

THE NECROLOGY OF GÜNTERSTAL,
THE NOTEBOOK OF THE PRIORESSES AND ABBESSES,
AND THOUGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF
THE *NECROLOGIA GERMANIAE*

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IN the German context the study of late medieval necrologies is closely associated with the name of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, under whose auspices several hundred necrologies from the southwest German and Bavarian-Austrian area were published between 1888 and 1920 in the *Necrologia Germaniae* project.¹ A century later it was renamed *Libri me-*

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 1: *Dioeceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, ed. F. L. Baumann (Berlin, 1888); vol. 2: *Dioecesis Salisburgensis*, ed. S. Herzberg-Fränkell (Berlin, 1904); vol. 3: *Dioeceses Brixinensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, ed. F. L. Baumann (Berlin, 1905); vol. 5: *Dioecesis Pataviensis*, part 1: *Dioecesis Pataviensis Regio Bavarica. Dioecesis Pataviensis Regio Austriaca nunc Lentiensis*, ed. M. Fastlinger and J. Sturm (Berlin, 1920); vol. 5: *Dioecesis Pataviensis*, part 2: *Austria inferior*, ed. A. F. Fuchs (Berlin, 1913). At much the same time, the French Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres began a large-scale project under the general title *Obituares*. In 1876 sixteen necrologies from the ecclesiastical province of Rouen were published in vol. 23 of the *Recueil des historiens de la France*, edited by Léopold Delisle (1826–1910); in 1887 the Académie offered a prize, won by Auguste Molinier (1851–1904), for the best work on the theme of necrologies, with the task defined as “Exposer la méthode d’après laquelle doit être publié, préparé pour l’impression et commenté un ancien obituaire. Appliquer les règles de la critique à l’étude d’un obituaire rédigé en France avant le XIII^e siècle. Montrer le parti qu’on peut tirer de l’obituaire pour l’histoire des arts et des lettres et pour la biographie de personnes dont le nom appartient à l’histoire civile ou à l’histoire ecclésiastique”; and in 1894 the Académie launched a new series with the title *Obituares* under the umbrella of the *Recueil des historiens de la France*. See H. Leclercq, “Obituaire,” *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 12 (Paris, 1936), col. 1853; and Pierre Marot, “Avant-Propos,” in *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, publié sous la direction de Pierre Marot par Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituares* 7.1 (Paris, 1980), i–viii. Today the series comprises more than thirty volumes of complete editions.

moriales et necrologia.² The *Monumenta* and its series, first conceived in 1877, determined which necrologies deserved to be made available for generations of later historians. The value of a necrology was primarily a function of its antiquity: in essence, the older, the better. But it was not only the selection made by the *Monumenta* that was to have far-reaching consequences; the manner in which these necrologies were edited was to prove equally momentous.

The problems connected to the question of precisely how the necrologies were edited are the focus of this article, which proceeds in two stages. In the first section I discuss the genesis of the editorial project, the editorial guidelines, and the slightly divergent editorial practice of the editor responsible. The second section concentrates on the necrology of the Cistercian convent of Günterstal near Freiburg im Breisgau. Here I discuss first the especially challenging transmission history of this source before addressing the no less problematic criteria which were used to select material for inclusion in the edition of the “Necrologium Güntersthalense.” Finally, the convent’s memorial practices will be illuminated from the perspective of the convent, more specifically that of the “Notebook of the Prioresses and Abbesses of Günterstal,” which serves to draw attention to the considerable importance the remembrance of the dead played in the self-understanding of a late medieval convent.

1. THE GENESIS OF AN EDITORIAL PROJECT

In March 1921 Harry Bresslau presented his *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* to the Central Directorate, the executive committee of the *Monumenta*. It can still be read with profit today and provides insights into the genesis of the editorial project.³ It is important to pay close

² In 1983 Gerd Althoff and Joachim Wollasch opened the first perspectives on central Germany (Merseburg, Magdeburg, and Lüneburg); these volumes were later joined by the necrology of the Minden cathedral chapter (1998) and the early necrologies of the three Benedictine houses St. Emmeram in Regensburg (1986), Michelsberg in Bamberg (2004), and St. Maximin at Trier (2008); and the necrology of the Constance cathedral chapter was re-edited in 2009. See Dieter Geuenich, “Mittelalterliche Necrologien vom Niederrhein,” *Rhein-Maas Studien zur Geschichte, Sprache und Kultur* 3 (2012): 13–21, at 13 f. Recent volumes (2018–19): St. Gall and Hersfeld.

³ Harry Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae historica im Auftrag ihrer Zentraldirektion* (Hanover, 1921), iii.

attention to the origins of the undertaking, since decisions which were taken at that stage significantly affect the practical value of the editions for the modern user. According to Bresslau's account, it had taken some time "before suitable colleagues for this arduous and almost thankless work" ("bis für diese mühsame und wenig dankbare Arbeit geeignete Mitarbeiter") on the necrologies could be found.⁴ Eventually Franz Ludwig Baumann (1846–1915) declared his willingness to take on the technically demanding task.

Baumann's chief interests actually lay elsewhere, both geographically and thematically: he had made a name for himself with his three-volume edition of sources for the history of the Peasants' War in Upper Swabia.⁵ These were followed in 1879 by his work on early medieval administrative districts (*Gaugrafschaften*) in Württemberg-ruled Swabia, and between 1883 and 1895 by his three-volume history of the Allgäu, dedicated to Karl Egon zu Fürstenberg.⁶ His editorial activities in the service of the Monumenta paved the way for an illustrious career: in 1895 he transferred from the Fürstenberg Princely Archive in Donaueschingen, where he had been active in various functions since 1872, to the Bavarian archival service;⁷ in 1903 he was named director of the Royal Bavarian Archive in Munich (*Königliches Allgemeines Reichsarchiv*, the present Hauptstaatsarchiv) and in 1906 he was made a full member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences; finally, in 1908, he received the Knights' Cross of the Order of Merit of the Bavarian Crown and bore henceforth the title of Franz

⁴ Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 608. See Gottfried Opitz, "Breßlau, Harry," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 2 (1955): 600 f.; and Bettina Rabe, "Harry Bresslau (1848–1926). Wegbereiter der Historischen Hilfswissenschaften in Berlin und Straßburg," *Herold-Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge 1 (1996): 52–54.

⁵ Baumann's source collections for the history of the Peasants' War in Upper Swabia and Rothenburg ob der Tauber appeared between 1876 and 1878. See Josef Rottenkolber, "Fr. L. Baumann, der Geschichtsschreiber des Allgäus," *Allgäuer Geschichtsfreund*, Neue Folge 36 (1934): 110–25.

⁶ Franz Ludwig Baumann, *Die Gaugrafschaften im württembergischen Schwaben: ein Beitrag zur historischen Geographie Deutschlands* (Stuttgart, 1879); idem, *Geschichte des Allgäus. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Beginne des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Kempton, 1883–95, rpt. Scientia-Verlag Aalen, 1971–73).

⁷ Karl Siegfried Bader, "Archiv und geschichtliche Landesforschung. Ein Jahrhundert wissenschaftlicher Arbeit im Fürstenberg-Archiv zu Donaueschingen," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 50/51 (1955): 57–69, at 66 f.

Ludwig von Baumann.⁸ These details are taken from the German Dictionary of National Biography (*Deutsche Biographie*); for whatever reason, Baumann's entry makes no mention of his services to the publication of medieval necrologies.⁹

Baumann's initial task was to edit the necrologies from the four "south German" dioceses of Augsburg, Constance, Chur, and Strasbourg.¹⁰ Later he also took on the bishoprics of Brixen, Freising, and Regensburg, since it was still proving difficult to find qualified collaborators.¹¹ He formed a set of editorial principles based on the necrology of the Benedictine house of Zwiefalten.¹² The Central Directorate of the Monumenta largely followed his suggestions when they established their own guidelines in 1880.¹³ The chronological endpoint was set at 1300.¹⁴ Later necrologies were to be included only when their contents were demonstrably derived

⁸ "Baumann, Franz Ludwig von," *Deutsche Biographie* 1 (1953), 652 [online-Version]. See Bernhard Zittel, "Franz Ludwig von Baumann," in *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*, ed. Götz von Pölnitz, Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte 3.6 (Munich, 1958), 468–94.

⁹ *Deutsche Biographie* 1:652: "Neben seiner Geschichte des Allgäus (3 Bände, 1893–94) sind seine Arbeiten zur Verfassungsgeschichte des frühen Mittelalters hervorzuheben, in denen er seine für lange Zeit beherrschende Auffassung über die schwäbische 'Gaugrafschaft' vorgetragen hat."

¹⁰ The decision to leave out Strasbourg was his own; see Franz Ludwig Baumann, "Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur," *Neues Archiv* 13 (1888): 409–29, at 420. The vicissitudes of the city's history prevented the project from being carried out in its original form. In 1921 Bresslau was still under the impression that the omission of the diocese of Strasbourg was only temporary (*Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 608). Today the bishopric has been covered in exemplary fashion by Jean-Loup Lemaître: see *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires 7.2 (Paris, 1980), 907–28.

¹¹ Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 704–6. The second volume (diocese of Salzburg) was edited by Sigismund Herzberg-Fränkell (1857–1913) and volumes four and volume five on the bishopric of Passau were edited by Father Adalbert Franz Fuchs (1868–1930) from Göttweig and Canon Max Fastlinger (1866–1918).

¹² Franz Ludwig Baumann, "Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher," *Neues Archiv* 7 (1882): 19–41, at 21.

¹³ "Necrologium Zwifaltense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:240–41 (description of the manuscripts consulted).

¹⁴ In France, the year 1200 was agreed upon.

from older manuscripts. Here again there was a cut-off point, set at 1500. In his notes Bresslau added that “only the dates of death of notable persons were extracted from necrology entries dating from the final two centuries of the Middle Ages.”¹⁵ Nonetheless, the material was not to be organized chronologically, but (as has been noted) by bishoprics. The *Monumenta*’s guidelines corresponded to those laid down by the French Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres for their editors.¹⁶

Baumann’s progress report for 1882 offers valuable insights into the working conditions and methods of an archivist in the early days of the German nation-state at the close of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Extensive correspondence with librarians and archivists informed him of local or regional collections of necrologies. Many colleagues followed up this information by simply sending him the necrologies so that he could work on them in Donaueschingen. Their amicable cooperation considerably expedited matters. Baumann first travelled to Munich (according to his progress report) in September 1880, where he evaluated the necrology

¹⁵ Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 608 n. 5 (“Von den aus den beiden letzten Jahrhunderten des Mittelalters stammenden Einträgen solcher Bücher wurden nur die Todesdaten namhafter Personen aufgenommen”). Baumann, “Über die Todtenbücher der Bistümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur,” 421: “Um aber nicht zuviel unwichtigen Stoff aus der Zeit von 1300–1500 mitaufnehmen zu müssen, wurde bestimmt, dass nur der Inhalt der Nekrologien und Anniversarbücher, der aus der Zeit vor 1300 stammt, ganz zur Aufnahme kommen, dass dagegen aus dem 14. und 15. Jahrh. nur die wichtigern Einträge also namentlich die Namen der Kirchenvorstände, der Edelleute und städtischen Geschlechter berücksichtigt werden sollten.”

