Prologue

Felix Mater Constantia

On October 28, 992, Bishop Gebhard II (979–995) stood on the shore of the Seerhein, the four-kilometer stretch of the river Rhine that connects the upper section of Lake Constance to the lower as it flows past the city of Constance. The bishop could easily see the towers of the cathedral and the city's four smaller churches positioned, "like pearls in a necklace," along the old Roman road that ran through the heart of the city as he stood waiting to be ferried across the river in one of the square-ended, flat-bottomed boats of the sort used for centuries to navigate the lake.[1] He may even have been able to hear the the din of Constance's bustling market, where the city's merchants, many specializing in locally produced linen, haggled with traders from far to the north and east. This expanding market, attested as early as 900, was already outgrowing its original site along the southwest wall of the cathedral precinct.[2] The Niederburg,

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[1] Helmut Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Geschichte der Stadt Konstanz (Constance: Stadler Verlag, 1989), 79; see also Lutz Fenske, *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen. Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung*, vol. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963–), 265, which states that the ferry that linked Petershausen and Constance was the most important in the city; on the history of passenger travel and commercial shipping on Lake Constance from late antiquity to the Industrial Revolution, see Alfons Zettler, "Heilige, Mönche und Laien Unterwegs. Bilder und Texte zur Schifffahrt auf dem Bodensee im frühen Mittelalter," and Dietrich Hakelberg, "Schifffahrt auf dem Bodensee. Geschichte und Archäologie von der Spätantike bis zur Industrialisierung," in *Einbaum, Lastensegler, Dampfschiff. Frühe Schifffahrt in Südwestdeutschland*, ed. Ralph Röber (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2000), 109–120 and 121–146.

[2] The oldest surviving coin minted in Constance bears the names of Louis the Child (893–911) and Bishop Solomon (890–919). Silver coins minted by the bishops of Constance during the Ottonian period have been found, as one might expect, in

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home to the city's growing population of merchants, extended from the shore of the Seerhein inland to the south and west and would have been clearly visible to the bishop and his party from the opposite side of the river.

The day and its liturgical activities must have brought Gebhard considerable satisfaction, for after more than a decade of planning and negotiation, the bishop had finally consecrated the basilica for a new Benedictine monastery.[3] Aware that monasteries in other dioceses functioned as instruments for the spiritual and political influence of bishops and provided a vital economic substructure, Gebhard had made it his goal to have such a community under his control.[4] To be sure, the vast diocese of Constance, which bordered the dioceses of Augsburg and Chur to the east and south, and the dioceses of Speyer, Strasbourg, and Basel to the north and west, had not lacked regular religious communites (see Figure 1). Reichenau and St. Gall, both founded in the eighth century and well established by the tenth, were quite close to the episcopal city.[5] But both were independent

modern-day Switzerland and southwestern Germany, but also as far to the north and east as Pommerania, Denmark, Silesia, Poland, and Minsk in modern Belarus. See Ulrich Klein, "Die Konstanzer Münzprägung vom Ende des 9. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Die Konstanzer Münsterweihe von 1089 in ihrem historischen Umfeld* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1989), 213–266; Helmut Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz. Zum Selbstverständnis geistlichen Fürstentums im 10. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur Germania Sacra 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 47–48; Otto Feger, *Geschichte des Bodenseeraumes* (Lindau: Thorbecke Verlag, 1956), 170; Fenske, *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen* 3/3: 267–268; see also Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 664, where he hypothesizes that the seven episcopal towns along the Rhine (Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, Basle, and Constance) may have together constituted a "moveable market" – a "spread-out version of the great fair of St. Denis" – in the early Middle Ages.

3 The Chronicle of Petershausen (hereinafter CP) 1.24. *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen*, ed. and trans. Otto Feger (Lindau and Constance: Thorbecke Verlag, [1956] 1978); Hermann Tüchle, *Dedicationes Constantienses. Kirch- und Altarweihen im Bistum Konstanz bis zum Jahre 1250* (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1949), vol. 1, 14.

