, and Freiburg im Breisgau – accumulating arable land was not obvious as most of it had long been spoken for. In this regard, the situation was fundamentally different for Klingental than it had been for early Notre-Dame, Fraumünster, or Buchau.

When Notre-Dame and Buchau began to enlarge their landed patrimony during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they did so from a structurally different outset. As feudal institutions dating back to the early Middle Ages, both nunneries already owned estates over which they held a number of legal rights, that is, seigneuries. Thus, territorialization, especially in the context of Notre-Dame, meant buying up land within territories over which the abbey had jurisdiction and within which the abbey already owned substantial if not the majority of land parcels.[99] For Klingental, the situation was reverse. The land had long been owned by others, the convent did not hold any regal rights (nor could it hope to obtain any), and Klingental had to painstakingly acquire land piece by piece, often a *juchart* (ca. 0.34 ha) at a time.

That they did so over an extended period of time, namely the entire fourteenth century, shows that Klingental followed an agenda. Similar to their successful monastic cousins of early medieval origin, the desire to be self-sufficient was certainly the one driving factor also for Klingental. In addition to fields and vineyards, the convent also bought several mills, a quarry, a forge, and a brickyard.[100] By 1400, Klingental thus owned everything to maintain (and repair) large agricultural estates without having to rely on (and pay for) external craftsmen or infrastructure. However, unlike their older monastic cousins, Klingental was not a feudal institution. Other than the basic authority landowners had over those peasants who were tied to the land they worked, Klingental did not possess any seigneuries which they might seek to expand.

Therefore, Klingental's acquisition of land did not have an objective to build a little realm of their own. Rather, it was driven by economic considerations. Europe remained an agrarian society throughout the Middle Ages (and beyond). Consequently, agricultural holdings remained a crucial asset. To phrase it in somewhat dated but nevertheless catchy Marxist terminology, those who owned the means of production in premodern Europe – in this case, the land, the people, and the equipment – had the tools to produce economic stability along with lasting institutional wealth. In the case of Klingental, this meant that obtaining arable land to form large fields and vineyards allowed them to produce not only enough to feed their community and employees, but also to turn surpluses into money. The central place that both the grainary and the office of the grainary mistress assumed within Klingental's administration is as revelatory for the importance of Klingental's agricultural economy as is the meticulous process of land acquisition during the fourteenth century.

However, despite its central importance, agriculture was but one of Klingental's economic pillars. As the following chapter will show, Klingental became Basel's wealthiest monastic institution, thanks to its highly diversified economic portfolio. In addition to agriculture, the nuns generated an impressive income from praying for the dead, and they ensured regular revenues through the purchase of rents and over 100 houses in and around Basel. Combined, Klingental collected thousands of liters of grain and wine every year along with thousands of pounds silver. In other words, while Klingental's nuns were no observant role models, they were very talented proto-managers.

Notes

1 For the importance of regional and annual fairs in the greater Basel region in the late Middle Ages, see Dorothee Rippmann, *Bauern und Städter: Stadt-Land-Beziehungen im 15. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel Basel. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nahmarktbeziehungen und der sozialen Verhältnisse im Umland* (Basel and Frankfurt am Main: Helbing u. Lichtenhahn, 1990), 138–142.

2 Sources are rare for Basel's early episcopal history. In the mid-fourth century, a certain Iustinianus was bishop of Basel. At the time, the bishop, along with the Roman elite, resided in Augusta Raurica, the Roman foundation located about 10 km west of modern-day downtown Basel. By the eighth century, the episcopal curia had moved from Augusta to Basel, which by then had grown more important than the old Roman settlement. Reto Marti, "Ein Leben im Aufbruch – Die Menschen der Region Basel im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert", in: *Gold und Ruhm: Kunst und Macht unter Kaiser Heinrich II.: Ausstellung, Historisches Museum Basel im Kunstentrum Basel, 11.10.2019–19.01.2020*, ed. Marc Fehlmann, Michael Matzke, and Sabine Söll-Tauchert (München: Hirmer, 2019), 29–30; Jürgen Dendorfer, "Basel zwischen Burgund und dem ostfränkischen Reich", in: Fehlmann, Matzke, and Söll-Tauchert (eds.), *Gold und Ruhm*, 62; and Reto Marti, "Die Anfänge des Bistums: Eine Geschichte in Fragmenten", in: *Pro Deo. Das Bistum Basel vom 4. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jean-Claude Rebetz (Delsberg: Stiftung Archiv des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Basel – Pruntrut Editions D+P SA, 2006), 30–45.

3 Marti, "Ein Leben im Aufbruch," 31; Martin Steinmann, "Von der frühen Besiedlung bis zur ersten Blüte der Stadt", in: *Basel – Geschichte einer städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. Georg Kreis and Beat von Wartburg (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2000), 24–27; 29–32; and August Bernoulli, "Basels Mauern und Stadterweiterungen im Mittelalter," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterturmskunde* 16 (1917): 60–62.

4 Christoph Philipp Matt and Claudius Sieber-Lehmann, "Basilea – Eine Bischofsstadt findet ihren Platz", in: Fehlmann, Matzke, and Söll-Tauchert (eds.), *Gold und Ruhm*, 274–275.

5 Michael Matzke, "Die andere Seite der Münze: Münzprägung in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterturmskunde* 115 (2015): 96.

6 Albert Eisele, "Bischof Burkhard von Basel und seine Beziehungen zum Markgräferland," *Das Markgräferland. Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Kultur* 27 (1965): 68; and Felix Ackermann and Therese Wollmann, *Klöster in Basel. Spaziergänge durch fünf Jahrhunderte* (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2014), 7.

7 Interesting in the sense that Cluny's success was the result of a rigid monastic reform program that sought to end lay influence on the Church and was thus not easily reconcilable with the imperial defense of lay investiture. This apparent

contradiction has attracted notable scholarly attention among Basel's historians; Hans-Jörg Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft des Balser Cluniazenser-Priorates St. Alban im Mittelalter* (Basel: Kommissionsverlag Friedrich Reinhardt AG, 1977), 35–44.

8 Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Die Klöster der Stadt Basel", in: Rebetz (ed.), *Pro Deo*, 105–106; 109.

9 On Beguines in Basel see: Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Die Beginen in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterturmskunde* 69 (1969): 5–84. For the dissolution of the beginages following the Basler Beginenstreit in the first decade of the fifteenth century, see Sabine von Heusinger, *Johannes Mulberg OP († 1414). Ein Leben im Spannungsfeld von Dominikanerobservanz und Beginenstreit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 39–90.

10 Werner Meyer, *Da verfiele Basel überall. Das Basler Erdbeben von 1356* (Basel: Schwabe, 2005), 44.

11 For the standard typology of medieval cities according to their size, see Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 31.

12 Hektor Amman, "Die Bevölkerung von Stadt und Landschaft Basel am Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 49 (1950): 30–31.

13 Amman, "Die Bevölkerung," 31; and Hans Georg. Wackernagel, "Basel als Zufluchtsort des Elsasses (15.–17. Jahrhundert)," *Annuaire de Colmar* 2 (1936): 57–59.

14 Werner Meyer, "Basel im Spätmittelalter", in: *Basel. Geschichte einer städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. Georg Kreis and Beat von Wartburg (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2000), 42.

15 Matt and Sieber-Lehmann, "Basilea," 277–278.

16 Matt and Sieber-Lehmann, "Basilea," 278.

17 Markus Ries, "Heinrich von Neuenburg", in: *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 60–61.

18 Romain Jurot, "Thun, Heinrich von," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Version vom 23.01.2012. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/013027/2012-01-23.

19 Matt and Sieber-Lehmann, "Basilea," 277. Similar to the council of Zurich, Basel presumably first comprised *ministeriales*. In Basel, these were naturally the *ministeriales* of the bishop, who is head of the city. H. Sr., "Der mittelalterliche Adel und seine Burgen im ehemaligen Fürstbistum Basel," *Nachrichten des Schweizerischen Burgenvereins = Revue de l'Association Suisse pour Châteaux et Ruines = Rivista dell'Associazione Svizzera per Castelli e Ruine* 35 (1962): 6.

20 Meyer, "Basel im Spätmittelalter," 59.

21 Meyer, "Basel im Spätmittelalter," 51.

22 Meyer, "Basel im Spätmittelalter," 39; 49.

23 Meyer, "Basel im Spätmittelalter," 39.

24 Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, "Geschichte des Basler Klosters Klingental (1274–1529/59) und ihre Auswirkung auf die Bautätigkeit", in: *Walther von Klingen und das Kloster Klingental zu Wehr*, ed. Stadt Wehr (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010), 105.

25 Construction of the monastic complex was completed in the early fourteenth century. Ackermann and Wollmann, *Klöster in Basel*, 164; Brigitte Degler-Spengler and Dorothea A. Christ, "Basel, Klingental", in: *Helvetia Sacra, Abt. 4, Bd. 5 Teil 2*, 537–538. For the later usage of *Klein Klingental*'s compound, see Schürmann, "Geschichte des Basler Klosters Klingental," 108; and Elsanne Gilmon-Schenkel and Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Basel, Klingental", in: *Helvetia Sacra, Abt. 4, Bd. 2*, 65.

26 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 532.

27 StABS Klingental 1, 3, 8, 38 and StABS Klingental 5, 5a, 6, 2809, 2811.
28 Since the eleventh century, Alsace had been one of the regions where papal and imperial factions fought each other, repeatedly leading to civil war-like situations. Christine Reinle, "Das Elsass im hohen und späten Mittelalter (10.–15. Jahrhundert)", in: *Das Elsass. Historische Landschaft im Wandel der Zeiten*, ed. Michael Erbe (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), 48; Christian Wilsdorf, "Comment Colmar deviant ville (8e–13e siècles)", in: *Histoire de Colmar*, ed. Georges Livet (Toulouse: Privat, 1983), 35–39; and Philippe Nuss, *Les Habsbourg en Alsace des origins à 1273. Recherches pour une histoire de l'Alsatia Habsburgica* (Altkirch: Société d'Histoire du Sundgau, 2008), 324–336.
29 Reinle, "Das Elsass," 55.
30 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 533; and Nuss, *Les Habsbourg*, 330–334.
31 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 533.
32 The convent received the church with *jus patronatus* on September 2, 1256, StABS Klingental 11, 11a, 11 b, 11c, 16. Erik Beck suggests that Walther's motivation might have been the deaths of his young sons whom the nuns were to commemorate along with the rest of his family. Erik Beck, "Walther von Klingen, Wehr und die Verlegung des Klosters Klingental", in: Wehr (ed.), *Walther von Klingen*, 53–54; 65.
33 The German word for valley is Tal – hence, Klingen-tal.
34 Thomas Zotz, "Der Bischof von Basel am Oberrhein", in: Fehlmann, Matzke, and Söll-Tauchert (eds.), *Gold und Ruhm*, 281–284; and Jean-Claude Rebetz, "Der Bischof im Jura. Etappen der Entstehung des Fürstbistums", in: Fehlmann, Matzke, and Söll-Tauchert (eds.), *Gold und Ruhm*, 288.
35 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 536. There is some debate as to whether the castle needed rebuilding after having been destroyed by Rudolf in 1252/1253 or whether it was simply in bad condition and the bishop of Basel refurbished to have an outpost in Habsburg lands. Whatever the reason, the restoration provoked the anger of his rival, Rudolf of Habsburg, and rekindled their warring. Beck, "Walther von Klingen," 54–55.
36 Basel was the natural and traditional place to seek safety for people from Upper Alsace in times of war, Wackernagel, "Basel als Zufluchtsort," 57.
37 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 536–537; and Beck, "Walther von Klingen," 51.
38 StABS Klingental 45.
39 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 535.
40 Irmindrut, widow of Knight Hidelbrand von Tegerfelden, was the generous donor of Kleinhüningen (StABS Klingental 52); also in 1273, the nun bought a farm in Kleinbasel for 20 marks silver (StABS Klingenta 56), and they received further donations of land and vineyards in Basel and Lörrach (StABS Klingental 65, 71).
41 Renée Weis-Müller, *Die Reform des Klosters Klingental und ihr Personenkreis* (Basel and Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1956), 14; Reinhard Valenta, "Walther von Klingen: Eine biographische Skizze", in: Wehr (ed.), *Walther von Klingen*, 21–22; it has been assumed that Walter von Klingen's wife, Sophia, was a cousin of Rudolf of Habsburg. However, this is not certain. For the question of Sophia von Klingen's lineage, see Christopher Schmidberger, "Ungleicher Freund oder Vasall? Das persönliche Verhältnis zwischen Walther von Klingen und Rudolf von Habsburg", in: Wehr (ed.), *Walther von Klingen*, 35–36.
42 Matt and Sieber-Lehmann, "Basilea," 278; and Romain Jurot, "Isny, Heinrich von," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/012710/2006-06-08/.
43 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 14.

44 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 537.
45 StABS KLA Klingental HH 5 mentions the sum of 100 gulden as being the customary one.
46 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 21
47 See, for example, the testament of Clara zu Rhein; StABS Klingental H 93 v–95r; and Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 22.
48 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 41.
49 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 30.
50 Recent scholarship on mendicants has engaged with this question. Thus, Angelica Hilsebein gives an overview over a number of mendicant convents whose members habitually enjoyed personal property and engaged in financial activities; Angelica Hilsebein, "Reiche Klöster – Arme Klarissen? Finanzielle Transaktionen zwischen der Welt, dem Kloster und seinen Konventualinnen", in: *Gelobte Armut. Armutskonzepte der franziskanischen Ordensfamilie vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Heinz-Dieter Heimann, Angelica Hilsebein, Bernd Schmies, and Christoph Stiegemann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014), 307–334, especially 321–334. Another example of a well-studied wealthy (and aristocratic) medicant women's convent is Königsfelden, see Simon Teuscher and Claudia Moddelmog (eds.), *Königsmord, Kloster, Klinik. Königsfelden* (Baden: hier + jetzt, 2012), especially Chapters 3 and 4; for the close ties between aristocracy and mendicant communities – and the ensuing wealth of the latter, see Nikolas Japsert and Imke Just (eds.), *Queens, Princesses and Mendicants. Close Relations in a European Perspective* (Zürich: LIT Verlag, 2019).
51 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 30.
52 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 31.
53 The necrology StABS Klingental H mentions sales of cells for 20 gulden; see, for example, StABS Klingental H, fol. 114 v., 141 r, 141 v; the price of a bed and bedding seems to have been 10 gulden on average; StABS Klingental H, fol. 141 r.
54 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 31.
55 Testament of Clara zu Rhein, StABS Klingental H, fol. 94 r–95r; testament of Ursel zum Angen, StABS Klingental H, fol. 113; and the testament of Margarete Zschampi edited by Dorothea Schwinn Schürmann, "Nonnen und Laien des Klosters Klingental in Basel (1274.1529). Zeugnisse aus den Archiven zur Lebensweise, zum Privatbesitz und dessen Verebung," in: *Freunde des Klingentalmuseums. Jahresbericht* (2001), 24–25.
56 StABS Klingental H, among others: fol. 113 v., 141 r.
57 StABS Klingental H 93 v–95r; and Elsanne Gilomen-Schenkel, "Zu Rhein, Clara," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Version vom 24.02.2014. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/026595/2014-02-24/.
58 Testament of Clara zu Rhein, StABS Klingental H, fol. 94 r–95r.
59 For the recent scholarly debate about ambiguity and the tolerance of ambiguities in premodern Islamic and Christian societies, see Thomas Bauer, *The Culture of Ambiguity. A Different History of Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019) (orig. German 2011); and Hillard von Thiessen, *Das Zeitalter der Ambiguität. Vom Umgang mit Werten und Normen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln, Weimar, and Wien: Böhlau, 2021), especially 11–34.
60 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 48–56; Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles* 77–86; and Bernhard Neidiger, "Observanzbewegung der Bettelorden in Südwestdeutschland," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* Bd. 11 (1992): 179–185.
61 Sybille Knecht, *Ausharren oder austreten? Lebenswege ehemaliger Nonnen nach der Klosteraufhebung am Beispiel der Städte Zürich, Bern und Basel* (PhD dissertation, University of Zurich, 2013), 169.
62 Cf. Glossary for more detailed descriptions of the various monastic offices.

63 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 27.
64 Cf. Chapter 5.
65 Account books of these five offices have come down to us, showing the central importance of them within the convent economy; Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 25. For the translation of the offices, I have used Sarah Glenn DeMaris edition and translation of Johannes Meyer's *Amptbuch*. Sarah Glenn DeMaris (ed. and trans.), *Johannes Meyer. Das Amptbuch* (Rome: Angelicum University Press, 2015).
66 For a detailed description of the bursaress' office, see DeMaris, *Johannes Meyer*, 384–385.
67 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 27.
68 For a detailed description of the sacristan's office, see DeMaris, *Johannes Meyer*, 390–393.
69 Cf. Chapter 5.
70 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 25–26.
71 Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 41–43.
72 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 33.
73 Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 41–43.
74 For examples, see the testaments of Klingental's bursars Hans von Eschenberg and Hans von Höwingen, StABS Klingental H fol. 55 r and fol. 89 v.
75 There are a number of terriers that city representatives assembled during the Reformation – these were not considered here; nor were those pieces of land given to Klingental in return for memoria services. The reasons are simple; for one, the charters provide information as to when a piece of land was acquired – information not rendered in the terriers and not always rendered in necrologies. And this information is important in order to discern patterns of acquisition policy. Another reason is more mundane: while considering terriers, charters, and necrologies would certainly render a more exhaustive image of Klingental's possessions, such an endeavor would take years due to the sheer number of Klingental's possessions. And, as stated above, only considering the charters is sufficient in order to identify tendencies.
76 StABS Klingental 8, 97, 853, 856, 64, 71, 72, 115, 130, 133, 168, 186, 206, 235, 258, 266, 287, 323, 334, 340, 353, 487, 591, 1022, 1057, 1076, 1088, 1110, 1115, 1146, 1171, 1187, 1257, 1265, 1309, 1337, 1417, 1471, 1476, 1479, 1485, 1486, 1515, 1541, 1560, 1570, 1590, 1613, 1627, 1661, 2004, 2020, 2074, 2107, 2163, 2241, 2263; after 1400: StABS Klingental 1613, 1627, 1661, 2004, 2074, 2107, 2163, 2263.
77 This was the case in 1450, when Klingental bought 1 *juchart* (ca. 0.34 ha) of vineyard that had formerly belonged to a certain Hans Hegkler who fled Basel for unspecified reasons. Klingental purchased the abandoned vineyard for 46 gulden (StABS Klingental 2074); and in 1453, Klingental purchased 0.5 *juchart* of vineyard for 18 gulden that a certain Conz Tufel who left behind after dying without an heir (StABS Klingental 2107).
78 StABS Klingental 1228.
79 StABS Klingental 2004, the charter is dated February 13, 1441.
80 Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, 39.
81 StABS Klingental 1, 62, 690, 897, 905, 973, 1145, 1228, 1241, 1306, 1410, 1460, 1472, 1603, 1704, 1823, 1979, 1980, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2012, 2016, 2096, 2126, 2148, 2151, 2249, 2528, 2529, 2549.
82 StABS Klingental 1146; for the equivalent of *ohm* in liter for the greater Basel region, see Dubler, *Masse und Gewichte*, 42.
83 For the annual calendar of markets in the Basel region, including Rouffach, Habsheim, and other locations where Klingental owned land and vineyards, see Rippmann, *Bauern und Städter*, 139.

84 For medieval viticulture in the Basel region, see Dorothee Rippmann, "'Frauenwerk' und Männerarbeit: Formen von Leben und Arbeit im Spätmittelalter", in: *Arbeit im Wandel: Deutung, Organisation und Herrschaft vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrich Pfister, Brigitte Studer, and Jakob Tanner (Zürich: Chronos, 1996), 35–37; and Albert Membrez, *Geschichte des Weinbaus im Laufental* (Biel: Chs. & W. Gassmann, 1947), 8–33.
85 This was a widespread phenomenon in late medieval Europe; see Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 211–213.
86 Meyer, *Da verfiele*, 42–43; for the region's harvests from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, see Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 228–256.
87 This was typical for the region. Meyer, *Da verfiele*, 43.
88 A few of the charters mention spelt specifically. Usually, the specific type of grain is only mentioned if the seller of the land then re-obtained it as an inheritable fief. In such a case, the nature of the tithe was specified and it is usually spelt (e.g., StABS Klingental 1025, 1045, 1062, 1075).
89 Klingental also continued to buy arable land in the vicinity of Rouffach and Wehr, albeit in lesser number. For the list of charters, https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KTTSZ2. The convent's two former home bases were most probably transformed into large farmsteads from where the local agricultural production was managed. Beck, "Walther von Klingen," 72–73.
90 One juchart is roughly the equivalent of 0.34 ha; Dubler, *Masse und Gewichte*, 24.
91 About 1.36 ha were located in Hésingue: StABS Klingental 494, 512, 525, 530, 536, 542; the other parcels were mostly located in neighboring Knœringue, Michelbach-le-Bas, and Blotzheim.
92 For Hésingue: StABS Klingental 551, 563 & 564, 589, 593, 622, 628, 641 & 642; the locations near Weil include Weil, Riehen, Ötlingen, Wehr, and others: StABS Klingental 682, 699, 706, 707, 723, 728, 734, 737, 744, 747, 748 & 749 & 893.
93 Thus, the convent paid 74 gulden for a "piece of grapevine," StABS Klingental 1076; 273 Gulden for 6 ha of meadow, StABS Klingental 1269.
94 Bernhard Neidiger, *Mendikanten zwischen Ordensideal und städtischer Realität. Untersuchungen zum wirtschaftlichen Verhalten der Bettelorden in Basel* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1981), 196.
95 Meyer, *Da verfiele*, 49–52.
96 Meyer, *Da verfiele*, 52–95.
97 In 1449/1450, Klingental undertook six purchases (StABS Klingental 2069, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2081, 2085); in 1456/1457, five (StABS Klingental 2140, 2147, 2152, 2158, 2159); Klingental was not the only monastery whose economy remained stable despite the dire decades of the 1440s and 1450s. Also, the sources of St. Alban (and presumably other convents) leave to assume economic continuity during that period; Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 275.
98 As mentioned above, Klingental probably transformed its former convents into administrative buildings from where the local agricultural production was organized and supervised; Beck, "Walther von Klingen," 72–73.
99 Cf. Chapter 3.
100 In 1315, Klingental bought a forge in Rouffach (StABS 309); in 1341, the nuns acquired a brickyard in Kleinbasel (StABS 684); and in 1379, they bought a quarry for 28 gulden (StABS 1295). Regarding mills, Klingental owned three in Kleinbasel since 1270 (StABS Klingental 45) and acquired another one in 1349 in Helfrantzkirch, near Hésingue, where Klingental owned vast fields of spelt (StABS 874, 878).

5 Following the Money
Klingental in Basel II

Klingental was a prosperous convent which harvested its wealth from a variety of sources. One of them was agriculture. The levies Klingental collected from its fields and vineyards provided not only food for its residents, but also fed those men and women who worked the fields and whom the convent was obliged to nourish on their labor days.[1] Surpluses were turned into money by selling them on one of the many regional fairs in Alsace and around Basel.[2] While agricultural possessions were not the primary source of wealth for late medieval convents such as Klingental, they remained essential, as they allowed the institutions to be self-sufficient. However, as established in Chapter 3, a sound foundation guaranteeing long-term wealth required a diverse economic portfolio. And Klingental's portfolio was very much diversified. The convent's economy rested on an amalgam of revenues collected from arable lands, realty, and rents, along with benefits generated through anniversaries. Anniversaries were post-obit commemorations that played an important role in late medieval religiosity. People gave money or goods to religious or charitable institutions who, in turn, agreed to pray for their souls.[3] For many late medieval convents, these prayers for the dead were an important source of revenue. And anniversaries also mattered economically for Klingental.