¹⁶ The guidelines in France were drawn up on the basis of preliminary studies by Auguste Molinier (Marot, “Avant-Propos,” in *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, vi): “Les ‘obituares’ médiévaux, seuls retenus, devaient être publiés dans l’ordre des provinces ecclésiastiques et par diocèse. On ne reproduisait intégralement que les plus anciens, antérieurs au XII^e siècle. Des obituares postérieurs on n’éditait que des extraits: on ne retenait que les obits des personnages qui portaient un titre ou qui étaient suivis d’un nom de lieu ou prourvus d’un nom patronymique. On s’attachait à distinguer le corps primitif d’un obituaire des apports successifs dont il avait été l’objet, en imprimant ces additions en italique et en les datant autant que possible. Un index alphabétique devait être publié pour l’ensemble des obituares d’un diocèse ou d’un groupe de diocèses.”

¹⁷ Friedrich Jaeger und Jörn Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus. Eine Einführung* (Munich, 1992), 67–72; Franziska Metzger, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtssdenken im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Bern, Stuttgart, and Vienna, 2011), 145–55.

collections of the “Reichsstaatsarchiv” and the Staatsbibliothek.¹⁸ This journey is well documented in his academic papers, which were deposited in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek a year after his death.¹⁹

Baumann’s progress report reveals that he did not adhere to the editorial guidelines of the Central Directorate in all respects. He wished to record more names than just those of important dignitaries, “for the names of ordinary persons which are given in the necrologies also serve as a rich source for the history of the German language and of medieval life.”²⁰ But in practice he did not do so consistently. Hundreds of entries are missing from his editions: in particular, he left out all those he considered to be bourgeois.²¹

Contrary to the Directorate’s guidelines, Baumann also saw little sense in an *a priori* exclusion of necrologies originating from after 1500. What counted for him was not the date of a necrology’s creation, but whether or not it contained a substantial number of entries dating from before 1300.²² He could not pursue the questions of when, how, and why these earlier anniversaries were added: there was simply no time for this. Speed was of the essence and some abridgement was necessary to prevent the project from getting out of hand.²³

¹⁸ He mentions the journey in his 1882 “Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher,” 27.

¹⁹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Nachlässe und Nachlaßteile, Baumann, Franz Ludwig von (1840–1915).

²⁰ Baumann, “Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher,” 22 (“Hingegen soll der gesammte nekrologische Inhalt eines Todtenbuches, der vor 1500 entstanden ist, zur Mittheilung gelangen, nicht etwa nur die Namen bedeutender Würdenträger, denn auch die in den Nekrologien gebotenen Namen einfacher Persönlichkeiten dienen der Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und des mittelalterlichen Lebens als reiche Quelle”).

²¹ This can be seen, for example, through a comparison of the “Necrologium Fraubrunnense” (*Necrologia Germaniae* 1:405–20) with the edition of the necrology (*Jahrzeitbuch*) in *Regesten des Frauenklosters Fraubrunnen im Kanon Bern*, ed. J. J. Amiet, *Die Regesten der Archive in der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* 2 (Chur, 1851), 135–68.

²² Baumann, “Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher,” 21 f.

²³ He was especially concerned with this issue in his third progress report. In this report he justified drastic abridgement as necessary because the volume of work had “outgrown all expectations” (Baumann, “Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur,” 420: “Je mehr sich . . . meine Arbeit dem Ende näherte, desto mehr drängte sich mir die Nothwendigkeit auf, sehr starke Kürzungen und

But Baumann's method was one of drastic abbreviation. He considered the liturgical and other special provisions of the anniversary foundations to be "worthless" and therefore dispensable; endowments of masses likewise did not deserve to be recorded, in his opinion.²⁴ His progress report includes the following example of this sort of abbreviation:

Magister Volkmarus obiit, de cuius
anniversario datur urna vini sociis
de choro ij. sol. et ministris j. sol de
predio in Aittingen illius de Scher-
steten. Quia ipse dedit annum mortis
prebende sue.

Magister Volkmarus o. [*]

quia ipse dedit annum mortis
prebende sue.

[* de predio in Aittingen illius de
Schersteten].²⁵

In the interests of cultural history he nonetheless included any gifts noted in the anniversary foundations, "where they are of some interest on account of a particular detail, for example, a monetary value, works of art or similar, or are of linguistic interest."²⁶ Thus we owe to his decision our knowledge, for example, of the small cakes and cream which supplemented the diet of the nuns of the monasteries of Magdenau and Tänikon near Lake Constance on particular anniversaries, or of the many horses with which nobles established their anniversary commemorations.²⁷ To these can be added, unsurprisingly, innumerable chalices, vestments and altar cloths, together with occasional pictures, books or clocks.

At the same time, Baumann considered the entire *mise en page* of the older necrologies—the visual division into monks, nuns and laypeople,

Auslassungen anzuwenden, denn der Umfang der Arbeit war über Erwarthen herangewachsen").

²⁴ Baumann, "Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher," 23 ("Diese Angaben dürften meist für die Wissenschaft werthlos sein"), and "Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur," 422.

²⁵ Baumann, "Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher," 23.

²⁶ Baumann, "Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur," 422 ("diese Einträge liess ich im Texte stehen, wenn sie wegen einer besonderen Angage, z. B. über Geldwerth, Kunstsachen u. dgl. oder wegen ihrer Sprache einiges Interesse boten").

²⁷ Arnold Angenendt, "Die liturgische *Memoria*: Hilfe für das Fortleben im Jenseits," in *Wider das Vergessen und für das Seelenheil: Memoria und Totengedenken im Mittelalter*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Münster, 2013), 201–24, at 221.

mostly separated by columns—to be irrelevant. The status of the deceased was in any case given at the end of each entry, Baumann noted in justification of his move.²⁸ Yet the “structuring of *memoria*” has in itself semantic value:²⁹ through it a unique social order is created, and not merely depicted, in each and every book. Finally, Baumann also silently modernized the liturgical calendar by omitting all references to saints’ days.³⁰ This was a far-reaching decision, since it obscured the holy days specific to orders and houses to which the users had oriented themselves in structuring their anniversaries, while also depriving himself of an important dating aid.³¹

Aside from given names, surnames, indications of status or office, the year, and perhaps a place of origin or other topographical information, there was all told not much more that made its way into Baumann’s “edition”: it was a bare skeleton, suitable primarily for biographical research.³² This narrow approach obviously does not do justice to late medieval necrologies.

As we have already seen, Baumann had tested his approach on the necrologies of the Benedictine abbey of Zwiefalten.³³ In the introduction he explained at uncharacteristic length how the edition came into being.³⁴ It was based on a complex of three separate manuscripts which he combined

²⁸ Baumann, “Bericht über schwäbische Todtenbücher,” 24.

²⁹ Franz Neiske, “Die Ordnung der Memoria. Formen necrologischer Tradition im mittelalterlichen Klosterverband,” in *Institution und Charisma: Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz J. Felten, Annette Kehnel, and Stefan Weinfurter (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2009), 127–37; Rolf Kuithan, *Die Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten in der kirchlichen Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts: ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Zwiefalter Memorialquellen* (Münster, 1997), 17 f., 23 f.; Rainer Hugener, “Lebendige Bücher. Materielle und mediale Aspekte der Heilungsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gedenküberlieferung,” *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 18 (2013): 122–40.

³⁰ Baumann, “Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur,” 421.

³¹ Bruno Meyer, “Das Totenbuch von Wagenhusen,” *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 86 (1968): 87–187, at 90.

³² Priorities were very similar in France at the time; see n. 1 above.

³³ The Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart has uploaded the three manuscripts to its online collection, making it much easier to reconstruct Baumann’s working methods.

³⁴ “Necrologium Zwifaltense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:240–41 (description of the manuscripts consulted).

to form a single necrology (I use here the present-day shelfmarks rather than those with which Baumann worked):

1. His base text was the “Necrologium Zwifaltense” (Cod. hist. 2° 420), a manuscript with a double round-arched layout from the thirteenth century, to which he gave the name *nova recensio*.³⁵

2. With the aid of the *vetustissimum necrologium* (Cod. theol. et phil. 4° 141) he identified in Cod. hist. 2° 420 an older body of necrological material, which he labelled *A*.³⁶ All later entries were labelled *B*.

3. *A* and *B* were in turn supplemented by the *notae necrologicae* from the Zwiefalten Gradual (Cod. brev. 123), to which he gave the label *D*.³⁷

Thus Baumann assigned the letter *A* to the entries from the *nova recensio* which corresponded to entries in the *vetustissimum necrologium*. Under the letter *B* he subsumed all other (i.e., later) entries from Cod. hist. 2° 420.³⁸ The *Necrologia Germaniae* version of the “Necrologium Zwifaltense” is therefore not a source edition but rather a list of individuals in the form of a necrology which reflects the biographical interests of the late nineteenth century and not the late medieval community of remembrance. This applies to many other “editions” in the series, among them the necrology of the monastery of Günterstal in the Black Forest, to which I would now like to turn my attention.

2. THE GÜNTERSTAL NECROLOGY

For his edition of the necrologies from Black Forest monasteries Baumann relied not on the originals—which are for the most part believed to

³⁵ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Cod. hist. fol. 420: “Necrologium Zwifaltense” [1196–1208], divided by three columns into sections for clergy, monks and laypeople. See Kuithan, *Die Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, 23–37.

³⁶ Stuttgart, Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Cod. theol. et phil. 4° 141: Kapiteloffiziumsbuch [1114–20], which contains alongside the “Necrologium Zwifaltense” texts including the “Annales Zwifaltense,” a martyrology and the Rule of St. Benedict (= chapter office book). See Kuithan, *Die Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, 10–22. According to Baumann this is a typical ensemble for the period before 1300: see Baumann, “Über die Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Augsburg, Constanz und Cur,” 412.

³⁷ Kuithan, *Die Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten*, 40–42.

³⁸ *A* and *D* were printed with extra letter spacing in two different character sizes, while *B* was rendered with normal spacing between the letters.

be lost—but on the source collection made around the middle of the eighteenth century by Father Gregor Baumeister (1717–72), *Hauschronograph* of the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter in the Black Forest. This substantial work in two folio volumes gathers seventeen different necrologies under the title *Collectio septemdecim cum antiquorum ut vocant librorum vitæ tum novorum necrologiorum variorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum*.³⁹ The final neat copy was nonetheless not the work of Baumeister, but of the monastery's secretary at the time, who was highly rated as a calligrapher; the title pages and drawings of selected funerary monuments were the work of a lay brother.⁴⁰ The result convinced Baumann: aside from the Reichenau confraternity book (*Verbrüderungsbuch*) he saw meticulous and complete copies of the originals.⁴¹ It is impossible

³⁹ Freiburg im Breisgau, Erzbischöflichen Archiv Ha 570 und 571: *Collectio septemdecim cum antiquorum ut vocant librorum vitæ tum novorum necrologiorum variorum monasteriorum et ecclesiarum quæ collegit, & ex suis autographis describi curavit P. Gregorius Baumeister, monachus ad S. Petrum in nigra Sylva OSB*, 2 vols., 1760.