When engaging with the monastic economy, one has to bear in mind that running a profit was not its objective. Rather, medieval convents strove to achieve an overall equilibrium that balanced out the community's regular expenses for sustenance, labor, constructions, and the like by generating a sufficient influx of revenues.[4] Medieval monastics thought of their institutions as founded for eternity. Consequently, the balance of spending and income did not have to be reached for an annual audit, but had to be secured more generally in the long term. An economically healthy convent disposed over sufficient structural resources to feed its community, maintain its buildings, church(es), and general infrastructure also in times of acute crises such as crop failures and deferred payments of tithes. That is to say, even if a convent ran a deficit for consecutive years, it did not mean that it was economically unsuccessful or at risk of default. An economically sound institution disposed of sufficient assets and credit, that is, the ability to either turn patrimony into money or to borrow money, to ensure its upkeep even in prolonged periods

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of crisis, such as during consecutive years of crop failure. On the one hand, the monastic focus on economic equilibrium and on eternity explains why even the wealthiest convents repeatedly accumulated debts and periodically had to alienate patrimony to meet their financial obligations. On the other hand, it also explains as to why even structurally well-equipped institutions sometimes failed to recognize the point when making debts and alienating assets had reached a critical point.[5]

There are a number of different sources that provide insight into a convent's late medieval economy. Account books in particular inform us about the influx and outpour of revenues during individual years. However, because crises were frequent and the upkeep of a convent and its religious and economic infrastructure was expensive, late medieval account books often tell of deficient years. Contrary to account books, charters testify to general ownership and rights. As normative sources, they provide little insight into the day-to-day business, but they are revealing for structural policies. Unaffected by the volatility of individual years or even decades, charters tell of the overall economic structure of a convent, its economic management, and long-term soundness. The overall focus on structure is the primary reason as to why account books, although extant for fifteenth-century Klingental, were not considered for this study. However, there is a third type of source that is fundamental for this chapter: Klingental's anniversary book. The anniversary book is a type of register that had developed from high medieval necrologies but with an additional focus on the economic aspects of a convent's post-obit services.

* * *

This chapter will continue the task of the previous and shed light on both the nature and the management of Klingental's economy in order to show as to how Klingental became Basel's wealthiest monastic institution by the waning fifteenth century. Its focus is on two distinct yet intimately connected parts of Klingental's economy, namely the post-obit services the convent offered and for which it received compensation. This compensation – especially if it was rendered in form of onetime monetary payments – needed to be invested in order for them to produce regular revenues. Klingental used these payments to purchase rents and houses, which rendered annual income. The second, and shorter, part of this chapter will give a cursory overview of Klingental's final years up until the Reformation. The conclusion will sum up the findings of Chapters 4 and 5 and close with structural observations on monastic wealth.

Post-Obit Economies

Throughout the Middle Ages, it was common to arrange for the post-obit commemoration of one's soul. If this practice had been reserved for the clergy and for wealthy laymen in the early medieval period, post-obit services became

a common feature of religiosity in the late Middle Ages. Regional differences notwithstanding, the essential structure of late medieval commemorative arrangements was always similar. During one's lifetime, an individual, a couple, or entire families transferred money and/or land to a religious or charitable institution. The recipient could be a hospital, a parish, a confraternity, or a monastic community. In exchange for the transferred goods, the institution agreed to commemorate the founder's souls in perpetuity. Both founders of such anniversaries and the institution that ensured their souls' commemoration believed that the requiem masses celebrated *in memoriam* and prayers spoken for the deceased had the power to alleviate the purgative ordeal every sinner faced after their death.[6]

Such anniversaries differed from funerary rites, which commemorated the soul of the deceased on the 3rd, 7th, and the 30th day after their demise along with the first anniversary after their death.[7] Anniversary commemorations were established in addition to funerary rites, and they were generally founded in perpetuity. Moreover, anniversaries were not necessarily celebrated on the day the person had died, but could be celebrated on a date the person had designated while still alive.[8] The specificalities of post-obit services varied significantly and depended on both local traditions and the particular arrangements the founders made during their lifetime. Generally, all post-obit arrangements were binding legal acts, and the contractual terms of which were usually registered in a charter that listed the precise services to be rendered including the number of priests and nuns required to perform them.[9] As Gabriela Signori and others have shown, such annual commemorations became central sources of income for many late medieval religious communities, sometimes requiring nuns to pray several thousand Holy Fathers and Ave Marias per day.[10]

To avoid losing track of their many obligations, late medieval monasteries (and other religious and charitable institutions) compiled anniversary books. Similar to high medieval necrologies, anniversary books usually followed the liturgical calendar. However, unlike their older ancestors, anniversary books contained additional information about the material goods given to the religious institution in order to fund the commemorational services.[11] As historical sources, anniversary books thus provide economic insights in addition to rendering religious and prosopographical information. That the scribes included financial information had both contractual and practical purposes. Contractual, as they summarized the binding *do, ut des* character of the specific agreements; and practical, because they condensed the relevant information in one place rather than storing it decentralized in hundreds of individual charters.

To have the relevant information easily accessible was important because the material basis of anniversaries were foundations rather than donations *stricto sensu*. The difference between a donation and foundation is more than one of words. Donations were one-time gifts, for example, a chalice or an altarpiece a benefactor had made for a given institution, whereas foundations

were understood to render their material or spiritual value until the end of days.[12] In the early Middle Ages, such foundations often took the shape of entire convents, such as Notre-Dame de Soissons and Fraumünster of Zurich. These convents were richly endowed so that their community could fully concentrate on commemorating the souls of the founders and their families. When post-obit arrangements became a more common phenomenon in the later Middle Ages, the volume of their material foundations naturally changed. Instead of vesting entire communities for spiritual services, the faithful arranged only for a number of prayers and masses performed each year. This limited scope made post-obit arrangements affordable for a much larger part of society.

Even if smaller in scope, the material foundations of anniversaries still had to wield regular revenues for an institution to be able to render their commemorative services in perpetuity. There were essentially two ways of doing this. The first was through transferring crop-bearing land to the convent. The crops could be sold and the money used to pay for candles and to renumerate both priests and nuns for their spiritual services. The second was through giving a sum of money or a precious object of a certain value. The institution then used such endowments to purchase annual rents or realty, which, in turn, would also wield annual revenues.[13] Because memorial activities of late medieval religious institutions usually had such an economic component, anniversary books were essential administrative tools which contained all relevant information in one place.

Praying for the souls of deceased benefactors was an important part also of Klingental's monastic activity.[14] Today, the Staatsarchiv Basel Stadt houses two anniversary books which shed light on the convent's commemorative practices: Klingental H and Klingental J. Although both are labeled anniversary books, they are quite different in nature. Klingental J is essentially an account book, which was presumably kept in the office of the calendarian or bursaress to register the tithes collected for celebrated anniversary.[15] The entries start on St. Michael's Day September 29, 1442, and continue until the convent's dissolution in the sixteenth century. Rather than the liturgical, Klingental J thus follows the agrarian calendar. St. Michael marks the beginning of harvest season, at which point the first "payments" for that year's anniversaries came in. As is typical for such an administrative book, the scripts are often hasty and the entries stem from a number of different hands. Contrary to Klingental J, Klingental H follows the liturgical calendar, starting on St. Andrews day (November 30). Written in a clearer script than Klingental J, it contains a total of 959 entries. The vast majority of these are anniversary notes of various lengths, along with copies of about ten testaments and four prebends founded by individual nuns.[16] Most anniversary entries gathered in Klingental H only comprise minimal information, usually the name(s) of the founder(s), the material goods given, and the day their soul(s) were to be commemorated. The highly legible script suggests that it was kept as a reference book rather than an administrative book.

In addition to Klingental H and J, there must have been a third book which contained liturgical information including details about the precise services rendered (number of nuns and priests required to be present, prayers to be spoken, etc.) and utensils used (candles, drapes, etc.). Although such a liturgical book certainly existed, it was probably lost around the time of the convent's dissolution in the sixteenth century. When Basel embraced the Reformation, the city gradually dissolved its monastic communities, while it arranged for the former monasteries to continue existing as legal entities. This strategy allowed Basel to keep collecting the revenues even after the monks and nuns had long left.[17] To be able to benefit from these revenues, the city restructured the monastic archives. In the process, urban officials cleaned out the archives, disposing of many liturgical documents, while keeping economic ones which were relevant for the city's needs.[18] As a result, it is easier to write an economic history of Basel's monasteries than a religious one.[19] And while wanting in liturgical information, Klingental H provides important insights into the economic side of commemorative practices at Klingental – and of late medieval convents in general.

Prayers for the Dead: Money for the Living

As to be expected, Klingental's benefactor Walther von Klingen and his family assumed an important place in Klingental H. On St. Andrew's Day, the nuns commemorated the souls of Walther von Klingen, Sophie von Frohburg, his wife, and their daughter. During her lifetime, Sophie von Frohburg had given 90 pounds to Klingental, to which 9 marks silver and an annual revenue of 6 *viernzel* (approximately 1,632 L) grain were added upon her death.[20] Walther von Klingen endowed the convent with another 60 marks silver upon his death.[21] The Klingen family's foundation was a comparatively generous one; others could not afford to give as much. A woman, whose name is not specified and whose anniversary was also on St. Andrew's Day, gave eight shillings.[22] That the woman's name was not registered is presumably unrelated to the small sum she was able to afford. Several individuals remain nameless, including a man who gave a *vierteil* (c. 25 L) of rye, and a woman who made the fairly generous foundation of 19 pounds remain nameless.[23] The reason for their namelessness is uncertain. It is possible that the scribes who compiled the anniversary book were simply unable to read the names indicated in the original foundation charters.[24] A few exceptions apart, Klingental H usually renders the founders' names.

While not frequent, select entries of particularly important founders do detail on the liturgical acts performed on their anniversaries. This is the case for Agnes († 1484) and Konrad Kilman († 1454), who arranged an anniversary for themselves and all their heirs to be celebrated on All Saints Day (November 1).[25] The Kilmans (or Kilchmanns) were a wealthy merchant family from Kleinbasel. Konrad, the patriarch, had moved to Basel as a young man where he had come to money and eventually became a member of the city

council. The couple had eight living children, of whom one, Ludwig, became a particularly successful merchant. Konrad and Agnes were longtime residents of Kleinbasel, and as we know from tax registers, they owned a fortune of more than 5,000 gulden.[26] Thus, the couple could easily afford to arrange for lavish post-obit services.

For a foundation of six pounds and six shillings, Agnes and Konrad obtained 12 anniversary masses.[27] Anniversary masses were an elaborate form of commemoration that went beyond the recitation of the deceased's names along with a given number of prayers said for their souls. Essentially, anniversary masses enacted a repetition of the funeral liturgy, comprising two liturgical acts. During vigil, the Offices of the Dead was observed, and on the following morning, a requiem mass was celebrated.[28] In the case of Agnes and Konrad, a priest from nearby St. Theodor, the parish they had belonged to during their lifetimes, was to celebrate the requiem mass after *laudes*.[29] During the period of commemoration, that is, vigil on the eve and mass on the morrow, Agnes and Konrad's tombs were to be draped in cloth and two candles were to be lit on the alter on which the requiem mass was celebrated.[30] Once mass was completed, the priest would sprinkle the draped tombs with holy water, as was the tradition "in our house of God" at Klingental.[31]

Alms giving was also a central part of Agnes and Konrad Kilman's anniversary. In their foundation, the couple stipulated that the bursar of St. Theodor should announce the Kilmans' anniversary up to eight days prior to the event. Moreover, Klingental's sacristan was instructed to give one pound to the bursar of St. Theodor, which he would use to buy white breads.[32] The breads were to be placed in the convent church during requiem mass and feed the attending poor who had come to pray for the Kilmans' souls.[33] The explicit consideration of the poor, including largesse toward them, was common in late medieval post-obit arrangements, particularly in an urban environment. The prayers of the righteous poor were considered particularly efficacious as were those of virginal nuns and ordained priests.[34] And the Kilmans requested prayers from all three groups. In addition to the parish poor and the nuns, also 12 priests were stipulated to attend their annual requiem mass. The Kilmans certainly counted on their combined prayers to be particularly impactful and to shorten the time their souls would suffer in purgatory. All attendants of the requiem mass were renumerated for their assistance. The parish poor received the aforementioned white breads, the 12 priests received eight *rappen* each, the priest of St. Theodor who celebrated mass, four shillings, St. Theodor's bursar was paid six shillings for his efforts, and the remaining four pounds were given to the convent of Klingental for their free usage.[35]

While not all commemoration services were as lavish as those of the Kilmans, the spotty liturgical information in Klingental H does not allow for an overview of the different kinds practiced at Klingental.[36] Nor does it allow to establish even an approximate list of pricing for the different services. The discrepancies between the individual foundations are too great and the

information about the commemorative services performed are too scarce to make any general assessment.[37] Whereas wealthy families such as the Kilmans invested large sums for their anniversaries, less well-off people secured remembrance in the nuns' prayers for a few shillings.[38] Commemorative services rendered in exchange for shilling endowments generally consisted primarily in the founder's names being recited during the day's requiem mass.[39]

For the faithful in late medieval Europe, establishing post-obit services was like setting up a trust fund for their souls. The money invested during their lifetime was meant to yield a regular spiritual outpour in the future. Other than that, anniversary foundations naturally bore little resemblance to trust funds. Although they provided an important source of revenue for many convents, and while more elaborate services required a materially bigger foundation, offering commemorative services was not about maximizing profit. It was about alleviating the purgative ordeal of individual souls. That rich people paid more was not only because they arranged for more elaborate services – although this was certainly a part of it – but also because they had more need for redemption. In Christian belief, the honest poor have always been closer to God's heart than the rich, and therefore they did not have to fear the hereafter.[40]

The testaments of members of Klingental's community are particularly revelatory for the combination of money, eschatological concern, familial identity, and ties to the community that guided anniversary foundations. Klingental's prioress, Clara zu Rhein (c. 1395–1455), invested considerable sums of money in both her own anniversary and in those of her siblings and parents.[41] To the convent as a whole, Clara bequeathed a number of valuable objects. These included several books that were worth 12 gulden and a monstrance worth 28 gulden, which contained a precious relic that Clara also left to her nunnery: hairs of the Virgin Mary.[42] Clara's testament also made provisions for future investments. Thus, Clara left Adelheid von Telberg one gulden usufruct during Adelheid's lifetime. After Adelheid's demise, the money was to be added to the sum dedicated to Clara's own anniversary.[43] Clara made similar provisions for the nine cells she owned at Klingental.[44] The prioress bequeathed her cells to fellow nuns for usage during their lifetime. However, after their deaths, the cells were to be sold and the money added to Clara's own "anniversary fund."[45] Nothing indicates that this progressive growth of funds over approximately one generation was accompanied by more elaborate commemorative services. Rather, it seems to have been a way to make the most of her, admittedly excessive, funds – having loved ones benefit during their lifetime as well as one's own soul in perpetuity. The case of Clara zu Rhein was not an exception, also other nuns foresaw similar progressive installments their testaments.[46]

The testament of Hans von Eschenberg († 1443), one of Klingental's bursars, provides maybe the most balanced reflection of the concerns to provide care for their own soul, those of others, and of the institution that had been their home. In his testament, Hans bequeathed a total of 38 gulden, four

pounds, and six shillings. Five gulden were to be used for his own anniversary and that of his family, namely his "parents and ancestors."[47] He stipulated another four gulden for a collective anniversary for all faithful souls and all those people who had shown kindness to him during his lifetime. But Hans also left money to Klingental itself. The former bursar dedicated 14 gulden, four pounds, and six shillings for renovation works of the church and another gulden for "reading lights" (candles) in the choir. Moreover, Hans von Eschenbach left nine gulden to his biological sisters, Ennelin and Margret, who were both nuns in Klingental. After their deaths, the money was to be added to the von Eschenbach family anniversary fund, which then would also include the commemoration of his sisters.[48]

Even if running a profit was not the objective of a convent's post-obit services, they brought de facto an important influx of money and goods that accumulated to significant wealth. However, it is usually difficult to provide a straightforward number as to the volume of income, as the material goods were too diverse in nature and the documentation is spotty. This is also true for Klingental. In addition to money, there were significant numbers of arable lands and rents in grain, along with valuable horses (one worth 100 gulden!), precious books, and even emeralds and rubies.[49] If we leave all none-monetary foundations aside – and that is a substantial fraction – Klingental H registers a combined monetary fortune of 3,742 gulden, 5,464 pounds, 1,653 marks, and 4.5 shillings.[50] While this certainly sounds like a lot (and indeed it was), the amalgam of numbers and currencies, along with the uncertainties regarding their values, make it difficult to imagine anything concrete.

As many others cities at the time, also late medieval Basel knew a number of different currencies. The classical one of was that of pound, shillings and pennies, where one pound equaled 20 shillings or 240 pennies. Of the three, only the penny was minted, while the pound was a money of account used for facilitated bookkeeping, that is, to avoid having to calculate with horrendously high amounts of pennies. The value of the currency was derived from its silver content. Theoretically, one pound equaled the value of one pound of silver.[51] Thus, each minted penny nominally contained about 1.7 g of silver. However, over the course of time, the actual silver content tended to decrease, and this debasement caused an inflation of prices.[52]

A new coinage system emerged in the city of Florence in the mid-thirteenth century. There, the officials began to mint gold coins – the gold guilder or gulden. The gulden weighed 3.5 g. Originally, the value of one gulden was equal to that of one pound of silver money. However, this initial equality did not last and the gulden quickly exceeded the pound in value.[53] Over the course of the following century, many other European cities began to mint gold coins, including Basel (1430). While both currencies coexisted, the gulden quickly became the more valuable and stable coin, and therefore the more trusted currency.[54] In fifteenth-century Basel, one gulden was worth about one pound and three shillings.[55] The third currency that enjoyed wide usage was the silver mark. The mark was, much like the pound, a book-currency

rather than an actual minted coin. In late medieval Basel, the mark of Cologne was used, which weighed 233.856 g of silver, and was thus roughly worth half a pound.[56]

Premodern currencies are not only complicated because of their multitude and the many regional differences, but also because it is impossible to "translate" their value into modern currencies. However, we can give some indications in terms of their purchasing power. Thus, we know that in 1317, one *viertzel* of grain (approximately 272 L) cost three pounds on Basel's markets, while one *viertzel* of oat was traded at one pound ten shillings. The year 1317 was particularly expensive, as crop failures had caused grain prices to explode. Christian Wurstisen, Basel's sixteenth-century chronicler, wrote that many people died because they couldn't afford the high prices.[57] The same chronicler informs us about a price on the other end of the scale – namely the purchase of an entire city. In the late fourteenth century, the council of Basel sought to buy the town of Kleinbasel which had hitherto been independent from the main city on the left bank of the Rhine. In 1391, Basel paid 29,800 gulden (or 35,000 pounds) to the Austrian Habsburgs who, in turn, had received Kleinbasel from Bishop Jean de Vienne († 1382) in 1375.[58]

Although grain prices in the early fourteenth century and those of an entire city by the end of that same century are little more than reference points, they nevertheless allow us to get a sense of the monetary fortune registered in Klingental's anniversary book. The 3,742 gulden, 1,653 marks, and 5,464 pounds, that is, roughly 10,500 pounds combined, would be the equivalent of 1/3 of the price Basel paid to buy its neighboring town in 1391 or that of 2,720,000 L oats in 1317. Or, in more general terms – it was a lot of money. And that money needed managing.

Of Rent and Realty

In medieval Europe, the accumulation of wealth was only possible through literally hoarding coins in treasure chambers. This, however, was a practice which Craig Muldrew describes as being "considered unsociable and miserly."[59] Moreover, it was financially unproductive. Especially for wealthy individuals and institutions, it would thus have seemed natural to put their money to work rather than hoarding it.[60] It simply made more sense to invest money into ventures yielding annual revenues than to draw on a hoarded fortune that, no matter how big, would inevitably shrink over time. In the absence of banks, there were essentially three ways of putting money to work in medieval Europe. The first was to exchange it for land which yielded regular crops or other revenues. The second was to buy rents, and the third, to use it to acquire properties or the tithes connected to properties, which then could be leased out. All of these capitalized on extant wealth being available to be invested into money-rendering endeavors. The previous chapter has amply discussed the first way, while the subsequent pages will engage with the other two, starting with rent acquisitions.

Rents were de facto a form of credit that circumvented the church's ban of money lending.[61] Similar to a modern-day mortgage, an individual, a family, or an institution would receive a certain amount of money from another individual or an institution. In exchange, the loaner agreed to make regular payments ("pay a rent") to their creditor. Such an agreement was not simply built onto the trust that the loaners would be willing and able to pay. Rather, it required a material basis, such as a house, a vineyard, or a field as security. To avoid suspicion of usury, these agreements were not framed as credits or mortgages, but as rents that were purchased. The debtor was the seller and the creditor was the buyer.

The agreement between Hans Franck along with the brothers Peter and Hans Thoman and the nuns of Klingental can serve as a typical example for such an exchange. In 1495, the three men sold an annual rent of one pound to Klingental. Hans, Peter, and Hans owned vineyards and fields, whose crops formed the material basis of the rent. In exchange for the annual rent, Klingental paid the three men 20 pounds.[62] In the wording of the time: for the sum of 20 pounds, Klingental purchased an annual rent of one pound from Hans Franck and Peter and Hans Thoman. The rate of 1–20, that is, one pound or gulden of annual rent payment in exchange for the onetime payment of 20 pounds or gulden, was relatively stable throughout the fifteenth century. It was roughly 5% of the total value, which was the common rate for credit deals in the area at that time.[63] However, prior to the fourteenth century, the rate used to be double – and sellers had to pay 10%, that is, annually 2 gulden for a 20 gulden credit.[64] The decline of the interest rate from 10% to 5% may be indicative for credits having become a ubiquitous phenomenon of the late medieval urban economy.[65]

A substantial part of the rent purchases Klingental made exchanged a sum of money for regular *naturalia* payments. Of the 280 charters testifying to rent purchases, 86 arrange for rents in grain, wine, chicken, or a mixture of money and *naturalia* payments.[66] In 1333, Klingental bought an annual rent from Unterlinden monastery in Colmar for 132 pounds. In exchange, Unterlinden agreed to deliver "16.5 *viernzel* minus 1 *sester* of spelt" (approximately 4,755 L) from their domain in Knoeringue, along with four chickens and one capon, every year.[67] The volume of the exchange between Klingental and Unterlinden, two wealthy institutions, was high – both in terms of the money paid (132 pounds silver) and the volume of grain delivered in return. Most rental purchases were smaller in volume. And contrary to the post-obit arrangements discussed earlier, Klingental's rent purchases followed a discernable price pattern. Thus, in the mid-fourteenth century, Klingental paid between seven and eight pounds for annual rents of one *viernzel* (ca. 145 L) of grain.[68] The rate for white wine was about five gulden per *ohm* (ca. 136 liters). In 1358, Klingental's nun, Margarete Metterin, paid ten gulden for an annual rent of two *ohm* of white wine, while the Konvent paid 32 gulden for an annual rent of 6 *ohm* of wine.[69] In this regard, Hugo Ebschi cut a good deal, when he negotiated 140 gulden for a rent of 24 *ohm* of white wine.[70]

While such *naturalia* rents became less common by the fifteenth century, they did not disappear. And, at least in regard to grain and wine, the rate seems to have remained relatively stable. As late as 1512, Klingental purchased a rent of six *ohm* for 30 pounds, that is, approximately 26 gulden five shillings.[71]

Why did people enter such agreements – engaging in annual payments, often for unspecified lengths of time – in exchange for a onetime cash payment?[72] Probably for the same reasons people take out a mortgage on their houses today or buy goods on credit: to make a large purchase for which they didn't have the means at the time. While Klingental's charters neither reveal the sellers' motivation nor their intention of what they planned to do with the money, other sources do. Especially the so-called *vergichtbücher*, a sort of official account books of debts kept by Basel's courts, sometimes provide some insights.[73] Within the city, people borrowed money to pay for a new horse, a house, or new working tools and materials, such as leather, and some even had to sell a rent to pay outstanding food bills.[74]

For the rents sold to Klingental, we may assume similar motivations, although Klingental seems to only have done business with people who were financially better off than some of the debtors who appear in Basel's *vergichtbücher*. Klingental's sellers all owned land which served as security and the crops of which were either used as payment or their value in money. The smallest sum registered in the charters is that of 1.5 pounds (30 shillings), in exchange for which Hanneman Silbirsag from Rouffach agreed to give Klingental two capons per annum in 1347.[75] The majority of rents were purchased for sums ranging between 8 and 20 pounds – thus, sums too big to pay four outstanding food bills.