⁴⁰ Baumann made a detailed discussion of the origin of the work, which he dated to 1767, in his second progress report of 1883. See Franz Ludwig Baumann, "Über Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Cur und Constanz," *Neues Archiv* 8 (1883): 427–47, at 443 f. Baumeister was the historian or *Hauschronograph* of the monastery. He was responsible for the two-volume *Annales Sancti Petri* of 1754, a manuscript miscellany of twenty-six texts, including a copy of the *Necrologium monasterii S. Petri* (to 1757), a three-volume *Compendium actorum* which extends into 1770, and a collection concerning the monks of the monastery, forming a sort of *Professbuch* (book of vows) (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/530–535). See Richard Harlacher, "Die Geschichtsschreibung des Benediktinerklosters St. Peter auf dem Schwarzwald," *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtsvereins* 42 (1929): 63–110, at 75–101.

⁴¹ Baumann, "Über Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Cur und Constanz," 443 f. ("Der sorgfältigen, äusseren Erscheinung dieser Sammlung entspricht die Bearbeitung ihres Inhalts. Abgesehen von dem ersten Stücke derselben, dem Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuche des 9. Jahrhunderts, das Baumeister nur im Auszuge aufnahm, sind alle andern von ihm mitgetheilten Nekrologien sorgfältige, vollständige Copien seiner Vorlagen. In der dem ersten Bande vorausgeschickten Einleitung aber erörtert Baumeister genau das Alter, den Werth und die Schrift der letzteren, giebt oft ein Facsimile der Schriftarten und stellt alle Einträge, welche er chronologisch nachweisen konnte, genau nach den Jahren geordnet zusammen" ["This collection's treatment of its contents matches its fastidious exterior. With the exception of the first item in the collection, the Reichenau confraternity book of the ninth century, from which Baumeister only included excerpts, all the other necrologies which he transmits are meticulous, complete copies of his exemplars. In the introduction which opens the

to validate this judgement, however, given that the originals have not survived.

2.1. The Copy of the Copy

Baumeister's collection was amongst the books which were sent out of good will to Baumann at Donaueschingen.⁴² After this all trace of the collection was lost until it was again brought to light in connection with the 1986 Zähringer exhibition in Freiburg.⁴³ But Baumann did not make use of everything that he found in Baumeister, choosing instead to weed out all that he considered to be of merely local interest, at both macro and micro levels. He left out the necrology of the Freiburg Franciscans because it contained only one entry dating from the time before 1300.⁴⁴ But deserving (as Baumann himself put it) of inclusion in his edition was the necrology of the convent of Günterstal, precisely because he considered it to be especially old. Specifically, he was of the opinion that the book had originated in the first half of the thirteenth century and had been extensively continued into the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ This early dating was suggested by the letter forms ("quod forma literarum demonstrat") which Baumann found in Baumeister's transcription.⁴⁶ In accordance with the Monumenta guidelines he included in his edition only entries which he believed to date from before 1500.⁴⁷

first volume Baumeister also carefully discusses the age, significance and script of these originals, often with a reproduction of the script types, and arranges chronologically all those entries which he was able to date precisely").

⁴² Baumann, "Über Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Cur und Constanz," 444.

⁴³ Stephan Molitor, "Necrologium Gengenbacense. Ein wiederentdecktes Totenbuch aus Kloster Gengenbach (8.–16. Jh.) und seine Bedeutung für die oberrheinische Landes- und Personengeschichte," in *300. Protokoll über die Arbeitssitzung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für geschichtliche Landeskunde am Oberrhein am 6.7. 1990*, 1–33.

⁴⁴ Baumann, "Über Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Cur und Constanz," 444.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 445. It seems that Baumann conflated the date at which the necrology was commenced with the dates of death of certain donors, abbesses, and nuns. These are naturally two different matters. The necrology was also diligently continued into the seventeenth century.

⁴⁶ "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:296. Baumann must have been working with a copy different from the two volumes now in the archiepiscopal archive in Freiburg, as these volumes at least permit no such conclusion.

⁴⁷ "II. & III. parthenii Günthersthalensis Ord. Cisterc. Liber vitæ duplex quorum

2.2. Toward the Original Form

Not only the age of the Günterstal necrology was noteworthy, Baumann added, but also the fact that it displayed a “double structure,” being divided into two parts each with its own calendar.⁴⁸ For this reason Baumeister labelled the necrology a *Liber vitæ duplex*. The possibility cannot be excluded that there were originally two independent books. Baumann thought that the first part included the names of the nuns and their servants (*necessariorum*), and that the second part contained the names of “outsiders.”⁴⁹ Baumeister had additionally signalled in the title that the book contained *plerumque sæculares*, predominantly the names of laypeople. We encounter this “double bookkeeping” at around the same time in the nearby female Dominican convent of Unterlinden, which was in contact with Günterstal.⁵⁰ At Unterlinden one book was intended for the monastic community, and the other for benefactors, friends, and relatives.⁵¹

prior personas religiosas, posterior vero plerumque sæculares complectitur. Descriptus anno 1762,” in *Collectio septemdecim cum antiquorum ut vocant librorum vitæ tum novorum necrologiorum* 1:1–151.

⁴⁸ Baumann, *Über Todtenbücher der Bisthümer Cur und Constanz*, 445. Baumeister describes a *Liber vitæ duplex* (see n. 47 above).

⁴⁹ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:296: “Pars prior nomina monialium et necessariorum monasterii ipsius, pars posterior nomina alienorum comprehendit.” The “Necrologium Tennenbacense” reveals that Günterstal also possessed a book of anniversaries, written by Brother Simon from Tennenbach (“Necrologium Tennenbacense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:340): “Fr. Symon, qui scripsit librum anniversariorum monasterii Güntersthal, 1457.”

⁵⁰ The following three nuns from Unterlinden appear in the Günterstal necrology: Anna [Zörnin] von Bülach, probably a relative of the subprioress Agnes Zörnin von Bülach (“Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:306: 17 October) together with Margaretha und Ursula von Kippenheim (*ibid.*, 305 f.: 13 and 26 September). See Charles Wittmer, *L’obituaire des dominicains d’Unterlinden. Édition critique du manuscrit 576 de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Colmar* (Strasbourg and Zurich, 1946), n° 323, 345 und 363; Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale 302, fols. 11v, 12r, 13r. Dorothea von Kippenheim, a sister of Margaretha and Ursula who also lived at Unterlinden, does not appear in the Günterstal necrology (Wittmer, *L’obituaire des dominicains d’Unterlinden*, n° 349). See Michael Bärmann, “*herz liebi swester vnd getrüwe mûm: Ein Brief Susannas von Falkenstein an Dorothea von Kippenheim aus dem Colmarer Dominikanerinnenkloster Unterlinden und sein literaturhistorischer Hintergrund*,” *Schau-ins-Land* 120 (2001): 13–56.

⁵¹ Colmar, Bibliothèque municipale 302 und 576. Charles Wittmer has edited the full text of the lay section (MS 576) (see n. 50 above). See also *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* 56: Colmar (Paris 1969), no. 362,

Slightly different boundaries are drawn in the Günterstal necrology: the first part contains primarily nuns (*moniales*), but also almost all of the abbots, priors, monks, lay brothers, and confessors from the mother house of Tennenbach.⁵² Mother and daughter houses thus form a memorial unit.⁵³ Baumann nonetheless included only a fraction of the names in his “edition” (sixteen of around seventy). In the supposed “lay section” we find above all relatives, both lay and clerical, including unusually high numbers of nuns from other convents and collegiate churches of the region (Adelhausen near Freiburg, Königsfelden, Lindau, Othmarsheim, Sölden near Freiburg, St. Stefan in Strasbourg, Unterlinden, and Urspring near Ulm).⁵⁴ In addition there are occasional knights of the Teutonic Order, Hospitalers, Dominicans, and secular clerics, once again almost all relatives of Günterstal nuns.⁵⁵ People, not institutions, therefore form the links between the two parts of the book.

References to formal prayer fraternities (*Gebetsverbrüderungen*) begin to appear at Günterstal with any frequency only in the latter decades of the fifteenth century. In this context the Freiburg Charterhouse on the Johannisberg stands out, with over fifty entries.⁵⁶ Once again Baumann made changes to the text on his own account, according a mere three of these fifty Carthusians a place in his necrology. The exceptions include Konrad

139 und no. 929, 263 f.; *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, ed. Le-maître, Obituaires 7.2, n° 2289 und 2290.

⁵² These comprise over seventy entries, all but one in the convent section.

⁵³ This is no peculiarity of Günterstal. We can observe the same memorial unity in the cases of the Cistercians of Fraubrunn (father abbot: Frienisberg), Feldbach (Salem), Magdenau (Wettingen), and Wurmsbach (Wettingen).

⁵⁴ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:299–308. A *Sanktjohanserin* is also mentioned, and a Gisel Snewelin *ordinis Predicatorum*, both with no specified location (*ibid.*, 304 and 305). See Sabine Klapp, *Das Äbtissinnenamt in den unterelsässischen Frauenstiften vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, umkämpft, verhandelt, normiert*, *Germania Sacra*. Neue Folge 3 (Berlin et al., 2012), 235 f.

⁵⁵ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:299–304, 306, 307–8.

⁵⁶ Practically all abbots, monks, and lay brothers of the Freiburg Charterhouse are listed in the convent section. On the Charterhouse, see Hans Schadek und Jürgen Treffeisen, “Klöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg: Frühgeschichte, Sozialstruktur, Bürgerpflichten,” in *Geschichte der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 1: Von den Anfängen bis zum “Neuen Stadtrecht” von 1520*, ed. Heiko Haumann and Hans Schadek (Stuttgart, 1996), 421–57.

von Münchingen († 1482), “quondam prior apud Carthusiensis prope Friburg et postea in Güttelstein [Güterstein]” and his successor Johannes Keslin (1482–86 and 1491–1501).⁵⁷ With just twelve entries, the Abbey of St. Peter in the Black Forest, which had a prayer fraternity with Günterstal, is less broadly represented. But Baumann included in his edition only Abbot Peter Emhart († 1492) and the monk Konrad Kechler.⁵⁸

As he had done at Zwiefalten, Baumann thus assembled his “edition” from two bodies of material which had not originally belonged together and distinguished them with different text formats: for the entries from the first part he used increased character spacing, with normal spacing for the “lay” section.⁵⁹ He frequently confused these, but more serious are the many arbitrary omissions which give the necrology an erroneous appearance. He did no work on the content, although the entries provide important information for a different potential dating. The contents show that Baumann’s supposition that the book originated in the first half of the thirteenth century does not stand up. This hypothesis is in any case unlikely, as the oldest Cistercian examples date only from the end of the thirteenth century.

⁵⁷ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:308 and 297. The Carthusian Heinrich von Neuenfels (ibid., 308) was a relative of the prioress Elisabeth von Neuenfels († 1505), see Julius Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch*, 3 vols. (1898–1918), 2:202 f. On Abbot Konrad von Münchingen, see Roland Deigendesch, *Die Kartause Güterstein: Geschichte, geistiges Leben und personales Umfeld*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde 39 (Leinenfeld-Echterdingen, 2001), 269–73. Johannes Keslin, who died after 1500, probably ended up in Baumann’s edition by mistake. On Keslin, see Dieter Mertens, “Zum Buchbesitz der Kartause Mons Sancti Johannis bei Freiburg,” in *Bücher, Bibliotheken und Schriftkultur der Kartäuser: Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Edward Potkowski*, ed. Sönke Lorenz, *Contubernium* 59 (Stuttgart, 2002), 65–81, at 73.

⁵⁸ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:298 und 307. Kechler was a relative of the Günterstal nuns Anna († 1485) and Ursula Kechler von Schwandorf († 1466), see Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch* 1:251.

⁵⁹ Baumann stated that he had incorporated Baumeister’s historical notes into his own footnotes (“Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:297). There are no such notes in the Freiburg copy.

2.3. Questions of Dating

The first abbot of Tennenbach to be included in the convent section was Abbot Johannes von Todtnau (1317–32).⁶⁰ More or less all the subsequent abbots of Tennenbach down to Adam Egter († 1627) appear in the Günterstal necrology. The presence of Johannes von Todtnau is therefore most likely no coincidence but rather an indication that the convent section was begun at the start of the fourteenth century at the earliest. Also striking are possessive pronouns which accompany entries in the “lay” section for multiple individuals who came from Todtnau or whose name as given in the entry includes the toponym “Todtnau”: Katherina Sporelin from Todtnau is labelled *mater mea*, and Albrecht and Heinrich von Todtnau are both described as *frater meus*.⁶¹ The only nun (*monialis*) listed in the necrology with the surname “von Todtnau” is an Elisabeth. We do not know how she is related to Abbot Johannes.⁶²

We find a similar situation in the case of the secular benefactors: the counts of Freiburg, to begin with the highest-ranking donors, are only represented by ten names in the necrology. This is a comparatively low number (see table 1): besides Countess Adelheid of Freiburg (6 September), who entered the convent as a widow, there are nine laypeople, who are nonetheless almost all connected to Count Egen of Freiburg († 1318), whose name is listed under the symbolic date of 24 December.⁶³ Baumann

⁶⁰ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:298: “Abb. Iohannes in Tennibach ob. pie memorie, dictus de Totnouwe.” See Philipp Rupf, “Der Tennenbacher Konvent und seine Äbte im Mittelalter,” in *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach: Aspekte seiner Geschichte von der Gründung (1161) bis zur Säkularisation*, ed. Werner Rösener, Heinz Krieg, and Hans-Jürgen Günther, *Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 59 (Freiburg and Munich, 2014), 67–88, at 81 f.

⁶¹ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:304, 306, and 307.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 300. This Elisabeth does not appear in Ulrike Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau: Ihre Einbindung in den Orden und in die städtische Kommunität*, *Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 39 (Freiburg and Munich, 1997), 153–77.

⁶³ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:303, 305, 308. See Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*, 154 f. This Egen is the only one to appear in the chartulary (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv

included him and his wife Katherina von Lichtenberg in the convent section. This was not a mistake, but rather an improper inflation of the comital family's significance. Egen's brother Konrad, the prior of Constance cathedral († 1301), and Egen's sons Heinrich "the sacristan" († 1313) and Egen "the cantor" († 1350), both cathedral canons at Strasbourg, also appear in the necrology, probably together with Egen's daughter Sophia.⁶⁴

It was not the counts of Freiburg but rather the many branches of the Schnewlin family of Freiburg that for two centuries determined the fortunes of the convent through an extraordinarily large number of benefactors and nuns (though without ever having produced an abbess).⁶⁵ If we add the Bolschwiler and zem Wiger lineages the total number of entries comes to around 150, a number which is entirely unheard of in comparison with their contemporaries. Family members who were laid to rest at Günterstal included Sir Johannes Schnewlin, known as Gresser († 1347), founder of the Freiburg Charterhouse Johannisberg. Nevertheless, his name is entered into the lay rather than the convent section.⁶⁶

67/639, fols. 208v–209r). His sons Konrad and Heinrich, the sacristan in Strasbourg, sealed the charter.

⁶⁴ This probably does not refer to Egen's mother, Sophia von Zollern. The scribe would surely not have neglected to emphasize the name of her father's family. On account of homonymy the counts Konrad and Egenolfus and the countess Anna named in the lay section cannot be conclusively identified ("Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:299, 301, 302, 305, 306). See Eva-Maria Butz, *Adlige Herrschaft im Spannungsfeld von Reich und Religion: Die Grafen von Freiburg im 13. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 34/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 2002), 290; and Thomas Zotz, "St. Peter unter den Zähringern und unter den Grafen von Freiburg. Hausklosterfunktion und Vogtei-frage," in *Das Kloster St. Peter auf dem Schwarzwald: Studien zu seiner Geschichte von der Gründung im 11. Jahrhundert bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Hans-Otto Mühleisen, Hugo Ott, and Thomas Zotz, Veröffentlichungen des Alemannisches Instituts Freiburg i. Br. 68 (Waldkirch, 2001), 51–78, at 72–74.

⁶⁵ Hermann Nehlsen, *Die Freiburger Familie Snewlin*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 9 (Freiburg, 1967), 38, 40, 60, 70, 74, 135; Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*, 154, 158–63.

⁶⁶ "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:307: "Iohannes Snewelin dictus Gresser, miles." See Nehlsen, *Die Freiburger Familie Snewlin*, 57–62. The will dates from 1347.

Table 1
 Number of entries per family for those with more than twenty entries
 (from around 1,130 entries in Baumann's edition)

Name	Total	Clerics	Lay	Abbesses ⁶⁷
Keppenbach, von	21	7	14	—
Blumeneck, von	27	8	19	—
Munzingen, von	27	11	16	Adelheid
Ederlin	28	12	16	—
Tegenlin	32	14	18	Veronika
Tüßlingen, von	35	12	23	Agnes
Falkenstein, von	53	16	37	Mechthild
Schnewlin	125	26	99	—

Married noblewomen in the Günterstal necrology often bear the name of their father's family in a two or three-part name segment and are introduced as "Katherina, countess of Freiburg, called von Lichtenberg" or as "Juliana de Kippenheim, dicta de Stouffenberg." Sometimes *dicta* introduces the name of the paternal family, sometimes that of the family by marriage. It is clear from these additions that the noble lineages in Günterstal formed a dense network of closely interrelated families. **But Günterstal was no purely noble convent.** Baumann had simply excluded bourgeois names such as Sutor, Schmied and Wild from his edition.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century Abbess Agnes from Freiburg's Tüßlingen family came to prominence.⁶⁸ Agnes had entered the convent in 1448, "solely for the sake of divine song and reading," as monastic documentary formula puts it.⁶⁹ A total of thirty-six entries in Baumann's necrology refer to the von Tüßlingen. Of these, a full nine concern Agnes's parents, grandparents, and siblings: her grandfather Konrad Münzmeister, her mother Anastasia Münzmeister († 1479) and her father Walter von Tüßlingen († 1472), together with a total of six or perhaps seven siblings. We know for certain that she did not have any brothers.⁷⁰ Her father Walter had been the last of his lineage in the male line:

⁶⁷ Ernst Dreher, "Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günterstal," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 120 (2000): 5–51.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 25–27 and 28 f.; Denne, *Die Frauenklöster im spätmittelalterlichen Freiburg im Breisgau*, 174f.

⁶⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 138r ("lutterlich vmb gottes sings vnd lesens willen").

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 139v–140r.

- Anastasia († 1496) *ordinis Praedicatorum* (location unknown);
- Elisabeth († 1480), nun in Adelhausen;
- Ursula († 1483), a Poor Clare in Freiburg;
- Klaranna († 1464), wife of Hans von Gundrichingen;
- Barbara († 1499), wife of Konrad von Kippenheim († 1488);
- and Margaretha, who like Klaranna remained in the secular life, but whose husband is not named.⁷¹
- Kindler von Knobloch suggests that Eufemia, wife of Michael von Blumeneck, was also a daughter of Walter von Tüßlingen.⁷²

Apart from Barbara, all are profiled in the necrology as *soror*, *mater*, *pater* or *avunculus Agnetis de Tuslingen abbatisse*. These could all have been added later, however, since Agnes held office as abbess (with interruptions) only from 1482.⁷³ Her name does not appear in Baumann's edition, as she died after 1500. The edition divides what rightly belongs together and isolates the abbess from the rest of her family, although her family was more significant than those of all previous abbesses. Walter and his wife chose to be buried in Freiburg Minster, while Agnes was laid to rest in St. Nicolas's church in Freiburg,⁷⁴ whence she had fled from the peasants' uprising in early May 1525.⁷⁵

3. THE NARRATED NECROLOGY

The Günterstal necrology has an unusually high number of entries that are dated. The majority of these dated entries—around sixty—are from the second half of the fifteenth century. This quantity suggests that the re-

⁷¹ "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:297, 301, 302, 303, 305, 306, 307.

⁷² See Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch* 1:269. I consider this unlikely, however, as the name Eufemia does not fit within the family's naming pattern.

⁷³ Dreher, "Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günterstal," 26.

⁷⁴ *Das Jahrzeitbuch des Münsters zu Freiburg im Breisgau (um 1455–1723)*, ed. Erwin Butz, part B, *Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte* 31B (Freiburg and Munich, 1983), 252, n° 585: "Sepulchrum lapis contiguus parte (!) dextera altaris sancte Anne, 2 mis."

⁷⁵ Dreher, "Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günterstal," 26; Casimir Bumiller, "3. Mai 1525 — ein Tag in der Geschichte des Klosters Tennenbach. Zur Rekonstruktion der Bauernkriegsereignisse im Breisgau," in *850 Jahre Zisterzienserkloster Tennenbach*, ed. Rösener et al., 193–221.

membrance of the dead continued to be practiced with greater care at Günterstal than elsewhere. The library and the administration of the convent present a similar picture.⁷⁶ Under Abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen (1482–1504 and 1508–25) a new chartulary was commenced which was organized by family rather than chronologically,⁷⁷ and under Abbess Veronika von Mülheim (1504–8) a register of correspondence was maintained.⁷⁸

The latest charters to be copied into the chartulary are dated 1489. It may well have been at around the same time that the “Notebook of the Prioresses and Abbesses of Günterstal” was created, which has attracted much more attention from researchers than the idiosyncratic chartulary as a result of the extracts which Franz Josef Mone (1796–1871) and Joseph

⁷⁶ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, 38v–40r. See *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. Vol. 1: *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed. Paul Lehmann (Munich, 1918; rpt. 1969), 149–52; Edmund Wareham, “‘Wann du fromm lebst / so wirst du nimmer trawrig’: Professor Jodocus Lorichius and the Cistercian Nuns of Günterstal,” *Oxford German Studies* 43 (2014): 362–79. Few have survived; see Armin Schlechter et al., *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe 13 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 207–35. An initial concentration can be observed in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the necrology was probably begun. A first register of income from property (*Urbar*) was added in 1344, as is stated in the preface, during the abbacy of Johannes Zenlin von Tennenbach (1336–53); see Yu-Kyong Kim, *Die Grundherrschaft des Klosters Günterstal bei Freiburg im Breisgau. Eine Studie zur Agrargeschichte des Breisgaus im späten Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 45 (Munich, 2002), 48–121. Zenlin also had the Tennenbach property register (*Tennenbacher Güterbuch*, 1317–41) drawn up. It has been edited by Max Weber and Günther Haselier, *Alfons Schäfer, Hans Georg Zier, Paul Zinsmaier*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg A/19 (Stuttgart, 1969), xiii–xlvi.