Klingental was not interested in small credit lines where the risk of default was high and the collected revenues small. Contrary to small credits, purchasing larger rents that were backed by landed possession was a less risky investment model, especially in a fast-growing commercial city like Basel.[76] Due to the average sums registered in the charters, it seems likely that the sellers of rents would have used the money to buy a house, more land, or to finance expensive repairs on their farms. What was in it for Klingental? The regular rents, of course. Rather than hoarding the money that the convent received in the context of dowries, the intake of pensioners, sales from the grainary, and post-obit services, investing it in rents assured a regular influx of money and a gradual growth of the convent's wealth.[77]

Another form of turning cash into regular revenues was buying houses or the ground taxes that were attached to them – or both. Gabriela Signori has coined the term "house-economy" (*Hauswirtschaft*) to describe the importance of real estate for Basel's late medieval urban economy.[78] In her study on debt in late medieval Basel, Signori analyzed 260 house sales between 1475 and 1480. The city's late medieval housing market was a vivid one. Between 40 and 80 sales happened per annum, which is an impressively high percentage considering that fifteenth-century Basel comprised only approximately 2,000 houses in total. The majority of buyers were couples who, quite

literally, sought to set-up house after getting married. Moreover, the many immigrants who fluxed into Basel from the surrounding areas certainly also had contributed to the high fluctuation rates.[79]

The late medieval house-economy worked differently from today's real estate market. In Basel, as in many other cities, house ownership did not imply that one also owned the land on which the house was standing.[80] Frequently, house owners had to pay a ground tax to one of the local landowners – who were usually members of the city's patriciate or ecclesiastical institutions. Revelatory for the complexity of ground vs. house ownership is the example of the couple Michel Iselin and Elsin Bischofin, his wife, which Gabriela Signori has come across. In 1475, the couple bought a row of six houses including gardens. The unity of the six houses was not only visible through the fact that they formed a row, but also through a shared perimeter fence. Nevertheless, the property tithe for each house went to a different landowner.[81] Moreover, the tax rate varied significantly from house to house. The highest amount was owed to a squire named Thomas Sürlin, namely one pound and five shillings per annum. The other five landowners were ecclesiastical institutions who demanded lesser sums. The lowest of which was at six shillings which Michel Iselin and Elsin Bischofin had to pay to the bursar of the Basel Minster.[82]

The vast majority of house owners had to render such ground tithes.[83] In Basel, as in many other cities of the Empire, a house and the land on which it was erected were legally and taxably separate. Thus, in addition to paying a given sum for a house, the buyer had to agree to pay an annual property tax to the individual, or, more frequently, the ecclesiastic institution that owned the land parcel on which the building had been erected. Additional payments, usually in form of chickens, pepper or special breads, called *ringe*, were to be made on the day of the annual visitation of the realty (*weisung*). A third type of payment was the *erschatz*, a fee charged when a property changed hands.[84] Like the other parts of the pre-modern property economy, also the house-economy was complex as a number of different, yet parallel obligations were at play. And the frequent changes in house ownership, while ground ownership tended to remain more stable, added to both the "paperwork" and the risk of losing sight of who owed exactly what to whom, and when. Due to the complexity and multitude of claims, there was a risk of losing track even with the most diligent book keeping, and thus of gradually losing revenues. At least this frequently happened the case for the city's old landowning institutions, such as the Minster or St. Alban.[85] Nevertheless, Basel's late medieval house market was worth investing in. Not so much in search for making a quick profit (for that house prices were too stable), but in order to turn monetary assets into regular revenues, especially for younger institutions such as Klingental.

Klingental's investments into Basel's house-economy followed the same pattern as its other revenue generating endeavors. They were continuous, but with visibly increasing activity since the second half of the fourteenth

century. Between 1276 and 1550, Klingental acquired a total of 67 houses, 54 of which were located within Basel and 13 in the areas where Klingental owned most of its arable land and vineyards. Thus, three houses were located in Habsheim,[86] five in the surroundings of Rouffach,[87] and two near Mulhouse.[88] Of the 54 houses located within Basel, we can identify the precise address of 48 of them (Figure 5.1, dark grey icons). Most of them were located within the inner walls of the city, and some even around market square, the borough, where Basel's wealthy merchants lived. However, the convent also owned property in the city's more peripheral quarters. In addition to revenues from leasing actual houses, Klingental also collected the ground tax for a number of grounds upon which houses stood. The distinction between the two – tithes from houses and ground taxes – is not always easy to make. In total, Klingental received payments from about 182 houses and/or the grounds they stood on. Within Basel, the location of 26 of the houses from which Klingental received ground axes could be identified (Figure 5.1, light grey icons). Similar to those houses in possession of Klingental, also those whose owners were obliged to make ground tax payments to Klingental, were dispersed across the entire city.

The means of acquisition varied. Thus, Klingental received some houses in exchange for post-obit services, such as the house of the baker Wernlin von

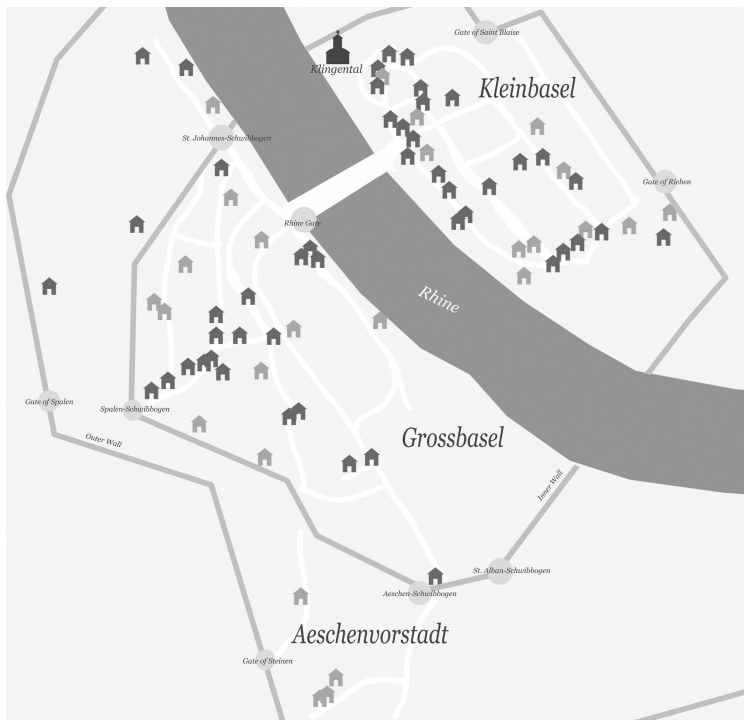

Figure 5.1 Klingental's house-economy in the late fifteenth-century Basel. Map design: Agnes Schormann.

Kirchen in 1361.[89] However, most often, the convent purchased houses, and, when possible, together with the rights to all other revenues connected to it. This was the case with a house on Spalenberg, which Klingental bought from Katherine Lotter in 1365. The house along with the ground had been Katherine's dower, and she sold both to Klingental for 87.5 pounds. In addition to the house itself, Klingental thus received the 3.5 pounds of annual tithe and two breads for the annual visitation (*weisung*). The *erschatz* for the property was at five shillings.[90]

The houses in Klingental's possession were often given as inheritable leases to individuals, and at times, even to the city. Thus, in 1302, Klingental leased a house, located next to the bridge to the city of Basel. In exchange, the council agreed to pay three pounds annual rent along with two breads and a rooster for the annual *weisung*.[91] In 1383, the council leased another house for three pounds annual rent along with one pound of pepper to be rendered on the day of the *weisung*.[92] The majority of houses were leased to individuals, however. The annual rents varied from several shillings to ten pounds, which Peter Schoenegg and Katherine, his wife, paid annually for a house located in the preferred area of Rheinsprung, an elevation above the river close to the Minster, in 1384.[93] An *erschatz* of ten shillings was agreed upon, which would have to be paid when someone else, such as the heirs of Peter and Katherine Schoenegg, took over the lease.[94] It sometimes happened that tenants of a house or a farm found themselves unable to render their dues. Faced with such a situation, the nuns of Klingental proved to be just as harsh as any secular property owner would have been. Eleven charters testify to *fronungen*, that is, foreclosures of houses whose tenants had been unable to pay. Upon return of the property to Klingental, the nuns then were free to forge an inheritable lease with new, more solvent tenants.[95]

While the nature of Klingental's investments in rents, houses, and ground taxes has become tangible, the income the convent derived from them still needs to be assessed. The following is again based on the figures given in the charters – and thus neither takes into consideration possible losses, gaps of payments, nor additional contracts the convent or individual nuns concluded that were registered elsewhere. Finally, the revenues listed below do not reflect an individual year, but are the sum of the dues of all charters. They are thus more indicative for the convent's revenues of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century rather than the early fourteenth century, at which time Klingental was only beginning to build its rent and house-economy. In other words, the following numbers are an orientation. However, even if only an orientation, they are quite impressive.

The annual dues Klingental collected in the context of its rent purchases were the most diverse, comprising both money and *naturalia*. By the turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, the convent had the right to approximately 288.25 gulden, 164 pounds, and 28 pennies. Additionally, they collected 54.5 chickens, three capons, about 1,500 L white wine and more than 24,000 L grain – mostly spelt and oat.[96] These were to be rendered every year, of course. From Klingental's house-economy, the convent's bursar

and bursaress could expect another 171.25 gulden, 125 pounds, and 24 shillings, along with 27 chickens. The combined monetary value would have been about 865 pounds per year, or about 1/12 of the total monetary value registered in the convent's anniversary book. In addition to these dues came those from the annual visitations (*weisungen*), where realty was concerned, and the periodical payments of the *erschatz*, when a farm, house or other realty was passed on to a new owner. For the annual *weisungen*, Klingental had the right to 3.25 pounds of pepper (a luxury good), seven chickens, one rooster and 44 special breads (*ringe*) that were a typical form of payment for *weisungen* in Basel. The periodical *erschatz* brought another 24 pounds, five chickens and two breads.

A few things are noteworthy – especially in regard to the structure of Klingental's economy. The nuns used the advantages of the urban economy and put their money to work. One-time payments, such as those in the context of post-obit arrangements, were invested to yield regular revenues. By the sixteenth century, the revenues collected from rents and the convent's house-economy reached 1/12 of the entire sum registered in the convent's anniversary book. Meaning, every 12 years, Klingental regained the monetary sum the convent's anniversary founders had endowed them with. In reality, they probably did so sooner as the numbers used here are only a fraction of Klingental's annual income. Not considered are the revenues and dues Klingental collected in *naturalia*, diamonds, or other nonmonetary payments, nor those levies the convent received from its arable patrimony discussed in the previous chapter.

Another observation is the continuous importance of *naturalia* rents even in the context of Klingental's urban economic engagements. As the previous chapter has shown, grain and wine were a pivotal pillar of the convent's economy. This was not only reflected in the convent's focus to amass clusters of arable land during the fourteenth century, but also in the central place of Klingental's granary and the influential office of the granary mistress.[97] And revenues rendered in *naturalia* continued to be central also after the convent's economic focus gradually shifted from land acquisition to rent and house-economy in the late fourteenth century. Having a regular influx of grain and wine made premodern institutions independent from the seasonally fluctuating market prices.[98] Moreover, it allowed for the convent's monetary income to be used for things other than basic alimentation. It thus made sense to have both also in an urban economic environment – *naturalia* and monetary revenues. And the nuns of Klingental were both financially and strategically able to build such a diverse and balanced portfolio over the course of two centuries, which allowed them to become Basel's wealthiest convent by 1500.

Rebellious Women: Klingental's Final Years

The nuns of Klingental were, without any doubt, very wealthy, and they knew how to use their personal and their convent's wealth to generate more riches in the form of regular income in both crop and money. The nuns'

lifestyle also reflected their social status and financial means – they lived in richly decorated cells, frequently enjoyed good meals seasoned with expensive spices, and even exotic fruits were a common sight in the convent's dining hall. While not uncommon for a wealthy convent of the time, the nuns' lifestyle was not without critics. When the observant movement gained momentum in the fifteenth century, external pressure on the nuns to adopt a more modest lifestyle rose. When the nuns of Steinen Convent and Basel's Dominicans, Klingental's long-term confessors, embraced observant reform in 1424 and 1429, respectively, the demands for Klingental to follow suit grew louder still. Between 1430 and 1480, Klingental accepted three minor reforms, which, however, seem to have been *pro forma* and remained without actual impact on convent life.[99] Realizing that gentle pressure would lead to no results, a coalition of the Dominicans and members of the city council attempted to force the nuns to finally embrace the observant lifestyle in 1480.

On January 8, 1480, these reformers entered the convent to inform the women about their impending reform. As the visit had been announced beforehand, the nuns were prepared. During the reading of the reform bill, which the men had obtained from Sixtus IV, the nuns made noise and sang out loud so that the urban reform party was unable to make themselves heard.[100] While this may appear a childish reaction at first glance, it was presumably a well-meditated one. In order for a reform mandate to be implemented, those to be reformed had to be informed, instructed, and eventually, they had to voluntarily accept reform.[101] Avoiding to even receive the information was thus a means intended to stop the entire process before it even began. However, also the reformers were prepared for the nuns' resistance, which, at this point, hardly came as a surprise. Disregarding their noise, they informed the women that 13 observant Dominican nuns from Engelporten were on their way and that they would move into Klingental in five days' time. The idea, here as elsewhere, was that the observant nuns would lead the spiritual way – they would show the recalcitrant residents the righteous path and eventually, the unreformed nuns would either embrace reform or leave the convent altogether.[102]

Far from accepting defeat, the announcement of the impending arrival of the Engelporten nuns caused the situation to escalate further. The women threatened to burn down their convent and even to strangle the reform nuns upon their arrival at Klingental. The men's response to the nuns' threats was no less harsh. They placed armed men around the monastic compound and locked the nuns within.[103] Through this drastic measure, the reformers sought to both "convince" the nuns to accept reform after all and if that should fail, to at least prevent them from leaving the compound and taking Klingental's valuable possessions and titles with them. This situation lasted for several weeks. Once the new nuns arrived, they took over the offices of the unreformed ones, who continued to refuse both reform and cooperation and therefore continued to be locked up. It quickly became clear that the women would remain steadfast in their refusal and that the situation at

Klingental was untenable. To avoid further scandal and to appease the city's powerful families, who may have favored reform but who certainly would not tolerate their daughters being locked up for long, the bishop of Basel offered then nuns freedom to leave the city. In exchange, they had to agree to provide exact accounts of Klingental's revenues and to transfer all monastic possessions, titles, and revenues to the reformed nuns. This was meant to be a compromise – allowing the old nuns to continue their way of life outside of Basel, while ensuring that Klingental, the city's wealthiest monastic institution, would remain wealthy – and be reformed. On January 28, 37 out of 38 nuns accepted these terms. They left Klingental and retreated to their convent's former home in Wehr.[104]

However, the story was far from being over. Although they had been forbidden from doing so, the exiled nuns had succeeded to take many of Klingental's valuable titles and charters with them. Moreover, the women were firmly set to return to Basel. From Wehr, they litigated against their institution's unsolicited reform, and in the process, they benefitted from their far-ranging economic influence in Basel. Out of fear of the economic disruption the women could cause, the council allowed them to send a messenger to Rome. In their message to the pope, the nuns asked for papal approval for their own compromise meant to solve the matter in their favor. They suggested to leave the Dominican Order and to henceforth live as secular canonesses, who were traditionally allowed to own personal property and did not abide by strict enclosure. Moreover, they were willing to accept spiritual guidance from any regular clergy, as long as they were neither Dominican nor Franciscan, that is, clergy less favorable to impose observant reforms on them. Somewhat surprisingly, Sixtus IV agreed, and on October 20, 1482, the "old" nuns returned to Basel.[105] Once they arrived at Klingental, they showed little leniency toward their observant sisters who had lived in the compound for close to three years. The eviction of the observant nuns was violent and even caused the desecration of the choir.[106] However, once the pecking order had been reinstated, the women provided their observant sisters with provisions for their journey back to Engelporten, probably in order to get them out of Klingental and Basel as quickly as possible.[107]

When the calm had returned within their cloister walls, the community left the Dominican Order and henceforth lived as Augustinian canonesses, which essentially allowed them to continue their accustomed lifestyle – now under the authority of an abbess rather than a prioress.[108] However, the nuns stayed in character also in a different regard. During the years of their exile, the convent had suffered financial losses – partially because the observant nuns and their administrators were not as economically versed, and partially, because the exiled nuns had taken important documents with them to Wehr. To make up for these losses, the convent demanded a compensation of 36,000 gulden from the city's Dominicans in spring 1483. The monks were legally responsible for the imposed reform and the women's exile, and thus for the financial losses Klingental had suffered over the course of the past three years. In the end, the nuns

indeed received 11,500 gulden – which was an extremely heavy burden for the Dominicans whose convent was significantly less wealthy than Klingental.[109] While the hefty price certainly cured the failed reformers from mingling any further in Klingental's affairs, monastic peace was not to last long.

With the introduction of the Reformation in Basel in 1529, the council pressured all religious orders to leave their respective institutions. Monastics were no longer allowed to hear mass and they were stripped of control over their revenues and archives. However, Klingental's nuns continued to be influential and they sought to defend their way of life for as long as possible. Until 1534, 13 canonesses accepted the council's offer of an annual rent of 100 gulden and left the convent, while the others persistently refused. In the end, the council decided to sit the matter out until the last nuns would die. In October 1557, Abbess Walpurg von Runs died, leaving Ursula von Fulach as the last nun at Klingental. In 1559, Ursula eventually accepted the city's offer of 320 gulden annual rent and left Basel.[110]

Conclusion: Of Wealth and Debts and Dissolution

The source base for Klingental is uncommonly rich. Especially the 2,800 charters housed at the Staatsarchiv Basel Stadt allow for tracing the convent's economic policies and the changes of their focus over time. That Klingental's archives are both particularly rich and suited for the type of inquiry pursued here is owed to three factors. First, the convent was wealthy from the beginning and its members economically versed. They therefore could afford and knew how to gradually build a sound economic foundation for their institution. Second, because Klingental was both wealthy and its economic foundation sound at the time of the convent's dissolution, the city of Basel was careful to keep Klingental's records in good order so that it could continue to collect Klingental's revenues – which it did until the nineteenth century. Finally, the historian working on Klingental benefits from the generally fortunate situation that Swiss archives experienced far fewer losses than other European archives. Due to the absence of wars or major natural catastrophes, the fonds of Swiss archives tend to be more comprehensive than those in Germany or France.

The choice to focus on Klingental's charters while bypassing account books has been a conscious one. Social history is traditionally interested in the everyday aspects of economic practices. For such inquiries, account books are a tremendously rich source. However, this study has a slightly different focus. Rather than Klingental's economic practices during a certain period, I have been interested in the structure of the convent's economic set-up and its evolution for over two centuries. The focus has been on Klingental's backbone and skeleton rather than its flesh and muscles, so to speak. For such a focus, charters and other normative sources, such as the convent's anniversary book, are particularly revelatory, as they allow for reconstructing long-term patters along with discussing changes of policy and strategy.

Of course, it is crucial to be aware of the inherent bias these – as any other types of sources – carry. Charters inform us about a given acquisition or sale and the price paid or obtained for it, and the date the transaction was concluded. Further economic information – annual rents, tithes, or other revenues – are normative, in the sense that they provide the numbers of what should be rendered. Contrary to account books, charters usually don't reveal what was actually rendered.

One should neither expect that Klingental always collected the revenues it was owed nor overestimate the overall profitability even of such a well-positioned institution as Klingental. In premodern Europe, institutional wealth did not imply being profitable in the modern sense, and debts were a ubiquitous and normal phenomenon of the premodern economy.[111] Frequently, peasants failed to render the grain they owed and rent payers found themselves unable to pay their dues one year, hoping to be able to deliver double in the next. Deficient accounting often caused further losses for the receiving institution. Partially, because the more precise double entry accounting remained the exception north of the Alps,[112] and partially because the sheer size of different, sometimes very small, revenues, required an increasing number of officials to manage, officials who risked overlooking and thus eventually forgetting about dues they had a right to collect. Renée Weis-Müller has shown that this was the case also at Klingental's grainary.[113] In fact, the grainary only ran a consecutive profit during the two decades Johann von Eschenbach († 1467) administered it. Eschenbach, who became Klingental's bursar in 1443, also served as the granary's interim manager. During his tenure, he reformed the granary's bookkeeping. As subsequent grainary mistresses did not keep up his accounting standards, the grainary went back to making periodical losses.[114] However, as elaborated earlier, premodern society, including monastic institutions, had different concepts of wealth. Wealth was understood to be of longue durée; it was as much structural as it was actual, so to speak.[115]

And structurally, Klingental was extremely well positioned. This positioning was owed to Klingental's officers – female and male – who were generally very able managers. Despite being late to join the race for Basel's worldly riches compared to such deeply rooted religious institutions as St. Alban or the Minster, Klingental succeeded in making their convent the city's wealthiest monastic institution. In this process, two major phases are discernable. During that first phase, the women focused on acquiring arable land and forming clusters which made not only the agrarian production, but also its stewardship more efficient. During the second phase, the convent purchased rents and real estate. Naturally, these two phases were not strictly separated, but overlapped. However, they peaked in different centuries. During the fourteenth century, the convent's focus lay on land acquisition, and during the fifteenth on rent and realty, which brought them annual revenues in both money and kind. The money the women needed to pay for these investments stemmed from a variety of sources: dowries, donations, money obtained by

housing pensioners, and, especially, the endowments Klingental received in exchange for post-obit services.

Because information on individual nuns is scarce, it is difficult to get a grasp of the community or the prowess of individual prioresses. No narrative history sheds light on the women and *conversi* who made up Klingental. However, the well-documented conflict between the nuns determined to avert reform and the Dominican and urban reformers seeking to impose it, give us a sense of the women's self-confidence. The women did not eschew conflict, and they knew how to win it. By 1483, they successfully scared off the council and threatened Basel's Dominicans with financial ruin. While they would lose their fight against the Reformation, they also put up a fight here – prolonging their convent's dissolution for about three decades.

It is at least noteworthy that the women of Klingental acted differently in all this, from Fraumünster's last nuns. The reason for the two community's different reactions to their impending dissolution in the sixteenth century must at least partially be sought in their different economic situations. By the sixteenth century, Fraumünster was ailing both from an economic and structural perspective, while Klingental was flourishing. Monastic institutions whose structural economy was desolate more willingly accepted their secularization than those that continued to fare well.[116] In other words, secularization had little to offer to the women of Klingental; rather, it caused them great losses, namely of economic freedom and of an autonomous life within their chosen community. Before this backdrop, it is no surprise that Fraumünster's last abbess, Katharina von Zimmern, willingly and quickly transferred her withering abbey to the city of Zurich, whereas the convent of Klingental held out as long as possible against its inevitable secularization.

Notes

1 Kurt Wessen, *"An der stuer ist ganz nuett bezalt". Landesherrschaft, Verwaltunf und Wirtschaft in den fürstbischöflichen Ämtern in der Umgebung Basels (1435–1525)* (Basel and Frankfurt a. M.: Helbing u. Lichtenhahn, 1994), 159–162.
2 For the calendar of the region's annual fairs, see Rippmann, *Bauern und Städter*, 139.
3 Among others, Monika Seifert, "Die Entwicklung der Memorialkultur vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel des Totengedenkens im Kloster Lorsch," in: *Bücher des Lebens – Lebendige Bücher*, ed. Peter Erhart and Jakob Hüeblin (St. Gallen: Stiftsarchiv, 2010), 219–225.
4 Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 316–317.
5 The example of Fraumünster has been discussed in detail in this regard in Chapters 2 and 3. St. Alban of Basel is another example – this time of a male community; Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 111; 113–124.
6 Peter Jezler, "Jenseitsmodelle und Jenseitsvorsorge – Eine Einführung," in: *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer. Das Jenseits im Mittelalter. Eine Ausstellung des Schweizerischen Landesmuseums*, ed. Peter Jezler (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1994), 18–26; and Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* CCCCV (1987): 838–839.

7 Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 71–72; and Martin Illi, *Wohin die Toten gingen. Begräbnis und Kirchhof in der vorindustriellen Stadt* (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1992), 85–88.
8 Clive Burgess, "A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society* 105 (1987): 196–197.
9 Burgess, "Service for the Dead," 203; and Illi, *Wohin die Toten gingen*, 91.
10 Signori, *Paradiesehe*, 162–178; and Sharon T. Strocchia, "Remembering the Family: Women, Kin, and Commemorative Masses in Renaissance Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 635–654.
11 For a more detailed distinction between necrologies and anniversary books, see Seifert, "Entwicklung der Memorialkultur"; Rainer Hugener, "Vom Necrolog zum Jahrzeitbuch. Totengedenken und Buchführung am Übergang zum Spätmittelalter," in: Erhart and Hüeblin (eds.), *Bücher des Lebens*, 261–267; and Franz Neiske, "Funktion und Praxis der Schriftlichkeit im klösterlichen Totengedenken," in: *Viva vox und ratio scripta. Mündliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im Mönchtum des Mittelalters*, ed. Clemens M. Kaspar and Klaus Schreiner (Münster: LIT, 1997), 97–118.
12 Wolfgang Schmid, "Zwischen Tod und Auferstehung. Zur Selbstdarstellung städtischer Eliten des ausgehenden Mittelalters im Spiegel von Stifterbildern," in Jezler (ed.), *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, 101.
13 Anne Kathrin Diekjobst, *Teilhaben an Gesellschaft. Personenkonzepte und soziale Adressierung im monastischen Kontext des späten Mittelalters* (unpublished PhD Dissertation: University of Konstanz, 2019), 234–242.
14 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 37.
15 "Jahrzeitbuch des Gotteshauses Klingental im Minderen Basel, do angefangen im jahr 1442 und Nachricht giebt über die jarzeitge Kiste jährliche Zinse und gefälle," Klingental J, fol. 3r.
16 The testaments include those of the nuns and sisters Agnes and Enneli of Roseck (Klingental H, fol. 3 v–4 v), Gred of Eptingen (Klingental H fol. 23 r–28 v), and Clara zu Rhein (Klingental H fol. 94 r–95 v), along with those of Klingental's bursar Hans of Eschenberg (Klingental H fol. 55 r).
17 And Basel did so until the mid-nineteenth century; Annalena Müller, "Totgesagte leben länger. Das Kloster Klingental als Verwaltungseinheit in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft," in: Hirbodian, Scheible, and Schormann (eds.), *Konfrontation, Kontinuität und Wandel*, 70.
18 In addition to restructuring (and eventually relocating) Basel's former monastic archives, the city also compiled hundreds of registers allowing for better accounting and administrating the city's convents' wealth; Müller, "Totgesagte," 66–69.
19 Basel is not an unusual case, and this observation holds true for many regions where monastic institutions faced dissolution. It is therefore important to be aware of this source bias: the fact that more economic sources have come down to us than religious sources does not testify to a lamentable state of religiosity in these institutions, but is a reflection of what archivists of the past have deemed worthy of keeping.
20 Klingental H fol. 1 r; 1 *viernzel* measured 272 L in the region of Basel, Dubler, *Masse und Gewichte*, 34–37.
21 Klingental H fol. 65 v.
22 Klingental H fol. 5 v.
23 Klingental H fol. 4 v and 15 v.

24 Arnold Angenendt, "Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Toten-Memoria," in: *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1984), 180–184; and Oexle, "Memoria," 76–82; 385.
25 Klingental H fol. 115 r.
26 For biographical information on Konrad and Agnes Kilman, see Garbiela Signori's critical edition, *Das Schuldbuch des Basler Kaufmanns Ludwig Kilchmann (gest. 1518)*, Herausgegeben und kommentiert von Gabriela Signori (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014), 8–10.
27 Klingental H fol. 115 r.
28 Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead," 847.
29 St. Theodor Church is only a ten-minute walk from Klingental. In the Middle Ages, St. Theodor belonged to the Cluniac monks of St. Alban whose convent was located on the other side of the Rhine River; Roger Jean Rebmann, "St. Theodor in Kleinbasel," https://altbasel.ch/fromm/sttheodor.html, accessed August 10, 2022.
30 Klingental H fol. 115 r.
31 "Noch unsers gotzhuses gewohnheit," Klingental H fol. 115 v.
32 Klingental H fol. 115 r.
33 Klingental H fol. 115 r.
34 Burgess, "Service for the Dead," 189–190; and Gabriela Signori, "Leere Seiten: Zur Memorialkultur eines nicht regulierten Augustiner-Chorfrauenstifts im ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert," in: *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 156.
35 Klingental H fol. 115 v; in terms of Basel's currency, 1 pound was the equivalent of 20 shillings, which again were worth 240 pennies. As of 1377, a new coin, the *rappen*, was introduced. One *rappen* was worth 2 pennies. http://www.basler-bauten.ch/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=63:varia&id=263:waehrungen, accessed August 10, 2022.
36 In the case of other institutions, establishing average "pricings" is possible – for example, for funerals at Zurich's Grossmünster, where the cost of an anniversary averaged three pounds in 1346; Illi, *Wohin die Toten gingen*, 91.
37 This is different for Klingental's councillors who seem to have been required to invest a minimum of 80 gulden for their anniversaries; Signori, "Leere Seiten," 165.
38 There are a total of 38 entries that mention anniversary foundations of sums of less than one pound. The lowest foundations were as low as two shillings; Klingental H fol. 59 v; 97 v; 199v.
39 Burgess, "Service for the Dead," 183; and Oexle, "Memoria," 76–86.
40 This notion is based on Jesus stating that it would be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the kingdom of God. Cf. Gospels, Mk 10, 17–25; Lk 18, 18–25; Mt 19, 16–24.
41 Klingental H fol. 93 v.
42 Klingental H fol. 94 r.
43 Klingental H fol. 94 r.
44 Cf. Chapter 4.
45 Klingental H fol. 94 r–94 v.
46 Cf. testaments of the sisters Clare and Ursel zum Angen, Klingental H fol. 106 v–112v; 112 v–114 v.
47 Klingental H fol. 55 r.
48 Klingental H fol. 55 r.

49 A certain sir of Bechburg gave the convent a "big horse worth 100 gulden" (Klingental H fol. 5 v); a priest named Ludwig Sinken left a "book of saints" worth 12 gulden (Klingental H fol. 68 v); Elsi von Rottersdorf, a nun at Klingental, bequeathed a "golden ring with an emerald" (Klingental H fol. 211 v); and Jacob von Eptingen gave a ruby for his anniversary foundation (Klingental H fol. 34 v).
50 This is an approximate value which only considers those foundations and inheritance actually paid in money, excluding those material goods whose monetary value is given. Foundations in shillings have been transformed into pounds – that is, the sum of 1,024.5 shillings equal 51 pounds and 4.5 shillings (20 shillings equal one pound).
51 John H. Munroe, "Introduction," in: *Money in the Pre-Industrial World: Bullion, Debasements and Coins Substitutes*, ed. John H. Munroe (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 4.
52 Munroe, "Introduction," 4–5; and Michael North, *Das Geld und seine Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (München: C.H. Beck, 1994), 20.
53 Munroe, "Introduction," 5; and North, *Das Geld*, 26–27.
54 http://www.basler-bauten.ch/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=63:varia&id=263:waehrungen; generally, the gulden was less affected by debasement than the more locally used silver currency, its value was thus more stable and quickly outvalued the silver currency; Munroe, "Introduction," 5.
55 Gustav Schönberg, *Finanzverhältnisse der Stadt Basel im XIV und XV. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Verlag der H. Laup'schen Buchhandlung, 1879), 712–713.
56 Daniel Schmutz, "Mark (Gewicht)," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, Version vom 22.08.2008. Online: https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/013666/2008-08-22/.
57 Christian Wurstisen, Basler Chronik (1580), 157. Online: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00089269/images/index.html?id=00089269&seite=183&fip=193.174.98.30&nativeno=&groesser=200%25.
58 Christian Wurstisen, Basler Chronik (1580), 197. Online: https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0008/bsb00089269/images/index.html?id=00089269&seite=224&fip=193.174.98.30&nativeno=&groesser=200%25; and René Teuteberg, *Basler Geschichte* (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 1986), 133.
59 Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation. The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 1998), 4.
60 For the role of rents for the "unhoarding" of wealth, see Hans-Jörg Gilomen, *Der Rentenkauf im Mittelalter* (habilitation: University of Basel, 1981), 29–30. Online: https://www.hist.uzh.ch/dam/jcr:ffffffff-e319-f1e9-ffff-ffff92c8b4ad/Rentenkauf.pdf.
61 For an overview, see Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, especially 32–33; 89–105; and Gilomen, "Das kanonische Zinsverbot," 405–449.
62 StABS Klingental 2490.
63 Gabriela Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft. Konsumenten- und Hypothekenkredite im spätmittelalterlichen Basel* (Konstanz and München: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015), 91; and Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 30–31.
64 There were a total of 29 such sales between 1346 and 1545; nine during the fourteenth century at the rate 20 gulden purchased for an annual rent of 2 gulden (StABS Klingental 766, 789, 792, 797, 810, 800, 877, 1007, 1428), and as of 1438, 20 gulden purchases for an annual rent of 1 gulden (StABS Klingental 1953, 2018, 2035, 2059, 2085, 2102, 2158, 2234, 2266, 2291, 2289c, 2413, 2484, 2490, 2515, 2534, 2597, 2618, 2652, 2197). The same ratio generally applied also for purchases of annual rents of 1 gulden (for which 10 gulden were paid until the turn of the century) and more. See also Chapter 3, the rent purchases of Notre-Dame were at a rate of 10%.

65 Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 30–31; and Benjamin Hitz, *Ein Netz von Schulden. Schuldbeziehungen und Gerichtsnutzung im spätmittelalterlichen Basel* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2022), 11.
66 This was common for rent agreements not only in Switzerland and the Empire, but also in France, Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 30–32; in medium-sized towns (such as Basel), rents in *naturalia* remained common also in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 50–53.
67 StABS Klingental 578.
68 In 1343, Klingental paid seven pounds ten shillings for an annual rent of one *viernzel* of spelt. The following year, they paid 20 pounds for 3 *viernzel* of spelt, and in 1345, an annual rent of 2 *viernzel* of spelt was worth 8 pounds silver. Thus, the prices seem to have been relatively stable ones (StABS Klingental 712, 722, 791).
69 StABS Klingental 990 and 1005.
70 StABS Klingental 1143.
71 StABS Klingental 2591.
72 In 1450, the council of Basel banned perpetual rents. However, before 1450, most rents were perpetual; Neidiger, *Mendikanten*, 204; for the different types of rents and their material basis, see Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Die ökonomischen Grundlagen des Kredits und die christlich-jüdische Konkurrenz im Spätmittelalter," in: *Ein Thema – Zwei Perspektiven. Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. Eveline Brugger and Birgit Wiedl (Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2007), 144–148.
73 *Vergichtbücher* were official books of debt in which creditor and debtor had outstanding amounts registered. This made the debt both official and officially recognized by the debtor who could be made accountable if they failed to pay back their debt; Hitz, *Ein Netz von Schulden*, 178–180; and Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 25–27.
74 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 41–42; and Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 30–31.
75 StABS Klingental 843.
76 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 86.
77 For the general development of the rent economy, the backdrop before which convents such as Klingental acted, see Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 30–70.
78 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 87–119.
79 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 88–89; and Chapter 4.
80 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 93–94.
81 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 94
82 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 94
83 Gabriela Signori found this to be the case in 85% of house sales registered between 1475 and 1480; Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 93.
84 Signori, *Schuldenwirtschaft*, 93–96; and Wilhelm Arnold, *Zur Geschichte des Eigentums in den deutschen Städten: Mit Urkunden* (Basel: Verlag von H. Georg, 1861), 73.
85 Arnold, *Zur Geschichte*, 74–76; and Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 276–277.
86 StABS Klingental 786, 811, 2034.
87 StABS Klingental 532, 779, 816, 837, 852.
88 StABS Klingental 143, 1722.
89 StABS Klingental 1053.
90 StABS Klingental 1090.
91 StABS Klingental 192.
92 StABS Klingental 1330.
93 StABS Klingental 1360.

94 StABS Klingental 1360.
95 StABS Klingental 1016/936, 1036, 1122, 1347, 1511, 1557/1559, 157, 2285, 2390, 606. 940.
96 I have gathered all information regarding Klingental's income from rents and houses in a database, which is available open access: https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/KTTSZ2. As Gilomen has shown in his by now classical landmark study, Basel was the region's leading financial center in terms of both rent and house economy. Thus, Klingental was in good company; Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 83–85.
97 Cf. Chapter 4 – *The Economic and Internal Structure*.
98 Gilomen, *Rentenkauf*, 54.
99 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 41–42.
100 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 553; and Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 48–49.
101 Reforming a convent against their will was legally not easy; and reformers all over Europe sought to devise ways to impose reforms on recalcitrant communities, sometimes fabricating stories allowing them to impose reforms; Müller, *From the Cloister to the State*, 185–189.
102 This was a typical strategy of reform at the time; see also Müller, *From the Cloister to the State*, 157–158; 181–186.
103 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 49–50.
104 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 50–53; and Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 553–554.
105 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 52–54.
106 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 556.
107 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 55; 124–125.
108 Degler-Spengler and Christ, "Basel, Klingental," 557.
109 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 56.
110 Gilomen-Schenkel and Degler-Spengler, "Basel, Klingental," 65; and Knecht, *Ausharren*, 189.
111 Hitz, *Ein Netz von Schulden*, 11–12; and Muldrew, *Economy*, 103–110.
112 Double entry accounting was more common in Italian convents, albeit frequently with less wealth to account for; Sylvie DuVal, "Scrivere, contare, gestire. I libri di amministrazione dei monasteri femminili fiorentini (1320–1460)," in: *Scritture, Carismi, Istituzioni. Percorsi di vita religiosa in età moderna. Studi per Gabriella Zarri*, ed. Concetta Bianca and Anna Scattigno (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 2018), 85–104.
113 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 34.
114 Weis-Müller, *Die Reform*, 33–35.
115 For the premodern culture of credit, see Muldrew, *Economy*, 123–196.
116 Gilomen, *Die Grundherrschaft*, 111; 123–124.

Conclusion

When I started researching this project, I did not expect to write a success story. In fact, the degree to which convents such as Klingental and Notre-Dame flourished in the late Middle Ages came as a surprise. I had long known, of course, that the old historiographical narrative of monastic decline in the late Middle Ages was faulty. A growing number of studies, including my own work on Fontevraud, have shown that there was no universal monastic decline in late medieval Europe – and many convents, such as Fontevraud, experienced a renewed rise to influence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Innumerable convents of early and high medieval origin existed for many centuries, some even for more than a millennium. In those regions where the Reformation did not take root, it was the French Revolution and European Secularization which brought about the end of many medieval monasteries. To put it somewhat polemically, for any institution to exist for such long stretches of time as many female monasteries did, its administrators had to have a profound understanding of how to run their institutions. At the same time, considering the long period of their existence until the sixteenth (Reformation) or early nineteenth century (Secularization), any historian studying them in their longue durée will naturally come across periods of crises. That such periods of crisis are more easily discerned for the late than for the high Middle Ages does not come as a surprise either. It is only for this later period that account books provide detailed insights. Moreover, the period's observant reformers were prolific writers who justified their intrusive reforms by portraying unreformed convent life in drastic, albeit frequently exaggerated terms, which have influenced also later perceptions of late medieval monasticism.

Although still looming in the background of the field, the historiographical notion of a high medieval monastic peak and late medieval decline is not predominant in the field anymore. Therefore, it would not in itself justify writing a monograph aiming at debunking it. Nevertheless, its continuous looming was an incentive leading me to wonder about the structural setup(s) of convents and their long-term evolution. The phenomenon of monasteries as institutions that were firmly embedded in the society surrounding them, institutions that lived through wars, natural catastrophes, and profound

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societal and economic changes, has long interested me. I wanted to know as to how they succeeded to weather the many storms of time, which factors allowed them do so, and which eventually proved structurally threatening. My specific interest in structural questions, longue-Durée developments, and strategies caused me to focus on charters as primary sources, while largely bypassing account books. Account books are a rich source for inquiries concerning everyday aspects of economic practices. However, for a focus on structures, charters are more revelatory, as they allow for discerning patters along with changes of policy and strategy.

A second incentive was the question of women and power in medieval Europe. As discussed in the introduction, the question has received increasing attention over the course of the past three decades. However, this attention has been limited to queens and other lay noblewomen and the powers these wielded directly or indirectly.[1] Women religious have hitherto been bypassed in this context,[2] either because scholars interested in the question are not aware of the many secular sides inherent to medieval monasticism or because historians circumvent the question by treating monastic history as a subject apart from social history.[3] Both views (or the absence of views) have not only produced an important historiographical lacuna, but also distorted scholarly perceptions of elite women's agencies in medieval society. As the previous chapters have shown, there were many secular aspects to medieval monasticism. As any other medieval institution, also monasteries had to be able to sustain their communities. This necessitated them being economic entities that produced crops, collected revenues, and assumed responsibility for the men and women working their lands. Moreover, monasteries were ubiquitous in medieval Europe; they were the manorial lords, landlords, and rent-buyers of innumerable individuals in urban and rural environments alike. Monasteries were a central pillar of the medieval economy and an inherent part of society, which itself was deeply religious. Thus, it seemed interesting for a number of reasons to approach female monasticism from a social and economic perspective in order to reveal these institutions and the women who led them as powerful actors of medieval society.

To do so, I selected four nunneries which are representative for top-tier convents north of the Alps. The chosen sample was to reflect the differences and similarities, while limiting the number of convents to allow for an in-depth engagement with their histories and their economic sources. Three of the four convents were of early medieval origin, sharing a number of structural similarities, but also manifesting differences. Of the three, Buchau Abbey was the smallest in terms of patrimony and secular influence. Its authority primarily extended over farmsteads and small villages in an overall rural setting. As such, Buchau is the most typical representative of a manorial abbey. In premodern Europe, there were innumerable convents whose structure and setup made them part of the local ruling elite and allowed their community a comfortable life, albeit without making them powerful seigneurs of transregional importance. Feudal Europe provided ample room for many small

and mid-sized manors and lordships, but had only limited capacities for big players – secular or religious.

Whether small or large, early medieval foundations shared most of their structural traits; Buchau, Notre-Dame, Fraumünster, and others derived their authority and wealth from their landed patrimony which equipped them with far-ranging manorial rights. And they frequently enjoyed a number of feudal prerogatives – such as the right to collect taxes and dispense the highest degree of justice. Despite differences in size and location, their structural similarities make them comparable not only among each other, but they also allow us to think of Buchau, Notre-Dame, and Fraumünster as case studies representing this type of monastic institution in general.

A formative factor for the possibilities and limits of an institution's long-term development was its environment. This included its vicinity (urban or rural), size and structure of its patrimony, number and nature of local competitors, along with access to markets, and the like. While such factors did not solely determine whether a convent would flourish or decline, they did set the frame in which the institution's leaders acted. Thus, in the case of Buchau, the density of cities and monasteries in Upper Swabia in the late Middle Ages put limits to the abbey's possibilities of territorial expansion. At the same time, this density of neighbors was not bad for Buchau's long-term development. Rather, it brought stability to the region, as it established an equilibrium of power among local actors. No single actor in the region could have hoped to gain overall dominion, and the density of institutions and cities allowed Buchau to forge alliances without risking to become dependent on the goodwill of any single patron. Thus, Buchau's late medieval abbesses benefited from an environment which allowed them to affirm their territorial and juridical authority relatively undisturbed, even if this authority remained geographically confined.

The environments of both Notre-Dame de Soissons and Fraumünster of Zurich were at a time more complex and more allowing. Equipped with vast and outstretched patrimonies since their respective foundations, both institutions faced a number of similar challenges. Powerful local rivals in the form of dukes, bishops, or a rising citizenry vied for hegemony. Moreover, both abbeys needed to consolidate their respective territorial possessions which stretched over much bigger areas than those of Buchau. Finally, located in fast-growing urban centers, Notre-Dame and Fraumünster had to adapt to the changing urban economy of which they were also an integral part. None of these were minor challenges. The aptness of the institutions' governments – their long-term economic and territorial strategies – was the most determining factor for their *longue durée*-development. The previous chapters have shown that for a convent to be economically thriving in late medieval Europe, it had to dispose of a diversified economic portfolio. This applies for both early and later medieval foundations. Depending on their respective period of origin, a convent's economic basis was either built to be diversified from the start (Klingental) or actively adapted to become so over a

prolonged period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Notre-Dame and Buchau).

It is appropriate to speak of economic strategies in this context, as both the setup and the adaptations of the monastic economy were gradual procedures that happened over the course of several generations. When observing the strategies followed by individual institutions and the similarities between them, it becomes obvious that the convents and their leaderships understood economy and gave it ample attention. However, as we have also seen, this economic understanding was unequally dispersed or at least the actions that one would expect to follow from such an understanding differed markedly. Buchau, Notre-Dame, and Klingental mastered their economic challenges by implementing proactive policies, while Fraumünster eventually lost control.