⁷⁷ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639. A detailed and numbered contents list, extending over twenty folios, was intended to aid the user’s search for transcriptions. The focus is on the sisters’ so-called deeds of prebend (*Pfrundbriefen*). See Helga Schuller, “Dos – Praebenda – Peculium,” in *Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann*, ed. Herwig Ebner (Graz, 1977), 453–88.

⁷⁸ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/640. Veronika was the sister of Konrad von Mülheim (1500–1507), abbot of Gegenbach. He is entered in the necrology (in the “lay” section) as “Ob. Conradus de Mülheim abb. in Gegenbach, frater Veronicæ abbatissæ in Guntertal” (“Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:298). On Veronika, see Dreher, “Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günterstal,” 27 f.

Bader (1805–83) published around the middle of the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ There are also brief references to Agnes von Tüßlingen in two places in the notebook.⁸⁰ In general the abbesses play a much reduced role in the notebook.

Four separate hands were at work, of which two identify themselves as a prioress (hand *C*) and a sacristan (hand *D*) respectively.⁸¹ The letters are assigned in the order in which the hands appear and thus reflect not their age but rather the sequence determined by the later binding. *C* writes until 1508 and *A* up to 1519. We also encounter the same hands in the addenda to the chartulary and in the convent's archived letters.

The contents of notebook are very varied, but this is only in part a function of the different offices that its writers held. Regulations and reports dissolve into one another, and alongside embroidery instructions, gingerbread recipes, and all sorts of financial records and inventories of the office-holders, the notebook furnishes us with valuable information about events that shaped the continuing life of the convent: the floods of 1480, the plague which ravaged the convent in the summer of 1485, the visit of the abbot of Cîteaux and other dignitaries, the election of the abbot of Tennenbach, etc. Yet it is not a convent chronicle focusing on the community and rather reflects the circumscribed perspectives of office-holders.⁸²

⁷⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247. See F. J. Mone, "Almosenordnung zu Güntersthal, um 1470," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 1 (1850): 147 f., "Haushaltung und Sitten," *ibid.* 2 (1851): 184–89, and "Jahrgeschichten von Güntersthal," in *idem*, *Quellensammlung der badischen Landesgeschichte* 2 (Karlsruhe, 1854), 136–38; and Joseph Bader, "Die Schicksale des ehemaligen Frauenstiftes Güntersthal bei Freiburg im Breisgau," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 5 (1870): 121–206.

⁸⁰ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fols. 2v–3r, 6r.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 25v: "Jtem do jch harkam, do zalt man von der geburt Christi in cccc lv jor. Vnd do jch xij jor alt waz, do ward jch ein novitz vnd [in] demselben jor gewilet. Jtem anno domini in xvc vnd jm vj jor vff mitwochen noch der hailigen drij kung dag, do ward jch s. vnd kusterin." The earlier second scribe (hand *C*) introduces herself on fol. 34v: "Jtem anno domini in cccc lxxxv vf dominici ward ich priory, die von Espach gab mir ein laden, do woren inn xij bücher, klein vnd gros, v ingebunden, viij in leder."

⁸² Eva Schlottheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung: Die Lebenswelt der Nonnen im späten Mittelalter. Mit einer Edition des "Konventstagebuchs" einer Zisterzienserin von Heilig-Kreuz bei Braunschweig (1484–1507)*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation. Neue Reihe 24 (Tübingen, 2004), 324; Ann Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles:*

But the subject which received the greatest attention from the writers (all except hand *B*) was the death of selected fellow nuns and monks, the Office of the Dead, and the individual and collective acts of prayer for deceased sisters and brothers.⁸³ Remembrance of the deceased structures and gives rhythm to almost all parts of the Günterstal notebook. In places the notebook even takes on the character of an annotated necrology and thus forms an important complement to the Günterstal necrology. Many reports appear in two versions and thus illuminate different facets of the same event from different narrative perspectives.

The first entry concerns Eleanor of Scotland (1431–80), the wife of Duke Sigismund of Austria, known as the *der Münzreiche* or “rich in coin” (1427–96), who had died on 20 November 1480 at Innsbruck.⁸⁴ Her name is not listed in the Günterstal necrology nor is that of her husband. The obsequies in the convent are reported alternately in the third-person singular and first-person plural.⁸⁵ The report on the commemoration of Duke Sigismund of Austria († 1496) is somewhat more detailed and survives in two versions.⁸⁶ Still more detailed is the notebook’s report on the commemoration of Abbot Burkhard Isenlin of Tennenbach (1449–83), who had died on 10 January 1483 after many years in office.⁸⁷ Every nun had to recite the Psalter twice for Isenlin, since he had been their visitor

Women Writing About Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages (University Park, Pa., 2005), 197–204.

⁸³ Bader, “Die Schicksale des ehemaligen Frauenstiftes Günterstal,” 166–80.

⁸⁴ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 1r: “Anno domini m° cccc° lxxx do starb min frovw von Oesterrich, hertzog Sigmunds frovw, kingin von Schotten.” See Joseph zu Franckenstein, *Eleonore von Schottland, die nachmalige Gattin Sigmunds des Münzreichen* (Innsbruck, 1937).

⁸⁵ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 1r: “Vnd begieng man ir ir lúpfell [the day of her death] gar erlich ze Friburg jm múnster vnd jn allen cloestern vnd jn den viij tagen, als manß zû Friburg begieng, do sungen wir ir j selmeß mit dirr moß [mass]. Man spreit die grien saergen [the green serge] vff daz von *Yesenberg grab* vnd iij kerten dorvff vnd den traditor vff den grot hin. Vnd do man mesß verlut die iij zeichen, do lut man ein zeichen mit beden glocken.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 3v und fols. 34v–35r.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 1v: “Jtem anno domini m° cccc° lxxxij jn die sancti Pauli primi heremite obiit dominus Burckardus Ysenli, abbas jn Thenibach xxx annos.” Cf. “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:297: “Ob. Burckardus Ysely, abb. monasterii Porta Celi, alias Thenibach, anno 1483.”

and a member of their “fraternity.”⁸⁸ According to the Tennenbach necrology, Isenlin had himself established the fraternity in 1452.⁸⁹ The writer (hand *A*) follows the obsequies closely but reports on this occasion exclusively in the third-person singular (“one” did this, “one” did that, rendered here in the passive voice):

Further, before the mass for his soul the short *obsequium* was performed for him with the mass. The serge was spread on the von Isenberg tomb with four candles upon it and the *traditor* [?] on the stage/stair; and when the priests were ready, both bells were rung as a signal and thereupon *obsequium* was sung, beginning with *Subuenite* and *Kirieleison*, and the priest said *Pater noster* and *Et ne nos* and *Requiem eternam dona ei, domine, et lux perpertua luceat ei*, and the collects *Tibi, domine, commendamus* etc. And immediately afterwards the response *Libera me, domine, de morte* with three verses were sung and then a further *Pater noster* and *Et ne nos* and the collect *Inclina, domine*, and the bell was rung for mass. And after the mass the Fifteen Psalms were read, and after the meal the entire convent left and the priests mourned: Claus von Haslach and Cünrat Pfitili, who became abbot.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 1v: “Des selben tags ward er úns verkindt; morndis satz man jn jn daz gebet vnd satzt yeder frowen ij psalter, dor vmb daz er úns er obrer waz gesin vnd visitor, den andern daz er jn úns er brüder[schaft] waz.” On recitation of the psalter as prayer, see Renate Kroos, “Grabbräuche – Grabbilder,” in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48 (Munich, 1984), 285–353, at 293–98.

⁸⁹ “Necrologium Tennenbacense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:338: “Burchardus Iselin abb., sub hoc instituta fuit confraternitas perpetua inter religiosos Thennenbacenses et religiosas Günterstalenses 1452, requiescit in capitulo fuitque praesul 18^{us}.”

⁹⁰ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 1v (“Jtem vor der selmesß tet man jm daz kurtz *obsequium* mit dier maß. Man spreit die sergen vff des von Yesenberg grab vnd iij kertzen dor vff vnd den /tr/aditor vff den grot; vnd do sich die herren bereit woren, do lut man mit beden glocken ein zeichen vnd tet dor vff *obsequium*, fiengen also an *Subuenite* vnd *Kirieleison*, vnd sprach der priester *Pater noster* vnd *Et ne nos* vnd *Requiem eternam dona ei, domine, et lux perpertua luceat ei*, die collecten *Tibi, domine, commendamus* etc., vnd sang man dor uff gelich den respons *Libera me, domine, de morte* mit den iij versus vnd denn aber *Pater noster* vnd *Et ne nos*, die collect *Inclina, domine*, vnd lut do meß. Vnd noch der mesß las man die xv psalmen, vnd noch dem ymmis do gieng der gantz couent, vnd klagten die herren, herr Claus von Haslach, herr Cünrat Pfitili, der ward apt”).

The second version of the report is in the hand of the sacristan (hand *D*), but written from the perspective of the mother house, Tennenbach.⁹¹ Perhaps the information derived from the confessor at the time, Klaus von Haslach († 1486).⁹² The different dating forms immediately stand out: whereas hand *A* (following the diocesan calendar) designates 10 January as St. Paul the Proto-Anchorite's Day, hand *D* refers to a saint venerated within the Order, St. William of Bourges († 1209), whose feast had been added to the Cistercian calendar in 1218.⁹³ The second version deals primarily with the internal affairs of the Abbey of Tennenbach: sending notice of the death to the abbot of Salem; the election of Konrad Pfitelin (1483–90)⁹⁴ as Iselin's successor, with the additional information that Pfitelin had been "our" chaplain for three years; and finally the visit of Johannes Stantenat (1471–94), the abbot of Salem.⁹⁵

Alongside the psalter, nuns and lay sisters prayed for their fellow sisters a simply unimaginable number of Ave Marias. For Sophia von Keppenbach († 1482) it was 3,650 per professed sister and 100 per lay sister, totaling over 100,000 Ave Marias. At the time the convent consisted of twenty-nine professed and three lay sisters:

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 23v.