If the charters of Notre-Dame, Buchau, and Fraumünster only shed light on general tendencies of their respective territorial and economic strategies, the wealth of Klingental's economic sources grants more detailed insights. These insights confirm, in return, the general tendencies observed for the institutions of early medieval origin: in the late Middle Ages, a sound institutional economy rested on two pillars: (1) agrarian possessions and revenues and (2) financial investments and revenues. In the cases of feudal institutions, notarial and juridical acts brought additional revenues, provided the institution in question had not alienated these prerogatives. Despite the increasingly monetized urban economy, revenues in kind remained central also in the late Middle Ages as they ensured the institution's alimentary autonomy. Klingental's discernable focus on amassing clusters of arable land during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reveals the continuous importance of agrarian possessions, even for an urban convent with ample financial means and access to an elevated number of regional markets (Chapter 4).

Although never becoming all-encompassing, money did become central to the late medieval economy, including the monastic economy. Monasteries needed money to pay for goods purchased on markets, to pay for building materials, and to remunerate the craftsmen, confessors, and priests in their service. Moreover, convents needed to manage their institution's monetary revenues which also became more frequent at that time. In the absence of modern banks, they needed to find ways to turn the growing number of financial donations and foundations into regular revenues. Contrary to arable land, an endowment in shillings or gulden did not by itself bear fruits. An institution thus had to choose between the (unproductive) hoarding of coins in a treasure chamber and the investment of said coins to make them produce a regular influx of money, just as land brought an annual influx of crops. As the cases of Klingental, and to a lesser degree those of Notre-Dame and Buchau, have shown, the convents invested their cash to purchase rents and realty (Chapters 3 and 5). Klingental's charters even allow to put approximate numbers on the revenues the convent annually collected from rents and leases: 865 pounds silver by the waning fifteenth century. This was

a lot of money and the equivalent of 1/12 of the entire monetary foundations registered in Klingental's anniversary book. Every 12 years, the convent thus regained the sum with which hundreds of anniversary founders had endowed Klingental over the course of two centuries (Chapter 5). Of course, these 865 pounds were but a fraction of the annual revenues Klingental collected from foundations, rents, grain fields, and vineyards. In addition to money, there were many thousand liters of wine, grain, and spices, along with livestock of various kinds. The total went far beyond the amounts needed to feed Klingental's inhabitants, pensioners, and the men and women in its service. Considering Klingental's great wealth, both in the form of agricultural possessions and revenue assets, the city's efforts to procure them for Basel after the convent's dissolution is hardly surprising.

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From a structural perspective, the institutions under consideration were successful – albeit reaching different degrees of success. To reuse the image of success as a three-tier podium, all four convents easily reached the first tier. They all existed for numerous centuries through which they provided comfortable living for the members of their community. Three out of four, i.e., Notre-Dame, Buchau, and Klingental, reached the top tier. One may indeed describe their economic development in terms of a success story. These convents and their leaderships very much understood the prerequisites for economic soundness – and they acted accordingly, adapted where necessary, showing tenacity and long-term perspectives. Institutional success therefore did not result from the government of one particularly able abbess (or prioress), but it was the fruit of generations of able leaders.

The same is true for the reverse. The territorial and economic decline of an institution did not happen overnight. As the case of Fraumünster has illustrated, decline took similarly long as stabilization. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the alienation of important structural resources, such as the abbey's coinage rights and *Fertigungen* had no immediate negative effects. Rather, these only became visible when Zurich's council de facto and de jure became independent from the abbey during the fourteenth century, at which point these rights along with the income and influence attached to them were lost to the abbey for good (Chapter 3). Second, the selling of land to the city and to other monastic institutions to meet immediate financial obligations was neither uncommon nor per se problematic. Many institutions repeatedly sold parts of its patrimony, thirteenth-century Buchau being one of them. However, in the long run, the alienation of patrimony decreased the territorial and economic foundation of the institution in question, unless its leadership found strategies to counterbalance the losses and generated different sources of income. The consequences became only visible in the long run, long after the facts.

It is important to remember that structural success is not the same as generating short-term profits. The monastic economy aimed to generate an

equilibrium between revenues and expenses. And as these institutions were thought of as being founded for eternity, the equilibrium had to be achieved in general, not in the short term. Therefore, periods of crises when expenses exceeded revenues, and when a number of assets had to be alienated, were considered normal. However, recognizing the point when a critical mass of alienated patrimony had been reached was not always easy – the nuns and abbesses of Fraumünster certainly missed it, while Buchau's convent recognized it and succeeded to turn things around.

At the end of this book, I return to the question of power, or more precisely as to whether the convents under consideration and the women who led them were, in fact, powerful. In her essay, Christine Reinle identifies material and social resources as central factors of authority in medieval Europe.[4] According to Reinle, effectiveness of authority depended on structural, infrastructural, and social wealth. The person or institution in charge needed to possess the material resources to impose their will, to keep the peace among their people, and the social resources to grant favors and disfavors and thus to effectively foster and regulate patron-client relationships.[5] Applied to Notre-Dame, Buchau, Fraumünster, and Klingental, the answer is definitely an affirmative one. All three convents of early medieval origin disposed of the material and immaterial resources, including jurisdiction and the right to pardon, to enforce their will, and to keep rivals at bay. While Klingental did not wield any seigneurial authority, its nuns also were powerful. Their power was derived from their economic foothold in Basel, which allowed them to repel the combined reform efforts of the city council and the Dominicans. They even succeeded to oblige the monks to pay hefty reparations for the financial losses Klingental had endured during the brief period of enforced observance (Chapter 5).

Contrary to this, the case of Fraumünster may serve once more as an example of gradual decline – also in regard to the abbey's authority. After having been set up as a palatine and representative of royal authority in the Zurich area (Chapter 2), Fraumünster's vast patrimony continuously shrank since the fourteenth century. By the fifteenth century, the abbey had lost most of its feudal prerogatives to the city council and, with them, most of its former authority. When the convent was plagued by internal and financial crises during the fifteenth century, the women were not able to solve these conflicts by themselves but had to call on Zurich's council and eventually subject themselves to the *pfleger* the council dispatched to the abbey (Chapter 3). Deprived of its former material and social resources, the abbess had lost most its effective power by the early sixteenth century. However, the case of Fraumünster seems to have been the exception, not the norm. As this study suggests, the majority of convents consolidated their authority rather than lost it during the waning Middle Ages. Moreover, one should not make the mistake to see all of Fraumünster's history in the light of its eventual decline. While certainly inadequately managed during its two final centuries, Fraumünster Abbey was nevertheless a powerful institution in Zurich throughout the Middle Ages.

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Whatever their names – Odeline de Trachy of Notre-Dame (1256–1273), Elisabeth von Wetzikon of Fraumünster (1270–1298), Anna von Gundelfingen of Buchau (1402–1410), or Clara zu Stein of Klingental (1447–1452) – these monastic women, like uncountable others over Europe, habitually wielded authority. The impact of their decisions, found solely or in consensus with their convent, extended far beyond the walls of their individual nunnery. These women were responsible not only for the inhabitants of their convent – nuns, pensioners, and servants – but also for hundreds of peasants, vintners, and stewards in their service. And most of all, they bore the responsible for their institution's well-being, short and long term. They had to ensure that convent buildings, churches, but also farms, mills, and communal ovens were well maintained, and that their economic decisions of selling or acquiring land would bring benefits for their monastic community, present and future.

This book opened with a fictitious scene, and it will likewise close with one that illustrates abbatial responsibilities and the many activities going on in a cloister on any given day:

If Odeline, Elisabeth, Anna, or Clara looked out of the window of their respective abbatial or priorial office, their eyes would always meet fervent activities: Grain being measured when it was delivered to the grainary; next to the church they could see the craftsmen who were engaged in repairs or in erecting a new building on the monastic compound. They might observe handmaids helping the cooks to carry ingredients to the kitchen for the day's main meal, ingredients which the servants had procured on the town market or collected from the convent's stock rooms that were filled with the dues the peasants had delivered. At the gate, they might see mayors and stewards arriving from the surrounding villages. Maybe, the men had come to see the abbess to discuss the wine harvest or to report on the situation on the farmsteads and villages, or maybe they had come to inform her about the settlement of a dispute between villagers, or yet, to ask her consent so that a wedding between two serfs could take place, or again, they had come to prepare the upcoming court days to be held at the abbey. In the courtyard, an onlooking prioress might see her bursaress and cellaress discussing the state of the pantries before winter, while the calendarian hurrying a number of nuns to the choir to perform that day's post-obit services. Maybe, while watching all this, the abbess or prioress was pondering over the question whether the acquisition of a vineyard or if buying an annual rent from a certain citizen would be the better long-term investment for her institution.

Whatever the name of the abbess or prioress watching from her office window, wherever her convent was located, and whichever the precise object of her concerns at that moment, we may be certain of two things. First that she was aware of both her authority and responsibilities and second that neither she nor any of her contemporaries thought these to be strange. Monastic women wielding power were an ubiquitous sight in medieval Europe, a sight so common that only modern students of the Middle Ages may come across them with surprise, whereas none of the contemporaries did.

Notes

1 Cf. Chapter 1 for historiographical references.
2 This is particularly true for anglophone and francophone scholarship. For details cf. again, Chapter 1.
3 Typical, albeit not alone in this, once more: Duby, "Women and Power," 69–70.
4 Reinle, "Macht," 47–48.
5 Reinle, "Macht," 49–50; 52; 54.

Appendix 1

The Late Medieval Abbesses of Notre-Dame de Soissons, Buchau Abbey, and Fraumünster of Zurich

The Late Medieval Abbesses of Notre-Dame de Soissons[1]

Abbatiate	*Name*
c. 1094–1116	Adelaïs
1116–1143	Matilde de la Ferité sous Jouare
1143–1162	Matilde II de Toulouse
1162–1178	Marsilie
1179–1186	Juliene
1186–1189	Marguerite I
1189–1217	Helvide de Cherisy
1217–1236	Beatrix de Cherisy
1236–1256	Agnes de Cherisy
1256–1273	Odeline de Trachy
1273/1277–1282	Adée de Bazoches
1282–1283	Cecile de Peronne
1283–1296	Beatrix de Martinmont
1296–1309	Marguerite de Canmenchon
1309–1327	Emeline de Conty
1328–1363	Isabelle/Elisabeth I de Châtillon
1363–1392	Marguerite de Coucy
1392–1429	Elisabeth II de Châtillon
1429–1467	Elisabeth III Descronnes
1467–1472	Marguerite de Camberonne
1472–1494	Marguerite II de Luxembourg
1494–1510	Denyse Simon

The Late Medieval Abbesses of Buchau Abbey[2]

Abbatiate	*Name*
1212–1216	Lukarda
1223–1265	Mechthild von Bienburg
1267–1303	Adelheid von Markdorf
1303–1353	Anna von Weinberg
1353–1371	Adelhaid von Lupfen
1371–1402	Anna von Rüssegg
1402–1410	Anna von Gundelfingen
1410–1426	Agnes von Tengen
1426–1449	Klara von Montfort
1449–1496	Margarete von Werdenberg
1497	Anna von Werdenberg
1497–1523	Barbara von Gundelfingen

The Late Medieval Abbesses of Fraumünster of Zurich[3]

Abbatiate	*Name*
c. 1070–?	Hedwig von Wolhusen
1143–1172	Mechtild von Tirol
c. 1212	A.?
1218–1221	Gisela von Spiegelberg
1222–1224	Adelheid von Murkart
1229–1254	Judenta von Hagenbuch
c. 1255	Elisabeth von Schneckenburg
1255–1268	Mechtild von Wunnenberg
1270–1298	Elisabeth von Wetzikon
1298–1308	Elisabeth von Spiegelberg
1308–1340	Elisabeth von Matzingen
1340–1358	Fides von Klingen
1358–1398	Beatrix von Wolhusen
1398–1404	Anna von Bussnang
1404–1412	Benedikta von Bechburg
1412–1429	Anastasia von Hohenklingen
1429–1484	Anna von Hewen
1484–1487	Sibylla von Helfenstein
1487–1496	Elisabeth von Weissenburg
1496–1524	Katharina von Zimmern

Notes

1 German, *Histoire de Notre-Dame*, Book II.
2 Theil, *Damenstift Buchau*, 220–230.
3 Peter Vogelsanger, *Zürich und sein Fraumünster. Eine elfhundertjährige Geschichte* (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 1994), 279.

Appendix 2

Tabular Content of Klingental's Anniversary Book (Abridged) StABS Klingental H

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
1 r.	S. Andrew, eve	Die Richene	26 pounds	
1 r.	S. Andrew	Frau von Klingen	90 pounds during lifetime, after her death, 9 marks und 6 viernzel grain money	Anniversary for herself, her husband, and daughter
1 r.	S. Andrew, morning	A woman	3 viernzel money	
1 r.	S. Andrew, 1451	Peter Hauswirt	3 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
2 v.	Morning	Die Brunwartin	20 pounds, 74 vierteil grain money, and 2 gulden	Anniversary for herself, husband, and their children
2 v.	Morning	Der am Weg	9 pounds	
2 v.	S. Barbara	Frau von Falkenstein, husband, and children	2 gulden, 1 pound	
3 v.	S. Barbara	Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	16 gulden	For sister Agnes von Roseck
3 v.	S. George	Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	3 gulden	For sister Anne von Roseck
3 v.	St. Ursula (?)	Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	4 gulden	For Rudolf zu Luft, his wife, and children, and Meister Martin Caritas
3 v.		Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	4 gulden for Quart (?)	
3 v.		Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	1 gulden	
3 v.		Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck	1 gulden	For Anne von Berenfels during her lifetime and then for her anniversary
4 v.		Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck		Cell for sister Elsy Zellerin, and after her death, for convent
4 v.		Sister Agnes and Sister Enneli von Roseck		Cell for sister Margreth von Hus, and after her death, for convent
4 v.	S. Nicholas, eve	Metzene von Hesigen	4 pounds und 1.5 gulden	„über den tisch geben“

4 v.	S. Nicholas	A man	1 vierteil rye money	
5 v.		Die Zöbelin	7 shilling 9 pounds	
5 v.		Der Bossen and his wife	12 pounds, 13 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
5 v.	S. Andrew, morning	Herr von Bechburg	1 big horse (worth 100 gulden)	
5 v.		A woman	8 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
6 v.	Morning	Peter von Emerach	4 pounds	
6 v.	Conception Beate Marie	A man	2 schatz vines	
6 v.		Herr Heinrich von Gassen	1 horse	
6 v.	S. Lucius, eve	Der Bockhirnis	14 pounds	
6 v.	S. Lucius	Herr von Falkenstein	37 pounds and 2 pounds money	2 pounds for nuns
7 v.		Die von Iltzig	12 pounds; after her daughter's demise: 30 vierteil grain money	Anniversary and 1 perpetual mass, 1 pound „über den tisch geben“
7 v.		Die von Almswilr	5 shilling	
7 v.		Brother Hans Vogelbach	7 fuder wine and 5 pounds money and 8 gulden money	5 gulden for anniversary
7 v.		Brother Rüdi Schultheisen	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
8 v.	Morning	Die von Schönau	10 pounds	
8 v.	Morning	Frau von Thierstein	30 pounds	
8 v.		A woman	5 viernzel (grain?)	
8 v.		Oberly Wygen	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
8 v.	Morning	Frau von Wangen	15 pounds and 5 marks	
9 v.		Der Griebenen	5 pounds and 20 gulden	1 gulden for anniversary
9 v.	S. Thomas, eve	Gute Schmidlinen	130 pounds	2 pounds „über den tisch geben“
9 v.	S. Thomas	Die von Magstat	8 pounds	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
9 v.	Morning	Die Schalerin	37 pounds and 1 pound of money	
10 v.	Christmas Eve	Die Helblingerin	11 pounds and 7 pounds money	Each sister should be given 1 shilling, the rest for anniversary and „über den tisch geben“
10 v.	Christmas	Rudolf von Lengenberg and his wife	3 schatz vine	
15 v.	S. Stephen	A man	1 eygen (?)	
15 v.		Sister Elsinen von Tagsdorf	1 gulden	
15 v.	S. John	Die Oflatterin	18 shilling	
15 v.		A woman	19 pounds	
16 v.		Gred Schulmeisterin, pensioner at Klingental	130 gulden when she was alive, after her death another 97 gulden from her household items, and 100 pounds and 8 pounds and 2 gulden money for her anniversary	
17 v.	Am Kinlein Tag	Die von Baldegk	34 pounds	
17 v.		Die von Stein	10 shilling	
17 v.		Vogt von Brambach and his wives	10 pounds	
17 v.		Meister Heinrich Keller	2 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
18 v.	S. Silvester	Die am Weg and her son	19 pounds	
18 v.		Wernly am Rein	1 gulden money	

19 v.		Hans von Habkhusheim – Bursar of Klingental	11 pounds and 8 pounds money, vines worth 150 pounds, and after his death: 73 pounds and 20 viernzel grain, 1 viernzel money	"Andem ior war Bruder hans von habkhushein unsers schafners iorzit von des begrebt ward uns 11 Pfund und 8 Pfund geltz und reben warent 150 Pfund wert. Er gab uns öch an sinen tod 73 Pfund und 20 viernzel Korns und ein virnzel Geld. Zu einer speng (?). er hett uns öch geben 3 Viernzal Roggen und 4 Viernzal Habren und 29 Hüner von dem sol man 3 Pfund zu der Mes des von Wagen Pfünd geben und das übrig zu sinem iortzit uber tisch gen. Er hett uns och geben 4 Pound Geld zu siner vordren iortzit dz sol man began uff annuciacio domica. An dem tag waz Heinrich Brunadren und siner fröwen iortzit die gabent uns 1 Pfund Geld sol man uber tisch geben. An dem Tag war swester Metzy von Werr iortzit die gab uns 2 Pfund an dem tag war der von egringen iortzit die gab uns 8 Pfund und 10 Schilling geltz. An dem Tag war her Cunrat Gypsers iortzit. von dem ward uns 68 marck wert von dem sol man 2 Pfund uber tisch geben. An dem tag war der Gibserin und ir Mume iortzit, die gab uns 55 Pfund."
19 v.		Der von Wagen prebendary (founded by Hans von Habkhusheim?)	3 viernzel rye und 4 viernzel oats und 29 chickens, 2 pounds for mass	
19 v.	Annunciatio dominica	Hans von Habkhusheim	4 pounds money for his first anniversary	
19 v.		Heinrich Brunadren and his wife	1 pound	
19 v.		Sister Metzy von Wehr	2 pounds	
19 v.		Those von Egringen	8 pounds and 10 shilling	
19 v.		Cunrat Gypsers	68 marks	
19 v.		Die Gibserin and her relatives	55 pounds	
20 v.		Those zur Kinden/ Zerkinden	9 marks while alive, and after her demise: 9 pounds; after her husband's death: a good worth 40 marks and 1 pound of money	
20 v.		Cuntzmann von Waltpach	23 pounds	
20 v.		Die Zielempin	37 shilling	
20 v.	Morning	A Woman	1 mark	
20 v.		Die Rötenen	5 pounds	
20 v.		Hans Helblings	55 pounds and 30 shilling	30 shilling „über den tisch geben"
21 v.	Kindleintag	Hans Ulrich von Hus – villicus of Basel Minster	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben"

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
21 v.	12 eve	A man	8 schatz vine and 4 shilling	
21 v.		Die Gasserin and her husband	100 pounds (minus 5 pounds and 10 shilling)	
21 v.		Der Keller	2 pounds and 1 pound	
21 v.		Brother Peter Yselis	1 gulden	"sol man halben uber tisch gen und halben in der Schafnerin kisten"
21 v.		Ulis von Münster and his wife	1 gulden, 32 pounds	"uns ward noch in baren Geld von inen 32 Pfund"
22 v.		Two men	9 schatz vines	A light to be lit in chapel on their anniversary
22 v.		A woman	3 pounds	
22 v.		Die Geyslerin	6 schatz vines	10 shilling „über den tisch geben"
22 v.		A man and his wife	5 shilling	
22 v.		Herr Hans von Liel and his wife	5 pounds	
22 v.		Die von Tegerfeld	11 pounds, 3 shilling, and 5 viernzel spelt money, 9 viernzel oats money, 3 viernzel rye money, and for her anniversary: 5 viernzel rye money, 5 viernzel oats money, 1 viernzel barley money, and 2 pounds 5 shilling and 4 gulden money	For three anniversaries: 1. For herself 2. For her husband and son 3. Her parents and ancestors
22 v.	Morning	Der Keilenen (?)	20 pounds, 9 viernzel grain money, 30 shilling	
22 v.		A man	2 schatz vines	
22 v.		Die appoteggerin (the (female) pharmacist)	40 marks worth of silver	

23 v.	1. January 13, 1442 2. Nativitatis Marie 3. S. Mathew 4. Kirchweihe	Sister Gred von Eptingen	4 gulden, 5 viernzel spelt money, 1.5 saum wine-money, 2 pounds of perpetual money, 4 gulden, and 4 gulden	1. 8 shilling to be paid to the eight priests who celebrate requiem mass 2. For the anniversary of Hans Pyhantz von Eptingen and all his children: 5 viernzel spelt money and 1 viernzel of which to be added to Adelheid von Eptingen's anniversary, another viernzel for her own parents' anniversary 3. 4 gulden for the anniversary of her parents and her relative, Verena von Olsberg 4. 4 gulden for the anniversary of all her siblings and of Verena von Olsberg
24 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	25 gulden	25 gulden for Sister Elsy and Sister Ennelin Zergeltin; if one of them dies, the other will receive the 25 gulden minus the 4 gulden which should be added to the deceased sister's anniversary; upon the death of the second, another 4 gulden (of the remaining 21 gulden) for the second sister's anniversary
25 r.	?	Sister Anna Zergeltin	4 gulden	For Sister Fran Roilin and Ludwig von Eptingen during their lifetime, afterwards for Klingental
25 r.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	5 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Verena Roilin
25 r.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	3 pounds	To sacristy 1 pound to Verena Roilin 1 pound for anniversary of Clara zu Rhein, 5 shilling for anniversary of Gred von Eptingen, 5 shilling for anniversary of Els Zergeltin Jahrzeit, and 5 shilling for her own anniversary (Anna Zergeltin)
25 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	4 gulden	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
25 v.	Marian Feast Day (S. Marien)	Sister Gred von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Elsin zu Rhein, 4 shilling for the priests who celebrate requiem mass
25 v.	S. Martin	Sister Gred von Eptingen	3 gulden	For anniversary of Vitztume and Verena von Olsperg
25 v.	S. Andrew	Sister Gred von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of all faithful souls buried at Klingental
25 v.	S. Egidius	Sister Gred von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of her brother Peter Mas von Eptingen, her sister Anne von Eptingen, and her relative Schalerin
26 v.	Carnival	Sister Gred von Eptingen	2 gulden	For anniversary of Metzena zum Wighus, Clara Kuchimeisterin, and Verena (a relative)
26 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen		1 shilling to the priests celebrating the requiem masses of the aforementioned anniversaries
26 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	10 gulden	For the chest of the bursaress
27 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	5 gulden	For Mathias Schreiber during his lifetime, and after his death: money to be added to anniversary fund of her sister Adelheit von Eptingen and Mathias Jahrzeit, five shilling of which to the priests celebrating requiem masses
27 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen	8 shilling, 4 chickens	For Elsin Zergeltz during her lifetime
28 v.		Sister Gred von Eptingen		Gred von Eptingen has given a total of 77 gulden
29 v.	?	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	8 gulden	For her own anniversary
29 v.	S. Lucius	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	2 gulden	For anniversary of Brother Germann Schollen
29 v.	Tuesday or Thursday after All Saints	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	5 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Engeltrud and everyone who has been good to her
29 v.	Gordiani and Epimachii	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of her brother Verena von Eptingen

29 v.	Tuesday or Thursday after S. Martin	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Engeltrud von Eptingenund and all her siblings
30 v.	Morning after S. Servacius	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	4 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Gredlin von Friesen
30 v.	S. Elizabeth	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	2 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Elsy von Eptingen
30 v.	S. Kaiser Heinrich Tag (Henry II, July 13)	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	3 gulden	For anniversary of her brother Sister Engeltrud and everyone who has been good to her
30 v.	S. Martin	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	19 gulden	19 gulden for Sister Brid zu Rhein during her lifetime, four of which to be used for her anniversary after her death, the remainder to be added to her own anniversary (Engeltrud von Eptingen)
30 v.	Octa Assumpcionis	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	5 gulden	For anniversary of her parents
30 v.	?	Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen	5 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Engeltrud von Eptingen and her relative Verena Schallerin von Olsperg
31 r.		Sister Bridly zu Rhein	5 gulden	For Sisters Katherin Waldin, Bridly, and Magdalen during their lifetime; after their deaths: money to be added to their anniversary fund
31 r.		Sister Bridly zu Rhein	20 gulden	To be used to feed the poor on the anniversary of Sister Verenen von Eptingen
31 r.		Sister Bridly zu Rhein	12 shillings, 100 eggs, and 2 chickens	For her own anniversary and that of her ancestors
31 v.		Sister Bridly zu Rhein	5 gulden	For Mathisen Schriber and Hansen Obrest during their lifetime, and upon their death: for their anniversary and that of Sister Adelheid von Eptingen
33 v.	?	Sister Bridly zu Rhein	5 gulden	For the anniversary of von Eptingen who lost their life during the Battle of Sempach (1386), Junker Petermas, Junker Burkhard, Junker Hans, Junker Cüntzlis, Junker Thi…?, Junker Heinrich, and Adelheid von Grandwik and Agnes von Windegg

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
33 v.	?		2 gulden	For the anniversary of Neslin von Eptingen
33 v.	?		2 gulden	For the anniversary of Junker Thurings von Eptingen and Junker Bernhard von Eptingen and his son
33 v.	S. Sebastian		2 gulden	For the anniversary of Grede von Landberg
34 v.	Wednesday before Maria Asumptionis (1460)	Veren von Eptingen	3 gulden	For her anniversary
34 v.	Monday after Peter and Paul (1451)	Junker Jacob von Eptingen	2 gulden, 1 ruby	2 gulden „über den tisch geben“
36 v.	John Baptist	To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	10 gulden	Die city of Masmünster (Masevaux) gives the money on St. John Baptist
36 v.	S. Martin	To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	4 pounds, 5 shilling	Klingental gives annually
36 v.		To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	2 viernzel spelt, 9 viernzel rye, 2 viernzel oat	Prior and the convent of Rotenhaus give annually
36 v.		To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	10 viernzel half spelt and half oats	Peter Teken gives annually
36 v.		To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	one-eighth of the tithe from Knoeringue, 6 of 8 vierzel Money	Annually
36 v.		To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	1.11 viernzel and 4 sester 1/3 oats, 2/3 spelt, and 5 chickens 2.6 viernzel and 3 chickens 3.3 viernzel and 2 chickens	Give annually 1.Cuntz von Sept, called Brun 2.Lienhart Böglis 3.Wernli Riechers von Hegeheim
37 v.		To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	2 viernzel spelt, 2 small sester of oats, and 2 chickens	Röw von(?) gives annually

37 v.	Der 4 Kornfasten	To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	10 viernzel rye	The Miller of Hamerstein gives annually
37 v.	S. Martin	To be added to the prebends of von Eptingen	5 shillings and 2 chickens	Wernli Hurnlis zu Barsheim gives annually
37 v.		The prebends of von Eptingen		The sum of the prebends: 10 gulden 10 pounds, 40 viernzel spelt, rye, and oats, and 9 chickens
46 v.	S. Katharine	Sister Grede von Munsingen	5 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
47 v.	S. Benedictus	Those von Rosenstein	7 viernzel money	4 viernzel for anniversary, 1 viernzel for Dominicans, 1 viernzel for Franciscans, 1 viernzel for Augustinians, and 1 viernzel for the women of S. Klara
47 v.	Marian Feast Day during Lent	Sister Clara Zeringerin	2 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
47 v.	Gordiani and Epimachii	Frau von Bucheck	85 viernzel money	
47 v.	Gordiani and Epimachii	Frau von Usenberg	2 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
48 v.	Between Easter and Pentecost	Hans von Westerhofen	9 pounds and 4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
48 v.	Candlemas	Those von Maggenburg	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
48 v.	Candlemas	Sister Clara and Sister Anne von Ramstein	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
48 v.	S. Margrete	Sister Anna von Neuenburg	4 gulden	
48 v.	S. Jacob	Frau von Budren(?)	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
50 v.	S. Jacob	Those von Kestelen	1 pound and 1 gulden	
50 v.	Yppolliti	Brother Remmunt and (?)	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
50 v.	Yppolliti	Frau von Biel and Frau von Neuenstein	1 pound tithe money	
50 v.	Between Christmas and Carneval	Sister Gred Brennerin	1 pound money	
51 v.	S. Anthony	Herr von Pfirt	5 pound	
51 v.	Morning	A woman	14 pound and 1 viernzel grain money	„über den tisch geben“
51 v.		A man	5 schatz vines	4 shilling of which “„über den tisch geben“”
51 v.		A priest	47 pounds	
51 v.		A man	3 pounds	
51 v.		Frau zur Blumen	10 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
52 V.	?	Sister Elsme zum Thor	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
52 V.	S. Agnes	Sister Metzina von Haus und ihre Mutter	2 pounds and 2 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
52 V.	S. Agnes	Hedine von Aspach	20 marks and 15 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
53 V.	S. Agnes	Meister Simon von Marx(?) and Ursel Binigerin, his wife	4 gulden + (?) money 26 pounds	
53 V.	S. Agnes	A woman	1 viernzel money	
53 V.	?	Frau Ursel von Waltpach die Wegenstetterin	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
53 V.	S. Paul	A man	8 pounds while alive, and after his and his wife's deaths: 2 fields worth 20 pounds	
54 V.	? S. Paul	A man	3 pounds	
54 V.	? S. Paul	Frau von Pfirt	30 pounds	
54 V.	Morning	Herr Hug Munch	6 shilling	„über den tisch geben“

54 V.		A woman	2 viernzel grain money	
54 V.		Wernher Bartz	30 pounds	
55 r.	Thursday before Our Lady at Candlemas	Testament of Hans von Eschenberg, bursar of Klingental		On this day died Hans von Eschenberg, his bequest is rendered here
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	5 gulden	For the anniversary of his father, mother, and ancestors; two shilling of each gulden for the masses
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	4 gulden	For the anniversary of the faithful and all those who were good to him
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	14 gulden, 4 pounds, and 6 shilling	For the maintenance of the church and where it is needed
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	1 gulden	For reading lights (candles) in the choir
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	9 gulden	For Sisters Enelin and Margretten von Eschenberg; upon one of their deaths: 4 gulden to the convent, half of it for her anniversary; when both have died: the entirety for the anniversary of the two sisters and Hans von Eschenberg's parents. If the sisters leave the convent, the entirety will be given to the convent
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg	5 gulden	For Barbara, his wife, during her lifetime, and upon her death: for her parent's anniversary
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg		His grain money: for the grainary
55 r.		Testament of Hans von Eschenberg		2 wiger, 2 j(?) for the convent
55 v.	Candlemas, eve	A woman	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
55 v.	Candlemas, eve	Frau von Hus, Frau von Baldegk	25 pounds and 2 gulden	Anniversary for Frau von Hus, 2 gulden „über den tisch geben“
55 v.	Candlemas, eve	Herr Burkard von Muntzigen, chaplain at Klingental	10 gulden	20 pounds and 4 viernzel money for the grainary, along with 4 pounds minus 5 shilling

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
55 v.	Mariae Purification	Frau von Holtzenhein	30 pounds	
55 v.	Mariae Purification	Frau von Luternau	3 pounds	
56 r.	Candlemas, eve	Sister Gred Sengerin	4 gulden	For her own anniversary
56 r.	S. George	Sister Gred Sengerin	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Gred Musingerin
56 r.		Sister Gred Sengerin	2 gulden	For Sister Adelheid von Tesberg during her lifetime, and upon her death: to be added to the anniversary of Gred Sengerin
56 v.	S. Blasius	Rudi von Egrig	5 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
56 v.		Frau von Muntzigen	3 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
56 v.	S. Agatha	Frau von Liechtenberg	63 pounds	
56 v.	?	Herr von Ufhein and his wife	7 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
57 v.	Morning	Die Elbelen	30 marks worth	
57 v.		A woman, her husband, and their child	40 marks worth	
57 v.	Scolastica	Herr Silbersagk	2 schatz vines	
57 v.		Frau von Bernswik	3 gulden	
57 v.	Morning	Peter Senktlis and his wife	2 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
58 v.		Sister Grede zu Thor	3 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
58 v.	S. Valentine	Hans von Kandern	13 pounds	
58 v.		A woman	4 viernzel money	
58 v.		Burkhard Bruner, mill master at Klingental	200 pounds, 16 pounds, 4 vinerzel money, 1 pound money, 4 gulden, and another 2 gulden for the bursaress' chest	
59 v.		A woman	4 viernzel money	
59 v.	Morning	A man	12 pounds and 1 eigen worth 8 pounds	

59 v.	Morning	Heinrich von S. Blasien	2 shilling	
59 v.	Morning	Frau von Hamerstein	2 pounds	
59 v.		A woman	2 pounds and 1 eigen worth 12 pounds	
60 v.	Kathedra S. Petri	A woman	2 pounds	
60 v.	Gregori	Ennely von Höwingen	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
64 v.	S. Mathis	A woman	6 pounds	
64 v.		Die kitchen mistress	4 pounds, 4 shilling, and 1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
64 v.		Sister Ann Durin and Sister Clar Durrin	5 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
64 v.	2February 5, 1451, Tuesday after S. Mathis	Sister Ennelin von Berenfels	7 gulden + 125 gulden	7 gulden for Sister Elsin von Hus during her liefetime. After her demise: part of the money used for her anniversary, the rest to be added to the anniversary of Ennelin von Berenfels and that of her parents; 30 shillings of “perpetual money” for the anniversary of her relative, Sister Anna von Biedertal
65 v.		Frau von Lörrach	36 pounds and 2 pounds money	„über den tisch geben“
65 v.	Morning	A woman	30 marks worth	
65 v.		Frau von Lörrach	3 pounds	
65 v.	S. Albinus	Herr von Klingen	11 huben, jus patronatus of Wehr (while alive); 60 marks worth (after his death)	
65 v.		Sister Gred von Helfrantzkirch	6 pounds minus 1 shilling and 2 gulden	
66 v.		Sister Agnes von Hertenberg and Sister Agnes von Morsperg	3.5 viernzel, half kerne, half grain for mill (mühlenkorn), 2 gulden, and 3 pounds money	
66 v.	Morning	A woman	3 schatz vines	
66 v.		A woman	5 shilling	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
66 v.	Morning	A man	2 pounds and 1.5 saum wine money	„über den tisch geben“
66 v.	Morning	Frau von Wintzenheim	30 marks worth	
66 v.	Morning	A man	1 pound	
67 v.		Der Gesler	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
67 v.		A woman	5 shilling	
67 v.		A woman	8 shilling and 7 pounds	
67 v.	Morning	Frau Sulhaberin	85 pounds, 2 viernzel grain money, 2 saum wine money, and 2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
67 v.	Altenfastnacht	Frau von Klettenfels	2 gulden for the anniversary and 4 gulden for the convent	
68 v.	S. Thomas during Lent	Frau von Zell	2 viernzel	
68 v.		Frau von Thungen	5 shilling and 3 pounds	
68 v.		Herr Ludwig Sincken, a priest	10 gulden, a book of saints worth 12 gulden	
68 v.		Frau von Altkirch	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
68 v.		Herr von Mulhausen and his wife	50 pounds worth and 26 pounds of money	3 pounds for the anniversary of „über den tisch geben“
69 v.	Morning	Frau von Zweibergen	16 pounds	
69 v.		Der Greifriemen	4 pounds and 5 shillings	
69 v.	Morning	Der von Enselheim	10 pounds and 1 eigen worth 30 marks	
69 v.	Morning	Die von Telsberg	5 pounds	
69 v.	Morning	Der Herr von Wehr	50 marks worth	
69 v.	Mid-Lent/Laetare Sunday	Meister Hans Kranckwert, his wife, and their children	3 gulden	„über den tisch geben“

70 v.		Meister Peter Ludis, the wheel maker, his wife, and their children	4 saum wine money	
70 v.	S. Gregorius	Der von Heiligenkreuz	99 marks worth	
70 v.		A woman	1 viernzel money	
70 v.	Morning	Herr Konrad von Söngren	1 pound	
71 v.	Morning	Frau Markgräfin von Nieder Baden	100 marks worth	
71 v.		A man	2 schatz vines	
71 v.		A man	3 pounds	
71 v.		A woman	2 viernzel money	
71 v.	Morning	Der Baselwintz	2 schatz vines	
71 v.		A priest	18 pounds worth	
71 v.	Morning	Der von Brunikofen	80 and 100 marks and 8 mannwerk of vines	„über den tisch geben“
72 v.	Morning	Heinrich im Stein	3 marks worth	
72 v.	Morning	Sister Heilwig Munchin	4 gulden	
72 v.		Ursel Munchin und Sister Verena von Hallwik	3 gulden	
72 v.	10,000 Knights	Sister Gred Munchin	2 gulden	
73 v.	S. Benedictus	A man	2 marks worth	
73 v.	S. Benedictus	Sister Agnes Vellerin	1 gulden	
73 v.	S. Benedictus	A woman	2 viernzel money	
73 v.	S. Benedictus	A man	3 viernzel	
73 v.	S. Benedictus	Die Sengerin	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
73 v.	S. Benedictus	A woman	2 viernzel money	
74 r.	Mid-Lent/Laetare Sunday	Peter von Hapchallen?	44 pounds, 7 shilling, and 8 gulden	
74 r.	Mid-Lent/Laetare Sunday	Magdalen von Eptingen	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
74 v.		A man	5 shilling	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
74 v.		Sister Lugi Schriberin	1 viernzel grain money	
74 v.		Heinrich von Kluben	5 pounds	
74 v.	Morning	A man	2 juchard vines	
74 v.	Our Lady during Lent	Herr von Feringen	30 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
75 v.		Konrad Dechinger, his wife and children	4 shilling	
75 v.		Metzy Teschin	11 pounds	1 pound of which „über den tisch geben“
75 v.		Hartung von Hertenberg	6 pounds	
75 v.	Our Lady, day	Brother Peter Louchers, bursar of Klingental	40 pounds, 14 viernzel money, 9 pounds money, 13 gulden, and 8 gulden	5 gulden „über den tisch geben“ on his anniversary and 3 gulden on the anniversary of his ancestors
75 v.		Die von Hagneck	18 pounds	
76 v.		Der Fröwler	10 pounds and 2 pounds money	1 pound of which „über den tisch geben“
76 v.		Frau von Thierstein	44 pounds and 10 pounds money	Of which each nun should receive 6 pennies, the remainder „über den tisch geben“
76 v.	Morning	Heinrich von Urgel	16 pounds	
76 v.		Frau von Wattwitz	10 pounds	
76 v.	Lent	Hartmann Frowler and his wife, die Tunnerin	6 pounds	2 pounds „über den tisch geben“, 2 pounds for Domincans, and 2 pounds for a …(?)
77 v.	Morning	Die von Grünenberg	11 pounds	
77 v.		Wernli Roten	5 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
77 v.		Die am Weg and her son	1 eigen	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
77 v.	Morning	Die von Swertzstatt	10 pounds worth	
77 v.	Morning	A man	20 pounds worth	
77 v.	Morning	A woman	0.5 viernzel grain	
77 v.		Herr Lupold, Duke of Austria	10 pounds	
78 r.	Morning after Our Lady	Sister Agnes zu Agstein	6 gulden	Anniversary celebrated on the morning after the 20th(?) day after her death; her sister's, Dorothe zum Agstein, to be celebrated on the same day

78 r.		Sister Agnes zu Agstein	2 gulden	2 gulden for Sister Adelheit von Telsberg and Sister Elsine zu Rhein during their lifetime; 12 shilling (of the 2 gulden) to be used for mass; upon their deaths: the entirety to be added to the anniversary fund on Agnes' parents
78 v.	Dominica in passion	Sister Elsy Brennerin	5 gulden	
78 v.	Palm Sunday	Heilweig Brennerin	5 gulden and 4 viernzel grain money	4 gulden for her anniversary, 1 gulden for sacristy, and grain money for her parents' anniversary
78 v.	Palm Sunday	Sister Ann Finstlis?	6 gulden	
78 v.	All Souls	Sister Ann Finstlis(?)	6 gulden	Anniversary for her parents
79 v.	S. Elizabeth	Sister Ann Finstlis?	3 gulden	Anniversary for everybody who was good to her
79 v.		Sister Ann Finstlis(?)		2 gulden for the roofs(?) at Klingental
79 v.		Sister Ann Finstlis(?)		2 gulden for books
79 v.		Sister Ann Finstlis?	24 gulden	For Saturday dinner, "cyger und anken" (goat cheese and butter) shall be served
79 v.		Culli Marschalkin	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben"
80 v.	Ambrosius	Sister Gred Schönkinden	10 gulden	4 gulden of which for her own anniversary
80 v.	Sonntag before Pentecost	Sister Gred Schönkinden	2 pounds	For the anniversary of her parents
83 v.	S. Peter of Milan	Sister Gred Schönkinden	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Katherine von Kanstein
83 v.	Our Lady during Fall	Sister Gred Schönkinden	2 gulden	For the anniversary of zu Guldring and von Herrenberg
83 v.	S. Kantzistus	Sister Gred Schönkinden	2 gulden	For the anniversary of the parents of von Äch
83 v.	S. Cecilia	Sister Gred Schönkinden	3 gulden	For the anniversary of von Äch
83 v.	S. Jodars	Sister Gred Schönkinden	1 gulden and 1 pound	For the anniversary of zu Kosen, die Botschinen, and of Jegerin
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	Herr von Wagen	12 pounds	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	Die von Aspach	2 mannwerk vines and 4 gulden	
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	A woman	6 pounds and 1 viernzel grain money	
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	Die von Hall	1 pound	
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	Der zum Roten Vogel	7 pounds	
84 v.	S. Ambrosius	Peter von Sultz and Sister Anne von Schopfen	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
85 v.	Morning	Sister Elsine von Hus	2 gulden	
85 v.	Morning	Sister Clar Trenlin	2 gulden	
85 v.		Peter zu Thor	10 pounds and 1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
85 v.		Brother Burkhard	11 viernzel grain money	1 viernzel of which “„über den tisch geben““
85 v.		Those von Tegerfeld	All her goods in Hünigen	
85 v.	Morning	Peter von Belliken	47 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
86 v.	Morning	Wernharts von Morswik	70 and 100 pounds and vines worth 40 pounds	4 pounds „über den tisch geben“
86 v.	Morning	Der Schörlis	4 marks worth	
86 v.	Easter	The twi Guldins(?)	0.5 gulden	
86 v.	Tiburcy and Valeriani	Brother Hugen und Brother Hansen	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
86 v.	Morning	Fridrich Wintterlingen	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
86 v.		Herr Hanns Bomlm(?), Chaplain of St Peter	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
89 v.	Morning	Hans von Köln	19 schatz Vines	The wine “„über den tisch geben““
89 v.		Hans von Köln	5 viernzel grain money	For his anniversary, bread for the convent
89 v.		Hans von Köln	19 pounds of money	2 shilling for each sister, 1 shilling for the chaplain who celebrates mass, 1 pound for Dominicans, and the remainder “„über den tisch geben““
89 v.	Morning	Brother Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	5 pounds, 4 shilling, and 1 viernzel spelt	For his anniversary and anniversary of his parents and all those who were good to him

89 v.		Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	1 gulden	For candles
89 v.		Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	2 shilling	For a brother and servants
89 v.		Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	7 pounds and 18 shilling	Annually for the bursar's chest
89 v.		Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	2 viernzel spelt	For the grainary
89 v.		Hans von Höwingen, bursar of Klingental	10 pounds	"man vand öch hinder im 10 Pfund"
90 vero		Die von Watwik	8 shilling	„über den tisch geben"
90 vero		A woman	5 pounds	
90 vero		Der Sigrist	150 marks worth	
90 vero		Guten and her daughter von Aspach	100 marks worth	
90 vero		Those von Gengenbach	10 marks worth	
90 vero		Brother Hans von Munster	8 fuder wine, 4 viernzel grain money, 3 gulden, 3 pounds and a vineyard	Of the 3 gulden: 2 for his anniversary and 1 for the convent
90 vero		Junker Allexius zu Rhein	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben"
91 v.	Morning	Herr Hermann Waldners and his wife	40 marks worth and 30 shillings	30 shillings "über den tisch geben""
91 v.		Der von Hall	12 pounds	
91 v.	Morning	A man	8 marks and 1 eigen	Of which 1 pound „über den tisch geben"
91 v.		Brother Hans von Magstat	8 pounds	
91 v.	Morning	Der Zutzinger and his wife	15 pounds and 8 shilling	8 shillings „über den tisch geben"
91 v.		A woman	8 pounds	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
91 v.	Morning	A woman	9 pounds and 3 schatz vines	
92 v.		Die Fryenstras	20 marks and 10 viernzel grain money	
92 v.		Cunrat Munchs	5 pounds	
92 v.		Sister Katherin von Gewik	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
92 v.	S. Mark	Sister Elsin von Mulhusen	5 gulden	
92 v.	S. Dominicus	Sister Elsin von Mulhusen	4 gulden	For the anniversary of her parents
92 v.		Sister Elsin von Mulhusen	6 gulden	5 gulden for Sister Clara zu Rhein during her lifetime; upon her death: 1 gulden for Adelheit von Telsperg during her lifetime; upon their deaths: the money to be added to Elsin and Clara zu Rhein's anniversaries
93 v.	S. Mark	Sister Gredlis zu Rhein	25 pounds	For the bursaress' chest
93 v.	Kronentag	Sister Agnes zu Rhein	4 gulden	
93 v.	January 5 1451	Friedrich zu Rhein, Bishop of Basel (dying day)	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
93 v.	November 27 1455	Clara zu Rhein (dying day)	6 gulden	For her own anniversary
93 v.		Clara zu Rhein	12 gulden	For the abbess of Heiligkreuz (her sister) during her lifetime; upon the abbess' demise: the money will return to Klingental for an anniversary of the abbess (4 gulden) and for their parents (4 gulden), another 4 gulden for the anniversary of the Bishop of Basel and all of her brothers
94 r.	S. Cufrasinen	Clara zu Rhein	6 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Clara zu Rhein and Sister Elsin von Mühlhusen