⁹² Nikolaus von Haslach († 1486) from Tennenbach was the sisters' confessor and, according to the necrology, the only monk of Tennenbach who wished to be buried at Günterstal ("Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:302: "hic tumulatus").

⁹³ Henri Rochais, *L'exemplar du martyrologe cistercien: Dijon 114 (82)* (Paris, 1972), 77.

⁹⁴ "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:299 (4 March): "Ob. fr. Cuonradus Pfütely quondam abb. in Tennibach 1492"; "Necrologium Tennenbacense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:339 (9 March): "Conradus Pheitelin quondam abb. huius monasterii 19., iacet in circuitu, 1490."

⁹⁵ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 23v: "Jtem jm lxxxij jor starb vnßer herr, apt Burkhart Jsenly selig vff sant Wilhemß tag noch winechten, vnd reit der alt großkeller, her Niclaus Schreiger, gon Samaschwiler nohem apt vnd brocht jnn jn viij tagen gon Tenibach, vnd tor noch jn den nechsten iij tagen ward vnser herr, apt Cûnratt Pfitily, der waz iij jar hie <vs> vnser capplon gesin. Dor noch am dritten tag kam der apt von Sammaßwiler vor der mesß vnd vnser herr vnderem jmiß, den enpfiegen wir nochem jmiß jn der kilchen mit dem repons *O beatum virum*." See Rudolf Sillib, "Aus Salemer Handschriften. IV. Die Rhetorik des Claus Schreig, Mönches von Thennenbach, aus dem Jahr 1475," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 74 (1920): 443–45.

The Great Prayer is 100,000 Ave Marias.⁹⁶

Further, A.D. 1482 Sophia von Kappenberg departed. Then each sister was ordered to pray 3,650 Ave Marias and each lay sister to pray 100, since there were three of them and twenty-nine professed sisters.⁹⁷

At another point the reader is informed (“note”) that the Great Prayer contains 100,000 Ave Marias; that is one hundred times one thousand. Elsewhere, the writer took the occasion of the passing of Beatrix von Blumeneck († 1482) to deal extensively with the Last Rites. The entry has the evocative subtitle “How the holy oil is given” (“Wie man daz heilig o^l git”). It is divided into two parts: the first gives instructions for the administration of the sacrament by those responsible (“he should,” “she should,” “they should”).⁹⁸ Only in the second part are Beatrix’s actual last

⁹⁶ The Great Prayer (*Große Gebet*) has been studied solely as a political prayer and only in connection with the Swiss Confederacy, never with female religious houses. See Peter Ochsenbein, *Das grosse Gebet der Eidgenossen*, Bibliotheca Germanica 29 (Bern et al., 1989).

⁹⁷ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 3v (“Daz groß gebett ist hundert tulent Aue Maria. Jtem anno domini m^o cccc^o lxxxij obiit Sophia von Ka^ppenb/a/ch. Do hieß man yedi fro^vwen <fro^vwen> betten iij m <cccl> vnd vij hundert Aue Maria vnd die leyg schwestren yeglich c betten, deren waren iij vnd der gewilten fro^vwen xxix”). “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:309 (26 December): “Ob. devota sor. Sophia de Keppenbach, monialis in hoc monasterio Günterstal, anno 1482.” Sophia is first mentioned in the sources in 1430 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 106r). Thus she had lived in the convent for over fifty years. The second version of the report (fol. 23v) has “Jtem anno m cccc lxxxij do die von Keppenbach starb, do gab man jeder frowen iij tulent *Aue Maria* ze betten vnd sibenhalf hundert vnd den leig swesteren j hundert. Jtem eß woren xxix frowen vnd iij leig swestren.” According to Bader, “Die Schicksale des ehemaligen Frauenstiftes Güntersthal,” 167, the verb *wilen* is derived from *velum*.

⁹⁸ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 20r–v: “Jtem anno domini m cccc lxxxij also hielt man sich, do man Beatrix von Blümneck daz sacrament vnd daz heilig oel gab. Jtem an únser lieben frowen oben Nativitas gab man ir beidy sacrament im lxxxij ior. Jtem zú dem ersten als bald die herren in die kilchen kumend, so soend die kustren nun zweig zeichen noch einander lúten mit der grossen cloggen in der lengi, als man ze meß lút, vnd soend denn leiten, biß sich die herren anlegen, so sol man denn aber ein zeichen lúten, daz sind tri zeichen. Der herr, der sie berichten wil, der sol die alben anlegen vnd der ander ander numen ein stol, der sol daz heilig oel tragen vnd der jn der alben daz sacrament. Jtem die kusterin sol han zweig bekily jn eim zwelf kygeli werck vnd jn einer schúßlen saltz vnd jn dem andren win vnd wasßer, ein kelchly vnd daz <ve> tuechli, daz man alwend noch dem sacrament brucht, vnd daz gießvesßly mit wasßer vnd ein zwehelen, vnd sol den herren aller nechst

moments the subject. But attention remains focused on the liturgy, not on the individual act of dying:

Further, this is how she comported herself when the priest came to her. He asked if she desired both sacraments, to which she answered: yes, and thereupon he administered absolution and offered her the cross to kiss, and he laid the blessed sacrament first on her eyes, on her ears, on her nose, on her mouth, on her hands, on her heart, and on her feet and washed his hands using the pitcher and dried them on a cloth, after which he gave her the sacrament; then he washed his fingers with the salt and again with water from the pitcher and he prayed the collects which were appropriate to the liturgy, after which she asked the sisters that they forgive her; and the little *chily* [?] cloth was laid before her and the *Confiteor* was said, and he poured some more water on his hands and after the sacrament more wine and water.⁹⁹

When in 1485 plague broke out in the convent, eleven professed sisters and two children died within just a few weeks (between 15 July and 8 September).¹⁰⁰ There were apparently so few sisters remaining that it was no

noch gon vnd vor den herren sol zů dem ersten gon daz wichwasser, tornoch daz lieht vnd tornoch daz crůtz." See Ludwig Dolberg, "Sterben und Begräbnis eines Cisterciensers," *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden* 19 (1898): 256–64 and 433–40.

⁹⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 20v ("Jtem also hielt si sich, do man zů jr kam, do sprach er, ob sie der beiden sacrament begerty, do sprach si: jo, vnd do er jr die absolucion sprach, do bot er jr daz crůtz ze kůssen, /vnd/ dor noch gab er die heilikeit zum ersten an die ougen, an die oren, an die naßen, an den mund, an die hend, an daz hertz vnd an die fuß, /vnd/ wůsch er die hend vsß dem gießvesßly vnd trucknet die an zwehelen, tor noch do er jr heilikeit gab, do wůsch er die vinger mit dem saltz vnd aber mit wasßer vsß dem gießvesßli vnd bettet tornach die collecten, die do zůhoren, dor noch batt si erst die frowen, daz sy jr verzygen, vnd leit man jr denn daz tůschle chily fur vnd spricht denn aber daz confiteor, vnd er nimpt denn aber wasßer an die hend vnd noch dem sacrament aber win vnd wasßer"). The events described happened on the eve of the Nativity of the Virgin, and hence in September 1482. But in the Günterstal necrology Beatrix von Blumeneck is entered under the 21 November ("Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:308: "Ob. soror Beatrix de Blumneck monialis hic in loco 1482"). Beatrix, daughter of Heinrich and Verena von Blumeneck, had entered the convent in 1450, where her father's two sisters Beatrix († 1464) and Ursula († 1479) had resided since 1413 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fols. 111r–114r).

¹⁰⁰ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 23r: "Jtem von sant Margretentag bisß Natitiuitas Marie sturbent xj gewiletter frowen hie vnd ij kind."

longer possible to meet the considerable demands of the Great Prayer.¹⁰¹ In the convent section of the necrology, 1485 is given as the date of death for the following twelve names:

20 July: Ursula von Bolsenheim and Ursula von Erzingen;¹⁰²

3 August: *soror* Agatha von Bolsenheim and Ursula von Blumeneck, *puer*;¹⁰³

7 August: Kunigunde zem Wiger and Elisabeth von Erzingen (*die alte*);¹⁰⁴

15 August Veronika von Blumeneck and Praxedis von Blumeneck, *puer*;¹⁰⁵

22 August: *soror* Agnes von Staufenberg¹⁰⁶ and *soror* Agnes von Summerau;

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 6r: “Daz groß gebett ist c m Aue Maria. Merk, eß ist c molen m. Anno domini n cccc lxxxv waz ein grosser sterbeit. Do sturbent hin jm closter xj gewileter frovwen vnd ij kind von .s. Margreten tag vntz .s. Michels tag, vnd bliben so wenig, daz wir nit mochten daz groß gbet tün.”

¹⁰² “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:303. Ursula, the daughter of Cunmann von Bolsenheim († 1447) and Margarethas Schnewlin zem Wiger, and Ursula, the daughter of Jörg von Erzingen and Ursula von Heudorf. According to the necrology, the von Bolsenheim family were related to (amongst others) the Schnewlin zem Wiger, the Schnewlin von Landeck, and the von Munzingen. They are represented by twelve entries (two nuns, a female Dominican, and nine laypeople).

¹⁰³ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:304. Agatha, the daughter of Walter von Bolsenheim and sister of a further Walter, had entered the convent in 1448 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 48r).

¹⁰⁴ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:304: “Ob. Künegundis zem Wiger et Elisabeth de Ertzingen sorores nostre 1488.” Kunigunde, the daughter of Petermann zem Wiger, had entered the convent in 1465, and Elisabeth, the sister of Jörg von Erzingen, had done so in 1478 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 51v und 54r). See Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch* 1:311. The “young” von Erzingen, Ursula, was Elisabeth’s niece as the daughter of Elisabeth’s brother Jörg. Only five entries refer to the von Erzingen family (two nuns and three laypeople).

¹⁰⁵ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:304. Veronika, daughter of Balthasar von Blumeneck and Anna von Falkenstein, had entered the convent in 1462; Praxedis, the daughter of Bernhard von Blumeneck, had done so in 1484 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fols. 24v–26v und 27r–27v).

¹⁰⁶ “Necrologium Güntersthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:305. Agnes, the daughter of Konrad Stoll von Staufenberg and Juliana von Kippenheim, had entered the convent in 1468 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fols. 33v–35v). Eleven entries refer to the von Staufenberg family (two nuns, a canoness, and eight laypeople). They were related to the von Blumeneck, Kippenheim, Lichtenfels, and Neuenfels families, together with the Schnewlins of Freiburg.