94 r.	Testament of Clara zu Rhein	Clara's bequest: candles for the choir, 2 gulden for the light in front of the painting Clara painted herself; 2 Gulden for the anniversary of Sister(?) zu Rhein Jahrzeit; 1 gulden for sacristy; 4 pounds and 2 shillings, seven chickens for the bursaress' chest; for Adelheit von Telberg 1 gulden during her lifetime, upon Adelheit's death: money to be added to the anniversary fund of Clara and Elsy zu Rhein; 10 gulden for Sister Ennely von Bodmen during her lifetime, and upon Ennely's death: 4 gulden for the anniversary of Ennely and 6 gulden for that of Clara zu Rhein; 1 missal and 1 book of sequences for the choir worth: 12 gulden; 1 monstrance worth 28 gulden, in which the hairs of Our Lady (relique) shall be kept; of each gulden, 20 shillings are to be dedicated to say mass; for Sister Ennely von Bodmenn: three cells with three beds during her lifetime, and upon Ennely's death: cells and beds shall be sold and the money added to Clara's anniversary fund
94 v.	Testament of Clara zu Rhein	For Sister Ennely and Sister Margret von Eschenberg: three cells with three beds during their lifetime, and upon their deaths: cells and beds shall be sold and the money added to Clara's anniversary fund. For Sister Stelly and Sister Lully von Laufen: two cells and four beds during their lifetime, and upon their deaths: cells and beds shall be sold and the money added to Clara's anniversary fund. For Adelheit von Telberg and Sister Elsy zu Rhein: one cell during their lifetime, and upon their deaths: the cell shall be sold and the money added to Clara's anniversary fund

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
95 r.		Testament of Clara zu Rhein		For Sister Elsy and Sister Ennely Zergelt: two beds during their lifetime, and upon their deaths: the beds shall be sold and the money added to Clara's anniversary fund
95 v.		Rutgers Brenners	5 pounds	
95 v.		Herr Hans von Senheim	6 pounds	
95 v.		Die Rötinen	4 pounds	2 pounds „über den tisch geben“
95 v.	S. George	Sister Anne von Rheinfelden	5 shilling	
95 v.	S. George	Sister Ann Steinlin	3 pounds and 2 viernzel money	
95 v.	S. George	Heinrich der Ammans	5 pounds	
95 v.	S. George	Heinrich Kraft	4 pounds and 10 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
96 v.	Morning	A woman	4 pounds	
96 v.	S. Mark	Peter Schlatter	290 gulden, 100 viernzel grain, 2 fuder wine, and 8 gulden	5 gulden for his anniversary, 3 gulden for all those whom he owes a good deed, prebends for an annual chaplain who shall reside at Haus zum Roten Vogel (“red-bird-house”) and be endowed with a prebendary of grain and money
96 v.	S. Mark	Two men and a woman	7 shilling	
96 v.	S. Mark	Heinrich Schmitz	6 viernzel grain	
96 v.	S. Mark	Die von Kienberg	2 viernzel money	
97 v.	Morning after S. Mark	A woman	2 shillings	
97 v.		Hans von Hagnau	5 shillings	
97 v.		Sister Metzene die Munchener Jungfrau	3 pounds	
97 v.		Jacob von Wattwik	5 pounds	
97 v.	S. Vitalis	Those von Steinenbrunn	105 marks	15 shilling, 1 viernzel money, and 1 saum wine „über den tisch geben“

97 v.	S. Vitalis	Der von Walptach	80 pounds	
97 v.	Petrus of Milan	Sister Urseli Surlin	16 gulden	For her anniversary: 9 gulden, 1 gulden to celebrate mass, 4 gulden for anniversary of Sister Ann Surlin and Sister Ursel Surlin, and (remaining 2 gulden[?]) for the anniversary of all those who have been good to her
98 v.	Feast of the Cross	Cuntzlis von Laufen	2 gulden	
98 v.	S. Michael	Gredi von Laufen	3 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
98 v.	S. George	Sister Ann Surlin	4 gulden and 1 gulden	1 gulden for the anniversary of her relative Clare Kybin
98 v.	S. Francis	Sister Gred Muntzmeisterin	2 gulden and 12 shillings	
98 v.	S. Dyonisius	Die Welchin	3 gulden, 4 pounds and 2 shillings	2 pounds and 0.5 gulden for the wax used during her anniversary
99 v.	S. Elisabeth	Sister Metzene von Stöfen	4 gulden	
99 v.	S. Katharinen	Sister Belin Inen	2 gulden	
99 v.	S. Nicholas	Sister Katharina, Coin Mistress	3 gulden	
99 v.	Candlemas	Der Alte Müntzmeister	10 shilling	
99 v.	Johannes ante portam latima	Sister Clar Ribyn	3 gulden	
99 v.	Corpus Christi	Burkart Müntzmeister	3 ?, 1 pound, 3 shillings minus 4 pennies, and 3 vierdling pepper	
100 v.	S. Dominicus	Sister Elsin Kiben	2 gulden	
100 v.	John Baptist	Katherine von Altnach	1 gulden and 1 pound	
100 v.	S. Mathew	Hans Müntzmeister and his brother Surli	1 pound	
100 v.	After Our Lady Feast during Fall	Sister Clar Rybin, father, and mother	2 saum wine	

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
100 v.	?	A woman	4 schatz vines	
100 v.		Those von Wattwilr	1 viernzel rye money	
100 v.		Der von Laufen	100 marks	
101 v.		Negeli and his wife	100 pounds	
101 v.	?	King Albrecht I of Habsburg	5 pounds	
101 v.		Erenfurin?	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
101 v.		Der Rudger	11 pound	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
101 v.		Der Romer	Eigen worth 8 pounds	
101 v.		Wenglis	5 viernzel grain money	
102 v.		Herr Rutger	9 pounds and 20 marks worth	Each sister shall be given three eggs and one ohm wine
102 v.	Invocationis sanctis	Clewi Wintmüller and his mother	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
102 v.	Feast of the Cross	Sister Katherina von Hagental	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
102 v.	Feast of the Cross	Brother Heinrich von Bartenheim	11 gulden and 1 gulden	
102 v.	Feast of the Cross	Die Megin	3 pounds and 1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
103 r.	Feast of the Cross	Sister Anna von Belwick	3 gulden	For her anniversary
103 r.		Sister Anna von Belwick	3 gulden	For anniversary of Sister Anna von Tierstein
103 v.		Sister Elsy Rötin	5 gulden, 1 chalice worth 25 gulden, and one drape for the altar	
103 v.		Die Metterin	75 pounds, 11 pounds, 1 gulden, 7 saum wine, and 2 viernzel money	For five anniversaries:
103 v.	In der Meygen	Die Metterin		1. Her own
103 v.	S. Urban	Die Metterin		2. Husband and son
103 v.	S. Martins	Die Metterin		3. Father and mother

103 v.	S. Katharinen	Die Metterin		4. Daughter: Sister Margreth Metterin
103 v.	Our Lady Day during Lent	Die Metterin		5. Daughter: Sister Katharina Metterin
104 v.	Kronen Tag	A woman	A light (candle)	
104 v.	Morning	Der von Bollwik	3 viernzel	„über den tisch geben“
104 v.		Die von Tuttelsberg	5 pounds and 5 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
104 v.	S. Johanns ante portam latinam	Brother Hans von Zürich, bursar of Klingental	12 pounds, 7 pounds tithe, 16 gulden, and 8 viernzel grain money	4 gulden for the anniversary
104 v.	S. Anna	Hans von Zürich, bursar of Klingental		2 gulden for the anniversary of parents and all those to whom he owes good deeds
105 v.		Der Hasberger	18 pounds	
105 v.	Morning	A man	5 pounds	
105 v.		Die von Bollwick	13 viernzel grain money	
105 v.		Die von Lantzsberg	1 viernzel money	
105 v.		A man	3 schatz vines	
105 v.	Gordiani and Ephimachi	A man	1 meadow	
106 v.		Hans Metter	11 pounds	
106 v.		Sister Elsy Relin	3 gulden	
106 v.	Morning	Two women	1 pound	
106 v.	Nerei et Achillei	Sister Clare zu Angen	6 gulden	1 gulden for the priests who celebrate mass on her anniversary; 4 gulden for her anniversary, to be celebrated on ember days
106 v.	Mid-Lent/Laetare Sunday	Sister Clare zu Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of parents
107 v.	Candlemas	Sister Clare zu Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of ancestors
107 v.	Easter	Sister Clare zu Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Engin Wibi
107 v.	S. Bartholomew	Sister Clare zu Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of all faithful souls
107 v.	Feast of the Cross	Sister Clare zu Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Suse von Bergheim and von Yltzig
107 v.	S. Martins	Sister Clare zu Angen	4 gulden	All anniversaries she owes
107 v.	Candlemas	Sister Clare zu Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Adelheit zur Angen
107 v.	S. Peter	Sister Clare zu Angen	2 gulden	Anniversary of good friends

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
108 v.	S. Ambrosius	Sister Clare zu Angen	5 gulden	Anniversary of Verena Schalerin, 0.5 gulden for the priests who attend mass
108 v.	Our Lord Corpus Christi, eve	Sister Clare zu Angen	5 gulden	Her own anniversary, 0.5 gulden for the priests who attend mass
108 v.	S. Mathis	Sister Clare zu Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of Herr Ludmans Schaler and his siblings
108 v.	Christmas	Sister Clare zu Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Verena Schalerin, father and mother
108 v.	Symonis et iude	Sister Clare zu Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of Otman Schalers and his children
108 v.	Marcellini and Petri	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	5 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Gred zum Angen, 6 pennies for each priest
109 v.	Day after Mid-Lent/Laetare Sunday	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of father and mother, 6 pennies for each priest
109 v.	S. Bartholomew	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	3 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Gred zum Angen and for all those who have been good to her
109 v.	S. Dominicus	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of herself and all faithful, 6 pennies for each priest
109 v.	S. Peter of Mailand	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Gred zum Angen and all wretched souls: 6 pennies for priests
109 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	1 gulden	Candle wax for choire
110 v.	Good Friday	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Gred zum Angen
110 v.	Corpus Christi	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Gred zum Angen and Sister Ann Finsterlis: 6 pennies for priest who celebrates mass and 1 penny for priest who sings
110 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	1 gulden	For Carthusians, so that they celebrate an anniversary for her
110 v.	Advent and Lent	Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen		During this time, the nuns shall receive fish, otherwise eggs

110 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	12 gulden	For the prebends of the zum Angen family at Klingental
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	For the bursaress' chest
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	6 gulden	To celebrate mass
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	2 gulden	
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	1 gulden	
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	2 gulden	For the Dominicans
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	2 gulden	For books of prayer
111 v.		Sister Clare or Gred zum Angen	4 gulden	For Hans von Eschenberg, bursar, during his lifetime, for his help in preparing the celebration of her anniversaries
112 v.	S. Colmas & Damianus Tag	Sister Gred zum Angen	20 gulden	For Sister Ursel zum Angen during her lifetime, and upon her death: 5 gulden for her anniversary
112 v.	S. Bartholomew	Sister Gred zum Angen		The remaining 5 gulden for the anniversary of Clara zum Angen
112 v.	S. Egidius	Sister Gred zum Angen		The remaining 5 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Veren Schalerin
112 v.	S. Marcellius			The remaining 5 gulden Sister Ursel may use as she wants; she ordered them to be used for the anniversary of Gred zum Angen
112 v.	June 30, 1448, Conmenoracio Sancti Pauli	Sister Ursel zum Angen	24 gulden	Dying day of Ursel zum Angen who left assets ("Hauptgut") worth 35 gulden, they shall be used to build a channel for water for the garden; 15 gulden and 16 shillings for the convent; and 11.5 gulden for her anniversary
113 r.	Con memoracio Sancti Pauli	Sister Ursel zum Angen	8 gulden and 0.5 gulden	0.5 gulden for the priests who celebrate mass

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
113 r.	S. Peter of Milan	Sister Ursel zum Angen	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Ursel and all those who have been good to her
113 r.	S. Thomas	Sister Ursel zum Angen	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Ursel and alms
113 r.	S. Dominicus	Sister Ursel zum Angen	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Anne Finsterlin, Sister Anne Schönkindin, and Sister Elsy Brennerin
113 r.	Translacio S. Thome	Sister Ursel zum Angen	4 gulden	For the anniversary of Sister Anne von Rosegk, Sister Ursel Sürly, and Sister Gred Wildin
113 r.		Sister Ursel zum Angen	6 gulden	Three candles in the choir which shall burn day and night
113 v.		Sister Ursel zum Angen	10 gulden	10 gulden for Sister Agnes Müllerin during her lifetime, and upon her death: 6 gulden for the anniversary fund of Sister Ursels and remaining 4 gulden for the anniversary fund of Agnes
		Sister Ursel zum Angen		Bed and cell for Agnes Müllerin
113 v.		Sister Ursel zum Angen		Bed for Sister Margreth vom Haus during her lifetime, and upon her death: to be sold for 10 gulden and money to be added to the anniversary fund of Sister Ursel zum Angen
114 r.		Sister Ursel zum Angen		A coral pater noster for Sister Margreth von Haus, to be sold for 20 gulden and money to be added to the anniversary fund of Sister Ursel zum Angen
114 r.		Sister Ursel zum Angen		Cell for Sister Anne von Berenfels and another for Alte Agnes (Old Agnes) during their lifetimes, and upon sale of the cells: money to be added to the anniversary fund of Sister Ursel zum Angen
114 v.		Sister Ursel zum Angen		Bed for Sister Schwest Adelheit von Telsberg during her lifetime, and upon her death: to be sold and money to be added to the anniversary fund of Sister Ursel zum Angen

115 r.	All Saints	Agnes and Konrad Kilman (Kilchmann), Katherine von Neuenhausen and all of their heirs and ancestors	6 pounds, 6 shilling	The Kilmanns's anniversary: - Sung vigil and sung requiem following morning - Bursar of S. Theodor to announce anniversary to parish - 12 priests to celebrate requiem mass - 12 requiem masses to be celebrated - Bursar of S. Theodor to buy white breads - Tombs to be draped in cloth and two lit candles placed on the altar where the anniversary is celebrated - Tombs to be sprinkled with holy water - 8 rappen for each priest, 4 shillings for the priest celebrating mass, and 6 shillings for the bursar of S. Theodor - Remainder for convent of Klingental
115 v.	Dispersion of the Apostles, Phillip and Jacob	Sister Margreta Meyerin (dying day)		"In dis Observantz erste Priorin"
115 v.	May 4, 1480	Sister Margreta vom Haus (dying day)	4 gulden	
115 v.	1480, Sunday before S. Augustinus	Brother Hans Büman der Süttermeister, pensioner at Klingental (dying day)		
115 v.	1480, Tuesday after. Tyburi et valeriane	Father Konrad Brat, Chaplin at Klingental (dying day)		
115 v.	1480, ember days before Christmas	Sister Agnes Hauswirteln (dying day)	3 pounds	

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
119 v.	1483, Monday after the first Sunday of advent	Anniversary for the dukes of Austria		
132 v.	S. Servanus	Genni von Walpach and his wife, die von Rotzenhausen	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
132 v.	S. Servanus	Sister Gred Anne von Leymen	2 gulden	
132 v.		Sister Gredli von Friesen	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
132 v.	S. Potecianus	Sister Ann von Fuesen	3 gulden	
132 v.	S. Potecianus	Iegkis von Morswilr	54 pounds and 2 pounds	
132 v.	S. Potecianus	Johannes Helbling	12 pounds and 1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
133 r.	S. Potecianus	Sister Agnes Durin (dying day)	Goods worth 42 gulden	♩ Bequeathed one small cell to the convent, to be sold for 20 gulden, money to be used for her anniversary ♩ A charter worth 20 gulden for the anniversary of the abbot of Wettingen ♩ 2 gulden for sacristy for masses for her and her sisters
133 v.		A woman	3 shilling	
133 v.	Morning	A woman	1 viernzel grain money	
133 v.	Potencianus	Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind		Bequest:
133 v.		Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	8 gulden	For her own anniversary „über den tisch geben“
133 v.	John Baptiste, eve	Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	6 gulden	Anniversary of her parents and all those who were good to her
133 v.	S. Martin	Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	4 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Clare zum Wind

134 v.	S. Marry Magdalene	Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	2 gulden	Anniversary of Sister Gred zum Wind and Sister Agnes zum Wind
134 v.	Kirchweihe	Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	1 gulden	1 gulden for the chantress for vigil
134 v.		Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind	20 gulden	For the grainary
134 v.		Testament of Sister Agnes zum Wind		She left a sum of 282 gulden, 12 pounds or 335 pounds, and 16 shillings
142 r.	28 November 1495	Sister Adelheit von Tellsperg (dying day)	3 gulden	The remaining goods are bequeathed to her daughters – by permission of the abbess
143 r.	6 February 1497	Sister Johanna von Roggenbach	5 pounds	The remaining goods are bequeathed to her daughter – by permission of the abbess
144 v.	Morning after S. Potetianus	Sister Grede von Laufen	2 gulden and 1 pound	For her anniversary and that of her brothers – the Dominicans
144 v.	Feast of the Cross	Sister Grede von Laufen	3 viernzel money	For her parents' anniversary
144 v.		Von Spiegelberg and his wife	10 pounds and 1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
144 v.		Heinrich von Egrigen	8 pounds and 10 shillings	
144 v.	S. Domicus	Die Rotenminderin	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
145 r.	S. Domici	Elsy Satterin, pensioner in Klingental	2.5 gulden	
145 r.	?	Johans Hundisheim, confessor	53.5 gulden and 2 viernzel grain money	50 gulden during his lifetime and 3 gulden for his anniversary
145 v.	Octa Assumpcionis	Gred Lutteringerin	3 gulden and 5 gulden	
145 v.	Pentecost	Muli Meisterin	2 gulden	
145 v.	Pentecost	Meister Claus Tachestein	While alive, 66 pounds and 6 shillings, and after his death: 38 pounds, 5 shillings, and 1 gulden minus 1/3	„über den tisch geben“

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
145 v.	Pentecost	Cuntzli Bader and his wife	10 gulden	5 gulden for the anniversary and 5 gulden for Sister Gredli Sengers during her lifetime
146 v.	S. Urban	Peter Metter	30 pounds	
146 v.		A priest	10 pounds	
146 v.		Brother Herman	100 pounds, 9 juchart vines, 30 shillings, and 2 pounds money	
147 v.		A man	4 schatz vines	
147 v.		Hedinde von Rouffach	1 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
147 v.		A woman	4 schatz vines	
147 v.		Hedine von Oltingen	2 viernzel	„über den tisch geben“
147 v.		Hans von Westhalden	9 pounds	
147 v.	S. Petronellen	Frau von Thierstein	78 guldenand 1 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
148 v.	Morning	Der Bockhirni	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
148 v.		Der Baller	1 vinyard	
148 v.	S. Mecarden	Heitzmann zu Wisenhus	64 gulden	
148 v.	S. Barnabas	Those von Musbach	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
148 v.	Corpus Christi	Peter von Emerach und Frau	8 pounds and 3 shillings	
148 v.	Morning	A woman	1 viernzel money	
148 v.	Morning	Hans Richen von Richenstein, a knight	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
149 v.		Der von Offingen, his wife, and daughter	2.5 pounds	
149 v.		A woman	10 schatz vines	
149 v.		A man	2 pounds and 1 eigen from which is rendered 4 vierteil grain	
149 v.	Morning	Die Amanin	10 pounds and 30 marks	
149 v.		Der von Brambach	7 pounds	

149 v.	Monday after S. Barnabas June 14, 1451	Herr Mathis Schreiber, Chaplin of S. Martin	3 gulden	
149 v.	10,000 Knights	Sister Anne von Thierstein	A parlor	
150 v.	John Baptist	Die Feisinen	40 marks	30 shillings „über den tisch geben“
150 v.	John Baptist	Die Kalt Eschinen	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
150 v.		Sister Katherin von Hagental and Brother Heinrich Kleinmans	3 gulden	15 pounds and 2 gulden for the bursaress' chest
151 v.	S. Peter and Paul	Die am Weg und her father and mother	30 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
151 v.	S. Peter and Paul	A man	A meadow	
151 v.	S. Peter and Paul	Ulrich Tanner and his wife	20 pounds worth	
151 v.	Octan Petri et Pauli	Three men and three women	16 shillings	
151 v.	Our Lady Visitacio	Elsy Schalerin	4 gulden	
152 v	Our Lady	Sister Veren Schalerin		
152 v.	S. Laurencius	Herr Lduman Munchs	2 gulden	
152 v.	Our Lady nativitas	Luttoldin	3.5 gulden	
152 v.	Visitationis Marie	Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	4 gulden	
152 v.	Decollatio S. John Baptist	Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	2 gulden	For her parents' anniversary
152 v.		Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	4 gulden	Anniversary of Anne Rötinen, her relative
153 v.		Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	7 gulden	6 gulden for grainary and 1 gulden for Sister Elsy Brennerin during her lifetime, then also grainary
153 v.		Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	8 pounds and 12 shillings perpetual money	For the bursaress'chest

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
153 v.		Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz		A chalice for sacristy; if it breaks, one shall use money from her anniversary fund to repair it
153 v.		Sister Adelheit zu Hirtz	64 gulden	Cash – to be used to compile a book of songs
154 v.	S. Anthonius	Sister Anne Rötterin	4 gulden	
154 v.	S. Frantziscus	Sister Anne Rötterin	3 gulden and 1 gulden	Anniversary for parents, 1 gulden for herrings (to be served) on Monday following the carnival
154 v.	Morgen nach Unser Frauen Tag Visitacion	Sister Ann Schönkindin	5 gulden	
154 v.	S. Dominicus	Sister Elsy Kellerin	4 gulden	Anniversary for her parents and Sister die Brandenerin
155 v.	S. John Baptist		2 gulden	Anniversary for Hans Schönkintz
155 v.	?	Sister Clara Schönkind	4 gulden	Anniversary for herself and her parents
155 v.	All Saints	Sister Clara Schönkind		Anniversary for Clara Enneli Schönkind and Sister Adelheit Kellerin
155 v.		Sister Clara Schönkind		Anniversary for the two young Schönkind(s)
155 v.		Sister Clara Schönkind		Two cells for Sister Agnes Dürrerin and Sister Gred Dürrerin during their lifetime, two cells with a small oven (öfely), and a small (cell) at the infirmary, two beds in the dormitory, a cellar; upon their deaths: money to be added to Clara Schönkind's anniversary fund
156 v.	Sieben Frauen	Der zum Schönenhaus	5 shilling	
156 v.	Sieben Frauen	Die von Lantzsberg	10 marks	
156 v.	Sieben Frauen	Die von Waltpach	54 pounds and 2 pounds	
156 v.	Sieben Frauen	Thomas Brantz	10 shillings and 2 shillings to buy breads for the poor	8 shillings „über den tisch geben“ and 2 shillings alms for the poor
156 v.	Sieben Frauen	Sister Grede von Haus		
157 v.	1454 Juli 9 – Octa Visitationis	Herr Hertin Wagner	8 pounds	Anniversary for himself, his parents, and ancestors

159 v.	S. Margret	Sister Grede von Tungen	3.5 gulden, 6.5 pounds, and 5 viernzel grain money	For 4 anniversaries
159 v.	S. Margret	Sister Grede von Tungen	4 pounds	For her own anniversary
159 v.	All Saints	Sister Grede von Tungen		Anniversary for herself and all faithful souls
159 v.	Advent	Sister Grede von Tungen		Anniversary for Sister Anne von Tungen
159 v.	S. John Baptist	Sister Grede von Tungen		Anniversary for her parents
160 v.		Herr Erhard von Burgis, Provost of S. Peter	5 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
160 v.		A woman	3 schatz vines	
160 v.		A man and a woman	1 pounds	
160 v.		Der Göbels	38 pounds	
160 v.	Morning	Twomen	2 pounds	
161 v.		A priest	3 marks	
161 v.	Morning	Gute von Emerach	4 pounds	
161 v.		Burkart Wenglis	3 viernzel money	
161 v.	July 17 – S. Alexius	Brother Peter von Durhsdorf	10 viernzel spelt and 1 pound money	
161 v.	?	Die Seilerin	10 pounds	
162 v.		A woman	2 viernzel money	
162 v.		Sister Elsine von Emerach		
162 v.	Tyburty and Valerian	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Anniversary for her father
162 v.	S. Gregorius	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Anniversary for her mother
162 v.	?	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Sister Heilweig von Emerach
162 v.	S. Francis	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Sister Ann von Emerach

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
163 v.	S. Alexius	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Anniversary for herself
163 v.	S. Maruicius	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Anniversary for Herr Hans von Emerach and his sister
163 v.	S. Vernen	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Anniversary for herself and all those who were good to her
163 v.	All Saints	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Anniversary for Jost von Emerach and his Ludwig and all his siblings
163 v.	S. John Evangelist	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Anniversary for Heitzman zum Wissenhus, Henman Sweiniger, and Henman Sydler
164 v.	Easter Monday	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Grede von Emmerach and her children
164 v.	Pentecost Monday	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Anniversary for her mother
164 v.	During Advent	Sister Elsine von Emerach	4 gulden	Anniversary for Sister Katherine von Strassburg
164 v.	S. Efrasinen	Sister Elsine von Emerach	6 gulden	Anniversary for her father
164 v.	Kirchweihe Octa	Sister Elsine von Emerach	3 gulden	Anniversary for all faithful souls
165 v.		Sister Elsine von Emerach		On all anniversaries: 1 shilling for the priest who celebrates mass; on her own anniversary: 30 shillings for the priest
165 v.	Tyburty and Valerian	Funeral of the parents of Herinich von Emerach, Sister Elsine von Emerach	77 pounds	
165 v.		Funeral of the parents of Herinich von Emerach, Sister Elsine von Emerach	18 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
169 v.		Testament of Sister Verena von Emerach		

169 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	30 gulden	For anniversaries
169 v.	Scolastica	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Ennely von Emerach
169 v.	S. Valentin	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for Sister Verenannen von Emerach
169 v.	S. Simon et iude	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Verenen Emerach
169 v.	?	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Elsy von Bamnach
170 v.	Nativity of Mary	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of Elsy Schönkind
170 v.	S. Augustine	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of all those who were good to her until the death of Sister Nesly Hauswirtin, then 4 gulden for Nesly's anniversary
170 v.	All Souls	Testament of Verena von Emerach		4 gulden for the anniversary of all faithful souls
170 v.	S. Dominicus	Testament of Verena von Emerach		2 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Gredly Vögtlis
171 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach		– 18 shillings the for priest who celebrates mass – 24 shillings for the anniversaries of the three sisters
171 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	9 gulden	For Peter von Emerach: 9 gulden during his lifetime, and upon his death: 4 gulden for the anniversary to be celebrated on the day he died
171 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	10 gulden	For the anniversary of her parents and siblings
171 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	10 gulden	For Sister Verena von Roggenbach during her lifetime, and upon her death: 4 gulden for her anniversary, the remainder for Sister Gredly von Emerach if she outlives Sister Verena von Roggenbach
172 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	10 gulden	For Sister Gredly von Emerach during her lifetime, and upon her death: 4 gulden for her anniversary, the remainder for Sister Verenen von Roggenbach, if she outlives the former

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
172 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach		Verenen von Roggenbach and Gredly receive cells and beds
172 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	1 gulden	For the golden statue behind the altar
172 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	1 gulden	For the cross behind the altar
172 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	2 gulden	For the bursaress' chest for construction
173 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach	5 gulden	For the bursaress' chest – from the money she shall provide the servants (Knechte) with 4 pounds of bread and meat every Sunday
173 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach		A chalice for the sacristy with a silver head
173 v.		Testament of Verena von Emerach		A cell
175 r.	1461			"Dies ist die von Emerach Pfründe:" …
177 r.				"Die Metterin Pfründe:" …
177 v.				"Zur Pfründe genannt Klingen" …
187 v.	S. Mary Magdalene	Claus Walchen	45 pounds	
187 v.	S. Mary Magdalene	Die von Neuenfels	5 gulden	„über den tisch geben"
187 v.	S. Appollinaris	Bockshirni	15 pounds	
187 v.		Heinrich von S. Branden	18 pounds, 6 gulden, 3 pounds, and 4 pounds	„über den tisch geben"
187 v.		Hugen zur Henne	4 gulden	3 gulden „über den tisch geben"
188 v.	S. Jacob, eve	Rudi Reiser, tithe master at Klingental	1 gulden	
188 v.		Gred von Will	?	
188 v.		Herr Nicolaus zur Rinden	15 pounds	

188 v.		Herr Nicolaus zur Rinden	1 sester, 1 viernzel rye, 1 sester, 1 viernzel oat, 1 sester barley, 4 sester erwesen(?), 4 pounds money, and 2 gulden	Anniversary for wife and children
188 v.		Geis Riemen	10 shilling	
189 v.		Brother Klaus Bumans, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	5 gulden	
189 v.		Klaus Bumans, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	Tithes and 1 gulden	The third part of a house where Berchtold the smith resides along with the money from a tithe for his parents' anniversary
189 v.		Klaus Bumans, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	91 pound 5 gulden 54 gulden	For the bursaress' chest
189 v.		Klaus Bumans, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	14 gulden	For the bursaress' chest
189 v.	July 26, 1481 – Thursday after S. Jacob	Klaus Bumans, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental (dying day)		
190 v.	S. Martin	Herr Ulrich von Valkenstein	30 pounds	2 pounds „über den tisch geben"
190 v.	S. Martin	Der von Hugesheim	15 pounds	
190 v.	S. Martin	Ennelis von Walpach	13 pounds	
190 v.	Ab Don et Sennen	Frau von Ferigen	25 pounds and 2 gulden	2 gulden „über den tisch geben"

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
191 v.		Die von Schellenberg	4 pounds	
191 v.		Sister Anne von Brumiken	2 viernzel spelt, 1 pound, and 1 gulden	
191 v.	Germani	Die von Stein	10 pounds	
191 v.		Die von Kamstein	9 pounds	
191 v.	Germani	Sister Veren von Erenfels	4 gulden, 9 viernzel grain money, 7 saum wine money, 18 shillings, and 0.5 pound pepper	For three anniversaries
192 v.	S. Thomas	Sister Veren von Erenfels		Anniversary for parents and those von Luterbach
192 v.	S. Thomas	Sister Veren von Erenfels		Anniversary for Engel von Erenfels and Sister von vonFlachslanden and all those who were good to her
193 r.	1502 August 1	Herr Frydly Gros, bursar at Klingental	50 gulden	
193 r.	August 20, 1502 – S. Bernhard	Konrad Sprenger, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	3 pounds money	
193 v.	Vincla(?) S. Petri	Die von Walpach	49 pounds	
193 v.		A woman	5 pounds	
193 v.	S. Dominicus, eve	Peter Niklis	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
193 v.		Die von Ulm	1 pound and 1 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
193 v.	S. Dominicus	A man	1 eigen which renders 6 vierteil grain	
194 v.	S. Domicius	Herr Hans Muntz and brother	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
194 v.		Herr von Wangen	20 pounds	
194 v.		Those zur Sunnen von Walpach	20 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“

194 v.	S. Laurencius	Herr von Montfort	7 pounds	
194 v.	S. Laurencius	Die von Tegernau	15 pounds	
195 v.		Sister Elsy von Amoltren	4 gulden	
195 v.		Gotzman Roten	6 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
195 v.		Jacob Fuchs	1 mark worth	
195 v.		Herr von Wangen	9 pounds and 10 marks worth	„über den tisch geben“
195 v.	S. Agatha	Katherine Rouberin	5 pounds	
196 v.	S. Ypolliti	Die von Morsperg	20 marks worth	
196 v.	An unser Frauen Abend Asumpcio			
196 v.	Our Lady	Die von Amoltzen	47 pounds, 10 gulden, and 8 viernzel money	
198 v.	Our Lady Octa	Die Probstinen	10 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
198 v.		Der Niblings	3 schatz vines	
198 v.		Der Boggen	80 and 100 marks worth	
198 v.	S. Bartholomew	Die von Tegerfeld	2 pounds	4 shillings „über den tisch geben“
198 v.	S. Bartholomew	Those von Kilchen and their daughter	5 pounds	5 shillings „über den tisch geben“
199 v.	S. Louis	Herr Burkhard von Lörrach	2 shillings	
199 v.	S. Augustinus	Die von Vrigis	10 pounds	
199 v.		Die von Wert	6 pounds	
199 v.		Junker Fridrich von Hus	4 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
199 v.	Decollatio S. John Baptist	Heinrich von Anstalt	2 pounds and 10 shillings	
200 v.	S. Vernena	Sister Ann Brennerin	2 gulden	Anniversary for herself
200 v.	S. Bartholomew	Sister Ann Brennerin	2 gulden	Anniversary for her parents
200 v.	S. Vicetius	Sister Ann Brennerin	2 gulden	Anniversary for all those to whom she owes good deeds
200 v.		Sister Ann Brennerin	2 gulden	For sacristy

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
200 v.		Sister Ann Brennerin	1 gulden	For sacrament on the altar
200 v.	S. Augustine Octa	Die von Hagnegk	40 pounds	
200 v.		Die am Weg	8 pounds	
200 v.		Der Halb Tufel	5 pounds	10 shillings for preachers and 1 pound „über den tisch geben“
201 v.		Sister Gred Rotzen	3/4 of 1 gulden	
201 v.		Sister Gredli Vögtlis	2 gulden	
201 v.		Frau Enneli von Efringen	2 gulden	
201 v.	Our Lady nativitas, eve	Herren von Tutelsberg	4 pounds and 9 schatz vines	30 shillings „über den tisch geben“
201 v.		Heili Munchin	3 pounds	
202 v.		Die Schalerin, who was the wife of Herr Lutold Munch	14 pounds money and 1 gulden	
202 v.	Our Lady nativitas, day	Brother Hans Burners, chaplain at Klingental	100 and 80 pounds, and from his household items: 13 pounds and 5 gulden	
202 v.		Brother Hans Burner, chaplain at Klingental	1 gulden	For candles at the altar of Our Lady
202 v.	Our Lady during Lent	Brother Hans Burners, chaplain at Klingental	2 gulden	Anniversary for himself
202 v.	S. Gorgonien	Sister Clare von Walpach	5 gulden	For three anniversaries
203 v.	S. Vitalis	Sister Clare von Walpach	2 pounds and 2 gulden	Anniversary for parents and all her siblings
203 v.	Symonis et iude	Sister Clare von Walpach	2 pounds	Anniversary for Sister Grede von Walpach and her mother
203 v.	Johannes ante portam latima	Sister Clare von Walpach	2 pounds	Anniversary for Schwestr Elhusen von Walpach and Sister Lene von Kam

203 v.	Johannes ante portam latima	Sister Clare von Walpach	1 pound and 1 viernzel grain money	"zu ir und der von Telsperg Jahrzeit darzu git die Jahrzeitmeisterin"
203 v.	S. Peter of Milan	Sister Clare von Walpach	2 gulden and 7.5 shillings	Anniversary for zer Kinden
203 v.	After Easter	Sister Clare von Walpach	1 gulden	Anniversary for von Yestetten
204 v.	Kindlin		5 gulden	Sister Cilien von walpach
204 v.	S. Vicentius		3 gulden	Anniversary for Meister Dicholtz and all those who owe her good deeds
204 v.	S. Vitalis		2 gulden and 2 pounds	Anniversary for parents and siblings
204 v.	Symonis et iude		1 gulden and 2 pounds	Anniversary for Sister Grede and her Mutter
204 v.	Kronen		2 gulden	Anniversary for Hans von Walpach and his wife, her father, and all faithful souls
204 v.	S. Gallen		2 gulden	Anniversary for all her siblings and the children
205 v.	S. Elizabeth	Sister Agnes von Walpach	5 gulden	1 gulden of which for calendarian's chest
205 v.	S. Leodegarius		2 gulden	Anniversary for her parents
205 v.	S. Mathis		2 gulden	Anniversary for her siblings and all those to whom she owes good deeds
205 v.			1 gulden	For mass
206 r.		Ennelis von Walpach	5 gulden	For her anniversary
206 r.		Ennelis von Walpach	4 gulden	Anniversary for parents and grandparents, 12 shilling for the priest who celebrates mass
206 r.		Ennelis von Walpach	2 gulden	Anniversary for four female cousins ("Basen")
206 r.		Ennelis von Walpach		A cell for Sister Elizabeth von Rotersdorf during her lifetime, and upon her death: cell to be sold and money to be added to the anniversary fund of Ennelis von Waltpach
206 v.	Nativitas	Konrad zu Haupt	10 gulden and 0.5 gulden	
206 v.		Konrad zu Haupt	5 gulden	Upon his death
206 v.		Sister Clar Elsy Röti	20 gulden	For the cloister
206 v.		Sister Clar Elsy Röti	24 gulden	

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
207 v.	?	Konrad zu Haupt	4 gulden	Anniversaries comprising a vigil and requiem for Konrad zu Haupt, his wife, Anna Offenburgin, Dorothte Röttin, his daughter, Herman Offenburg Ritt, Sister Ennelin Offenburgin, siblings, and Sister Urselen zu Haupt, daughter
207 v.	S. Gregorius	A woman	9 schatz vines	For a light
207 v.	S. Gregorius	Heinrich von Egzigen	8 pounds	
207 v.		Der Seger	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
207 v.		A man and a woman	2 schatz vines	
207 v.	?	A priest	2 schatz vines	
207 v.	Feast of the Cross, eve	Die von Ruchswagen	1 mark worth	30 shillings „über den tisch geben“
208 v.		Die von Rinegk	10 pounds	
208 v.		Die Krestine	15 shillings and 22 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
208 v.		Brother Klaus, shoe and gownmaker (Sutermeister) at Klingental	100 gulden, 23 gulden, and 3 pounds money	6 gulden for anniversary for himself and his brother
208 v.	Feast of the Cross, day	Die Kolbotzine	10 pounds and 10 shillings	
208 v.		Sister Gred Murnhartin	3 gulden	
208 v.	S. Laurencius octa	Sister Ursel Galmuterin	3 gulden	
209 v.	S. Petri and Pauli		2 gulden	Anniversary for parents of Sister Gred Murhartin
209 v.	Morning after Feast of the Cross	Die Wissenen	100 marks worth	
209 v.		Eine Frau	5 viernzel grain money	
209 v.	S. Lampertus	Die von Aspach	22 marks worth	
209 v.		Die Bogginen	1 marks worth	

210 v.	S. Mathew	Herr Hug Munch and his wife	4 gulden	2 gulden on this day and 2 gulden on Conversio S. Pauli „über den tisch geben“
210 v.	S. Mauricius	Herr von Egringen	15 gulden	5 gulden „über den tisch geben“
210 v.		Der von Magstatt	2 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
210 v.		Zwei Frauen	1 viernzel money	
210 v.	September 22, 1451, S. Mauricius	Ludmann Tribock (dying day)	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
210 v.	Candlemas	Frau Gredennelin, Ludmann's mother (dying day)	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
211 r.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	10 gulden	For Sister Margred Bydermann during her lifetime, and upon her death: 5 gulden for the anniversary of the Roterstorf family and 5 gulden for the anniversary of Sister Margred Bydermans
211 r.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	2 gulden	For Cordula during lifetime, and upon death: money for the convent
211 r.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	2 gulden	For Sister Ennelin and Margrete von Esthenberg during lifetime, and upon death: added to the anniversary fund of the Roterstorf family and for the anniversary of Enneling and Margrete
211 r.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	2.5	For the sacristy, mass celebrated on Elsi's dying day
211 v.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	6 gulden	For three anniversaries – 1 shilling for each attending nun
211 v.	Day of her death	Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf		1.anniversary
211 v.	Corpus Christistag	Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf		2.anniversary
211 v.	All Souls	Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf		3.anniversary
211 v.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	2 saum wine money, 1 viernzel grain money, and 0.5 gulden	For bursaress' chest

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Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
211 v.		Testament of Sister Elsi von Rottersdorf	1 golden ring with a diamond on a monstrance	
212 r.		Frau Big von Rossperg	2 gulden	For construction
212 r.		Gred Bokin	1 pounds and 4 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
212 r.		Herr von Lutzel	1 gulden	For construction
212 r.		Hans von(?)	2 gulden	For construction
212 r.		Hans Gekler	1 shillings	For construction
212 r.		Meister Burkhart Buman	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
212 r.		Oswalt Holpach	1 pounds and 8 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
212 r.		Meister Henmann Bader	14 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
212 r.		Herr Erhard Wys	2 gulden	For construction
212 v.		Herr Peter Löwlin	?	
212 v.		Meister Einfaltig	1 glass window	
212 v.		Heinrich Meyger	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
212 v.		Doctor Bernhard Eyglin	20 pounds, 4 viernzel money; 4 pounds minus 5 shillings	For grainary
212 v.		Doctor Bernhart Miller, Provost of S. Peter	10 gulden	
212 v.		Heman Mundelheim	1 gulden	
212 v.		Rudolf ryach Kaplan	10 pounds	
213 r.		Herr Lyttold von Bernefels	1 pounds	
213 r.	1517	Meister Jörgen Meyer and Barbel, his wife	200 gulden	Pensioners – sum paid to Klingental in exchange
213 r.		Meister Jörgen Meyer and Barbel, his wife	10 pounds	Anniversary for their parents
213 v.	Cosine et damiani	Peter Bremmer	50 pounds	

213 v.		Konrad Renkey and his wife	60 pounds	
213 v.	S. Michel	Herr Burkart Much and his wife	10 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
213 v.		Hans von Laufenberg	10 pounds, 3 gulden, and after his wife's death: 2 pounds	1 shilling for each sister, the remainder „über den tisch geben“
218 v.		Schliengen	94 pounds	
218 v.	S. Hieronimus	Johann Spirer	30 pounds and 62 gulden	For the convent
218 v.		Johann Spirer		♩ 7 pounds and 10 gulden for the Dominicans ♩ Priests celebrating anniversary and men singing: 1 shilling each ♩ Priests celebrating mass: 6 pennies ♩ The rest to be used for the anniversary ♩ Every attending sister shall receive 1 shilling, and wine, bread, fish, and pepper ♩ The rest for eggs and butter every Saturday ♩ The remainder to be used for three anniversaries
218 v.	All Saints	Johann Spirer		Anniversary for his ancestors and himself
218 v.	Kirchweihe Tag	Johann Spirer		
218 v.	S. Dominicus	Johann Spirer		
218 v.	S. Remigius	Sister Veren Muntzmeisterin		
219 v.	S. Leodgarius	Der Stemli	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
219 v.		Those zur Eichen	2 viernzel spelt	
219 v.	S. Francis	Henmann von Lauffen	2 pounds and 2 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
219 v.		Die Schenkenin und ihre Tochter	10 shilling	
219 v.	S. Marti Pape	Der von Biedertan	6 pounds	
220 v.		Der von Guntzenheim	13 pounds worth	
220 v.	S. Dyonisius	Sister Gred Wilden		
220 v.	S. Ursula	Die zur Wind	3 pounds	Anniversary for herself
220 v.	Palm Sunday	Die zur Wind	3 pounds	Anniversary
220 v.		A man	2 schatz vines	

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
221 v.		Die Schalerin von Anret	64 pounds	2 pounds „über den tisch geben“
221 v.	Morning after S. Edwardes	Burkard von Attzenbach	4 shillings	
221 v.		Die Weckerlin	1 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
221 v.		Die Senftenin	11.5 pounds and 37 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
222 v.		Die Steinlin	12 shillings	
222 v.		Sister Yrmine	300 pounds and 30 shillings	
222 v.		Der Scheolers and his wife	2 viernzel money	„über den tisch geben“
223 v.	S. Ursula	Konrad von Sultzmat	6 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
223 v.		Die Sewerin	30-shilling worth	
223 v.	Crispini and Crispiniani	Der Bockhirni	5 pounds	
223 v.	Vigilia Symonis and iude	Die von Wesenberg	20 pounds	
224 v.	S. Symon and iudas, day	Der Trenli and his wife	40 pounds	
224 v.		A man	5 schatz vines and 4 shillings money	„über den tisch geben“
224 v.		Sister Ann von Biedertan	2 gulden	For the sacristy
224 v.		A man	4 schatz vines	
225 v.		Those von Nortswaben	6 pounds	
225 v.	All Saints, eve	Die Wetzlin	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
225 v.		Johannes von Habchsilhen	40 pounds worth and 1 pound money	„über den tisch geben“
225 v.	All Saints	Meister Hans Grafen der Weinmann and his wife	2.5 gulden	

226 v.		Meister Henmann Hertrich and his wife	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
226 v.		Meister Peter Lostorfs	40 gulden, 2 gulden, 8 shillings, and 1 pound perpetual money	
226 v.		Hans von Zegligen	0.5 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
227 v.	All Souls	A woman	1 gound and 3 pounds	
227 v.		A man	10 marks worth	
227 v.		A man	1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
227 v.	S. Lienhard	Die Rötenen	5 pounds	1 pound „über den tisch geben“
228 v.		Peter Schaler and his wife and their chidlren	42 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
228 v.		A man	1 eigen	
228 v.	S. Florencius	Die Schmidene	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
228 v.		Twomen	3 shilling	
228 v.	S. Jodars	Die Halsbergin and her parents and siblings	1 pound money and 1 gulden	
229 v.	S. Martin	Those von Laufen	2 viernzel money	
229 v.		A woman	1 pound worth, 2 shillings, and 1 …(?) grain money	
229 v.	S. Briaen	A man	?	
229 v.		Meister Konrad Kilchmas	1 gulden	
230 r.	S. Martin	Frau Kungolt von Baden (dying day)	2 gulden	„über den tisch geben“
230 v.		Bruder Hartman und Bruder Dietschus	2 pounds	
230 v.		Die Wielandin	10 pounds and 1 pound	
230 v.		Die von Wessenberg	6 pounds and 1 pound	„über den tisch geben“
230 v.		Sister Adelheit Niblingen	1 gulden	„über den tisch geben“

(*Continued*)

Page	*Anniversary*	*Founder*	*Endowment*	*Notes*
230 v.		Gred Zymermann	0.5 gulden	
231 v.		Wernli Muntzmeister	10 shilling	„über den tisch geben“
231 v.	S. Martis octa	A woman	7 pounds	
231 v.	S. Elizabeth	Hennin Sweningers	12 pounds	
231 v.		Henmann von Tuifel	2.5 pounds	„über den tisch geben“
231 v.	S. Cecilia	Die Stemlinen	4 sester grain money	
231 v.		Die von Bermswik	30 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
232 v.	S. Clemens	Sister Nesen Schillingen	10 shillings	„über den tisch geben“
232 v.	S. Katherine, eve	Rudolf von Mulhausen and his wife	1 pound and 25 pounds	
232 v.		Frau von Rötelen	20 pounds	
232 v.	S. Katherine	Schultheis Ermenrich and his wife	18 pounds and 30 shilling	
233 v.		Herr Markgrave von Rötellen and his wife	1 gulden	
233 v.	S. Conrad	?	?	
233 v.		Die von Biedertan	30 pounds	
233 v.		A man	2 shillings	
234 v.		Hans von Magstatt	2 viernzel money	
234 v.		Sister Gred Zellerin	2 gulden	

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