28 August: Anna Kechlerin;¹⁰⁷

19 September: Agnes de Munzingen, *priorissa huius monasterii*.¹⁰⁸

In the second version of the report the course of the “great dying” is traced in detail: Ursula von Erzingen was the first to fall ill, on Sunday, 17 July, and Ursula von Bolsenheim on the following day; on Tuesday, 19 July, both women received the last rites; on Wednesday, 20 July, they died and were buried the same day. Also on 20 July the convent began to fight back against the “great dying” with the help of a series of five votive masses (“called *Recordare*”). The sacristan and writer of the notebook (hand *D*) noted that she had recorded further details in a special booklet.¹⁰⁹ A further two masses followed on Thursday, and one each day on Friday, St. Mary Magdalen’s Day, and Saturday, the feast of St. Apollinaris. A week later, on the *septenarium*, the first commemoration after the death (*Leibfall*), the funerary mass for both sisters was repeated.¹¹⁰ Ursula von Blumeneck, who was only around eight years old, died on 3 August, during mass. She was buried the same day in the cemetery and in the same manner as a professed sister.¹¹¹ She was followed in the night by Sister Agatha von Bolsenheim, who had fallen in on the evening of Friday 29 July.¹¹² On Sunday, 7 August, at midday Kunigunde zem Wiger died, and “before it had struck eight” she was followed by Elisabeth von Erzingen.¹¹³ A foul smell had spread throughout the convent, and so the dead were taken directly from the chamber to the cemetery. The burial took place on Saturday, 8 August.¹¹⁴ In each case there is a detailed discussion

¹⁰⁷ A relative of the Benedictine Konrad Kechler from St. Peter’s (see n. 58 above).

¹⁰⁸ “Necrologium Günterthalense,” in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:306. Agnes, the daughter of Heinrich von Munzingen, had entered the convent fifty years earlier, in 1435 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 28r–29v).

¹⁰⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 20r: “die selben han jch an eim sunderen buechli angeschriben, (welhes) weles die mesß jst vnd wie man sich dorjn vnd dor noch halten sol.” On the plague mass “*Recordare*,” see Adolph Franz, *Messe im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902, rpt. Darmstadt, 1963), 183–89.

¹¹⁰ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 21r: “Jtem morndes do waz er der beider frowen sibend(en), so sungen wir aber zwo selmesßen.”

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 22r.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

of the funeral liturgy and prayers with which the dying were fortified and the dead were accompanied to their final resting place.¹¹⁵

From folio 23 the text again turns into an annotated necrology. The series begins with Sophia von Keppenbach's death in 1482.¹¹⁶ This is followed by a group of three entries concerning Abbess Verena Tegenlin von Wangen († 1483) and her sisters Margaretha and Anna, who both died in 1497, on 28 May and 17 December respectively.¹¹⁷ Margaretha Tegenlin is described as the niece of the prioress and writer of the notebook (hand C). Her funeral is consequently described in considerable detail.¹¹⁸ The report is the most detailed in the series. It is followed by entries for

¹¹⁵ The same attention to convent victims of the plague is paid in the *Chronicle of the Holy Cross Monastery near Brunswig* (Schlotheuber, *Klostereintritt und Bildung*, 376, 476f.), as well as in the *Chronica montis s. Agnetis*, in *Thomae Hemerken a Kempis Opera omnia*, ed. Michael Joseph Pohl, vol. 7 (Freiburg, 1922), 385–88.

¹¹⁶ Sofia von Keppenbach was first mentioned in a contract of 1401 as the later holder of an annuity of the sisters Anna and Gertrud von Keppenbach (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 103v). Sophia was described as the daughter of their nephew (daughter of their brother's son). The third holder of the annuity was Susanna Tegenlin, daughter of the son of their sister.

¹¹⁷ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 27v: "Item anno domini m cccc lxxxx [sic] obiit veneranda domina Verena Tegenli, quondam abbatissa huius monasterij in die Udalrici. Item jm lxxxxvij in die Trinitatis, am nechsten sunnentag vor Urbani obiit Margaretha Tegenli, dicta de Krotzingen. Item im lxxxxvij feria ij ante Tome apostoli obiit Anna Tegenli, deus misereatur super omnia"; "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:303 (5 July): "Ob. Verena Tegelin quondam abbatissa 1483"; *ibid.*, 302 (28 May): "Ob. Margaretha Tegenlin dicta de Crossingen 1497"; *ibid.*, 308 (17 December): "Ob. soror Anna Tegenlin 1497." Margaretha was not a nun but the wife of Franz von Krotzingen; Anna, who entered the convent in 1436, was the daughter of Andreas Tegenlin and sister of Abbess Verena (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639 145v–148r).

¹¹⁸ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 34v–35r: "Do die von Krotzingen starb: Anno domini in cccc lxxxxvij in die Trinitatis am nechsten sunnentag vor Urbani starb min besly von Krotzingen. Do daz hie für kam, do satzt man sy in daz gbet vnd satzt ir ein psalter vnd sang ir ein selmeß, noch der meß tet man ir obsequium, dorzû sang man den respons *Subvenite Kirieleyson*, doruf sang der bichter ein collecten, dor[uf] den responß *Memento mei Kirie* . . . waz ein grieny seryen gespreit vf daz mittel grab vnd brunnen iij kertzen vor den eltern, dry swartz füraelter: zum fronaltar ein swartz sidin damast meßgewand mit einem beslagenen crutz, die andern zwey swartz sydin damast iij messen hat man ir ein bestalt man zû vnserem ij herren der vierd kam. . . ."

multiple people, though not all of them are listed in Baumeister's necrology:

1. Barbara von Kippenheim († 1499), sister of Abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen. She had been received into the prayer fraternity in 1486.¹¹⁹ Each sister recited a psalter and a vigil for her, plus the Seven Penitential Psalms following a payment of one Gulden.¹²⁰ Despite her membership of the prayer fraternity, her name appears in the "lay" section of the necrology.

2. Adrian von Blumeneck († 1496), cousin of the nuns Gûta, Ursula, and Praxedis von Blumeneck. According to Kindler von Knobloch he arranged to be buried at Günterstal,¹²¹ though there is no mention of this in the entry. Moreover, Adrian is not listed in the necrology, either in the convent or lay sections:

A.D. 1496, on the Friday after St. Gregory's Day [18 March], Adrian von Blümneck died. On the following Saturday a funeral was held at Freiburg and twelve masses here; we sang a mass for his soul and a mass of Our Lady *Salve sancta parens*, the *Kirie* for Sunday, the response *Benedicta*, the tract *Gaude Maria*, the offertory *Beata*, the great *Sanctus* from the communion of Our Lady *Aue Regina*. In the morning the Seven Psalms were ordered to be sung for him. His brother gave us two candles, each weighing around five pounds, and six large carps. The curtain was opened on account of the candles and the altar was decorated with a small shrine and black altar frontal. The next day was *Passione domini* and on the Monday it was St. Benedict's Day.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 34r: "Anno domini in cccc lxxxvj am andren suntag post octauam Pasce kam die von Kippenheim har /sij waz únsere frouwen .s.[schwester] der von Tüßlingen/, vnd bat, daz man sy in daz gbet enpfing." Barbara is listed in the lay section ("Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:303): "Ob. Barbara de Düßlingen dicta de Kuppenheim 1499."

¹²⁰ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 31r: "Jtem im lxxxix ior feria iiii ante Marie Magdalene starb die von Kippenheim, deren satzt man zebetten von ieder frowen j psalter vnd ein vigil, dornoch gab man vns ein guldin har, do satzt man ir die vij psalmen."

¹²¹ Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch* 1:118.

¹²² Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 34v ("Anno domini m cccc lxxxvj feria vj post Gregorii starb Adrian von Blümneck. Dornoch am nechsten Samstag begieng man im ain lipfell zû Friburg vnd zwelf messen hie; wir sungen im ein selmeß vnd j meß von vnsere frowen *Salve sancta parens*, daz sunnenteglich *Kirie*, den respons *Benedicta*, den tractum *Gaude Maria*, offertorium *Beata*, daz groß

3. Hans Jakob von Falkenstein (1469–1503), the brother of Abbess Mechthild († 1482).¹²³ His sister Mechthild, however, is not mentioned in the notebook. There is also no place for the names of many other Günstertal nuns who died during this time, including Elisabeth Meigerniessin (30 July 1482), Anna von Neuenegg (14 February 1482), Susanna von Bossenstein (18 September 1491), Ursula Schnewli von Landeck (18 July 1498), Gûta von Blumeneck (9 February 1500), and Elisabeth von Neuenfels (29 November 1505).¹²⁴ They were not in the writers' frames of reference, probably because they were bound into other familial networks.

The continuation by hand *A* on the first seven folio-format pages of the notebook begins with the report that Peter Gremmelsbach, abbot of St. Peter's, had died on 7 February 1512.¹²⁵ The prior had reminded the writer personally by letter of the fraternity which linked the convent with St. Peter's.¹²⁶ Each nun should therefore recite a psalter for Gremmelsbach.¹²⁷ Reference is also made to alms ("Pfründe") being distributed at the convent gate.¹²⁸ But the sisters could not agree on whether the bells should

Sanctus von vnsrer frowen communionem *Aue Regina*. Morndes satzt man im die vij psalmen.").

¹²³ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 35v: "Anno domini in ccccc vnd iij jor feria iij in die Cecilie [22 November] obiit Hans Iacob von Falkenstein. Dornoch am feria vi frie satzt man in in daz gbet vnd satzt im ein psalter, dornoch ein wil vor der meß vieng man an vnd lut mit beden glocken, vnd tet man im obsequium wie mim besly von Krotzingen vnd lut all diewil mit beden glocken, vnd woren die im dorf ouch doby, vnd waz ein grieny sergen gespreit in dem herren kor vf daz mittel grab, vnd brunnen iij k[ertzen], do sang man im ein selmeß zum fronampt, d. laß man im die xv psalmen noch der meß"; *Liber vitæ duplex*, 139; "Necrologium Güntersthalense," in *Necrologia Germaniae* 1:304 (14 August): "Methildis de Valckenstein abbatissa nostra." See Dreher, "Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günstertal," 25.

¹²⁴ *Liber vitæ duplex*, 8, 9, 40, 43, 53, 67.

¹²⁵ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 4v: "Anno domini xvc xij jor vij^o ydus faebruarij starb der erwirdig herr vnd appt zû sant Peter jm Schwarzwald"; *Liber vitæ duplex*, 3. See Harlacher, "Die Geschichtsschreibung des Benediktinerklosters St. Peter auf dem Schwarzwald," 62 f.; Dieter Mertens, "Peter Gremmelsbach, Abt von St. Peter im Schwarzwald 1496–1512," in *Das Kloster St. Peter auf dem Schwarzwald*, 215–48.

¹²⁶ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 4v: "Do schreib mir der selbig prior vnd der couent vnd vermanet uns der brüderschaft, jn der wir mit jn sind."

¹²⁷ On the recitation of the psalter as prayer, see Kroos, "Grabbräuche – Grabbilder," 293–98.

¹²⁸ On almsgiving, see *ibid.*, 328–30.

also be rung for the abbot. This report is made in the first-person singular.¹²⁹

In 1516 the convent resolved to revive the custom of the Great Prayer. The discussions on this subject had taken place in the chamber of Barbara von Eschbach at the request of Abbess Agnes von Tüßlingen, “as she felt great inward affliction and pain that it had been abandoned under her.”¹³⁰ Barbara von Eschbach was then the first sister to die in that year (31 December).¹³¹ In response, the writer (using the first-person singular) appor-tioned the Great Prayer. She assigned 4,000 Ave Marias to each nun, 1,000 to the lay sister, and a further 4,000 to blind Veit, since he was a member of their fraternity. The convent comprised at the time twenty-two nuns and one lay sister. Sister von Summerau had only 600 to recite, while the sacristan and Sister von Bolschwiler—later identified as the convent secretary—were obliged to recite only 200 Ave Marias on account of their offices (although they felt that this number was too low, and prayed more than was necessary).¹³² On 15 June 1517 Veronika von Summerau died.¹³³ At this point the convent consisted of twenty-one professed sisters, who were each required to recite 4,900 Ave Marias:

¹²⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 4v: “Der brieff ward mir am triten tag vnd mornden satz ich jn jn únsere gebett vnd satz jm yeder fröwen j psalter vnd hieß j pfründ zum tor gen, vnd sungen jm j selmeß vnd spreiten j saergen jn der herren kor vnd iij kerten dorvff, vnd meinten etlich, man set noch der mesß mit beden glocken gelit han, hab man vor eim appt zú .s. Peter gton, ich wißt es aber nit, vnd tetz ovch nit, mich dunckz ovch, eß derff /nit/ sin, es eß hat sus vrsach, daz mans jm tett.”

¹³⁰ Ibid., fol. 6r (“won sij hat grossi stroffung vnd pin jn ir selß, daz es vnder ir waz abgangen”). This may be tied to the visitation of September 1516 (Dreher, “Die Äbtissinnen des Zisterzienserklosters Günterstal,” 28).

¹³¹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 6v: “Anno domini m ccccc xvj jn die Selvestri der achten oben obiit Barbara von Eschbach”; *Liber vitae duplex*, 73. Barbara was the daughter of Franz von Eschbach (Espach) and Belina Schnewlin and the sister of Werner von Eschbach, who was in turn married to Elsa von Keppenbach. See Kindler von Knobloch, *Oberbadisches Geschlechterbuch* 1:312. Her aunt (her father’s sister) Margaretha von Eschbach († 1466) had also been a nun at Günterstal.

¹³² Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 6v.

¹³³ Ibid.: “Jtem anno domini m ccccc xvij yor jn die Viti et Modesti [15 June] obiit Veronica von Summerouw”; *Liber vitae duplex*, 34. Of the nine Vögte von Summerau who are listed in the necrology, seven were nuns or canonesses: one in Lindau and one in Urspring, two in Günterstal, and three in Königsfelden in the Aargau.

Then the Great Prayer was apportioned amongst all the sisters, there being then twenty-one professed sisters; the abbess was assigned 4,000 Ave Marias and the secretary, Sister von Bolschwiler¹³⁴, 600; the other nuns, nineteen in number, had 4,900 each. Brother Veit was given 5,000, Sister Gertrud 4,000. Further, two children each received 300, namely, Ma^orgli von Rockenbach and Kingunda von Bolschwiler. In total 100,000 Ave Marias.¹³⁵

When the lay sister Gertrud Lewin died on 2 October 1518 the convent recited one psalter and five rounds of the Seven Penitential Psalms for her.¹³⁶ The sisters also marked her “Seventh” by reciting the psalms. They divided up the Great Prayer amongst themselves with the help of Sir Hans Bichter, the old Bursar. By now the convent consisted of only eighteen professed sisters, a novice, and an aspiring lay sister. In order to make up the numbers for Gertrud, even children had to take part in the prayer.¹³⁷ The note on Maria von Blumeneck († 20 December 1519) states:¹³⁸

One psalter and five rounds of the Seven Psalms were assigned for her. On the first day there were two priests in addition to our own. Further, we had priests additional to ours at the seventh, and at the thirtieth.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Maria or Mergeli von Bolschwiler was the daughter of Thomas Schnewlin Bernlap. Her deed of prebend dates from 1470 (Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 67/639, fol. 11r and 203v–206v).

¹³⁵ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 6v: “Do satz man daz groß gbett (vff yeder fröwen), do woren der gewiletten fro^wen xxj; do teilt man der a^pptissin cccc Aue Maria vnd der schriberin, waz die von Bolschwiler vj^e, der andren couentfro^wen, woren xix, yeg iiij tusedt ix^e. Jtem brüder Viten gab man v tusedt, s[chwester] Gertruten cccc. Jtem ij kind, yedem iij^e, daz ein waz Ma^orgli von Rockenbach vnd Kingunda von Bolschwiler. Summ hundert tusedt Aue Maria.”

¹³⁶ Ibid., fol. 7r: “Anno domini mvc xvij vi nonas octobris obiit soror Gertrudis”; *Liber vitae duplex*, 55.

¹³⁷ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 7r: “Jtem únsere frovwen iiijc. Jtem der alten frovwen mm ix hundert. Jtem der schriberin vjc, noch sind an die couentfrouwen xvij, yeglicher mmmm ix hundert, der nouitzi M. [von] Rockenbach, dem Verenli, die do ein schwester wot werden, m iiijc. Jtem Kingungda [von] Bolschwiler. Jtem Katrinli von Andlow sind noch kind, yeglichs iijc. Jtem brüder Vit fünf m.”

¹³⁸ Ibid.: “Anno domini mvc xix vigilia Thome apostoli starb Maria von Blümeneck”; *Liber vitae duplex*, 71. Maria does not appear in the family tree sketched by Kindler von Knobloch.

¹³⁹ Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv 65/247, fol. 7r: “Do satz man ir i psalter, v

The reduced number of nuns had probably led to the practice of the Great Prayer being once again discontinued.

The series of death notices is closed with an order of prayers for the dead. This sets out which prayers and how many of them are to be recited for each group of people. Depending on the relevant group, a psalter, the Seven Penitential Psalms, a vigil, the *Miserere* and shorter prayers such as the *Pater Noster* or the Seven Wounds (*vsßflissen*) of Christ were recited. Five groups were distinguished: (1) fellow nuns; (2) the father or mother of a nun; (3) the brother, sister, or niece of a nun (so that siblings and their daughters are placed on the same level); (4) other close male relatives (*vetter*) of a nun; and (5) the mother house Tennenbach, the Freiburg Charterhouse, and St. Peter in the Black Forest.¹⁴⁰

The earlier, fifteenth-century order, compiled by hand *C*, recognizes only two groups of people aside from the sisters: (1) the nuclear family, consisting of father, mother, brother and sisters; and (2) the extended nuclear family, embracing the children of brothers and sisters. This order makes the choice of prayers dependent on whether or not the people concerned were buried at Günterstal.¹⁴¹ Whereas the prioress (hand *C*) draws a line between the nuclear family on the one hand and the nieces and nephews on the other, the *Ordo caritatis* drawn up by hand *A* places the parents first, followed by the siblings and their daughters; nephews appear only in the fourth rank. The sequence seems idiosyncratic but makes perfect sense from the perspective of a late medieval convent. In this context, siblings and their children are a mainstay of the community.

Considerations of this sort produced the double structure of the Günterstal necrology with which this case study began. But the necrology develops a different ordering schema from that of the notebook. Indeed, the necrology gives shape to an extended spiritual family which not only fuses the daughter and the mother house but also includes the Abbey of St. Peter and the Carthusian friends. The “structuring of *memoria*” is after all, as we noted at the outset, a signifier in its own right. Doing away with this order, as Baumann did, distorts and garbles the meaning of the texts. These are not lists of names; rather, the names are the material with which

molen septem psalmos, des ersten tags hat man ij priester zû [den] únseren. Jtem zû dem sibenden han priester zû vnserem her. Jtem zû dem xxx zû vnserem [herren].”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. 42r–v (see appendix).

¹⁴¹ Ibid., fols. 27v–28r (see appendix).

a community is built and its history written, a history unique to each convent, and as unique as each necrology.¹⁴²

APPENDIX

Hand A

Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv
65/247, fol. 42r–v

[1.] Wenn j frouw stirpt, so setzt man ir j psalter vnd v molen die vij psalmen vnd zum sibenden vnd zum drisßigsten vij *Pater noster*, den vij vsßflissen vnsers herren Jhesu Christi vnd j *Pater noster* allem dem blütvergiesßen, daz er vergossen het durch der sel vnd vnser aller willen. Jtem zum jarzit die vij psalmen.

[2.] Jtem so einren ir vatter ald müter stirpt, so sal sy ein eptissin bitten, daz sy sy jn daz gebett setz, so ist sin schuldik ze tünd vnd sprech denn also: “⟨ich seh⟩ Schwester .N. müter mit namen .N. von .N. die sel setz ich in als daz güt, daz man hie tüt mit singen, mit lesen, mit betten, mit vasten, mit wachen jn die messen, die gesungen vnd gelesen werden, jn die dischplinen, die hie genummen werden, jn daz almüsen, daz hie gen wirt, jn die gehorsame, die hie geschiht, vnd jn alles daz güt, daz man den selen hie tüt, des mach sy vnser hergot teil-

Hand C

Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv
65/247, fols. 27v–28r

[1.] Jtem wen vnser einren vatter, müter, brüder ald swesteren sterben, so sol man inen setzen die vij psalmen, daz ist der orden. Aber wenn sie hie ligen, so sitzt man inen ein vigilig von gewonheit vnd nit von ordens wegen vnd wen man ein kertzen har git so setzt man aber die vij psalmen, wie wol man si vor gesetzt hat vnd wenn man ein sidin tûch ald ein guldiß har git von denen die hie ligend, so setzt man aber ein vigilig.

[2.] Jtem wen /eim/ eins vater brüder ald swester ald müter brüder als swesteren ald brüder ald swester kind gestirbt, so setzt man inen ein *Miserere* vnd *De profundis* von gewonheit. Vatter, mütter, brüder vnd swesteren singt man ein selmeß, ouch von gewonheit. Von ordens wegen sot man ein colect sprechen in der meß, jedi frow die vij psalmen.

¹⁴² *Das Jahrbuch des Klosters Tünikon (ca. 1315 bis 1680)*, ed. Gabriela Signori, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige 52. Ergänzungsband (St. Ottilien, 2018); *Das Totenbuch des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Feldbach (1279–1706)*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Stuttgart, 2020).

haftig zû dem ewigen leben *Requiescat in pace*. Dor noch, lieben frouwen, bett ir vwer yegliche j vigilig vnd bitten got fir die sel vnd fir all gloubig selen vnd fir alli die fir, die wir jn sunders schuldig sind ze bitten.”

[3.] So einren ir brüder ald schwester ald baß stirpt, so setz man die vij vij psalmen.

[4.] Jtem eim nochen vetter ouch also ald j *miserere* dor noch man wil. Jtem j singenden selmeß vatter, mütter, geschwischgerit.

[5.] Wenn j herr zû Tenibach stirpt, so setz man jm j psalter vnd j meß vnd sust nüt, den bruedern ouch. Jtem den Kartusern j psalter, j vigilig, j mesß, vnd den bruedern ouch. Jtem den zû s. Peter j selmesß vnd j psalter vnd j pfründ zum tor, j saergen vff daz grab jn vnserm kor.

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