4 The bishops of Passau, for example, had six such monasteries by 1000, and the bishops of Cologne had ten. Ulrich of Augsburg (923–973) controlled five Benedictine houses. See Ilse Juliane Miscoll-Reckert, *Kloster Petershausen als bischöflich-konstanzisches Eigenkloser. Studien über das Verhältnis zu Bischof, Adel und Reform vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1973), 17–18; on Passau, see Gerd Tellenbach, *Die bischöflich passauischen Eigenklöster und ihre Vogteien* (Berlin: Ebering Verlag, 1928).

5 Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 22–23; on Reichenau and St. Gall, see Walter Berschin, *Eremus und Insula. St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter. Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1987); Peter Classen, *Die Gründungsurkunden der Reichenau* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1977);
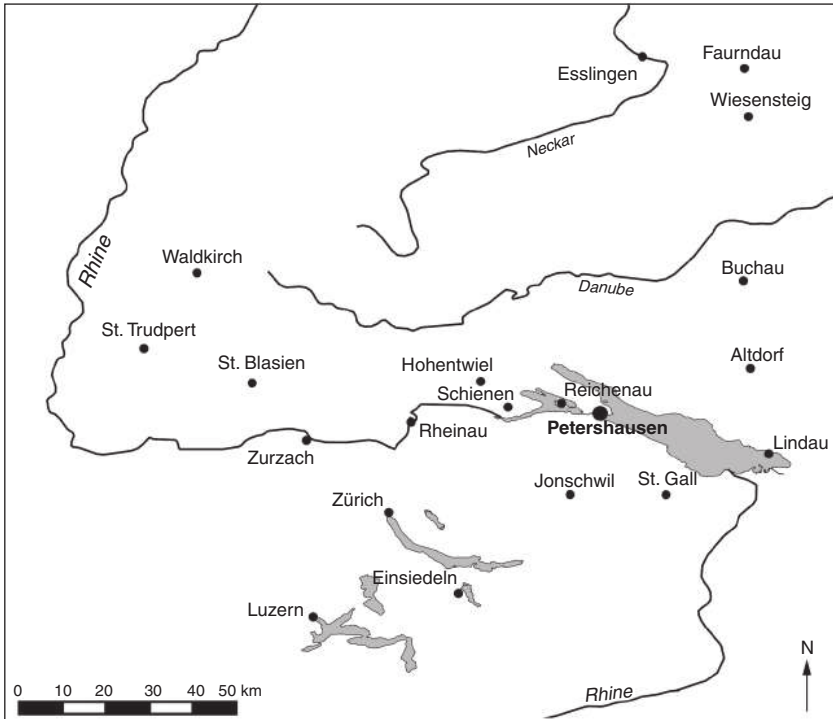
FIGURE 1. Monastic landscape around Constance *c.*983

of the bishop and fiercely protective of their freedom and their own cus-
toms.[6] Instead of trying to bring these strong, established houses to heel,
Gebhard decided to found a new monastery from scratch, endowing it
with lands from his own inheritance and securing effective and lasting
episcopal control, making it the first episcopal *Eigenkloster* (proprietary
episcopal monastery) in the diocese of Constance.[7]

　　Werner Vogler, *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: An Overview*, trans. James C. King
　　(Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1991).
[6] On the relationship between St. Gall and Constance, see Hubertus Siebert, "Konstanz
　　und St. Gallen. Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Bischofskirche und Kloster vom 8. bis 13.
　　Jahrhundert," *Itinera* 16 (1994): 27–49.
[7] On the history of the monastery of Petershausen, see Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke and Annelis
　　Schwarzmann, eds., *1000 Jahre Petershausen: Beiträge zu Kunst und Geschichte der
　　Benediktinerabtei Petershausen in Konstanz* (Constance: Verlag Stadler, 1983); Wolfgang
　　Müller, ed., *St. Gebhard und sein Kloster Petershausen: Festschrift zur 1000. Wiederkehr
　　der Inthronisation des Bischofs Gebhard II. von Konstanz* (Konstanz, 1979); Arno Borst,
　　Mönche am Bodensee: 610–1525 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1978), 136–154;
　　Helmut G. Walther, "Gründungsgeschichte und Tradition im Kloster Petershausen vor

By that autumn day in 992, Constance had been the seat of a bishop for over 400 years. The cathedral was situated on a small hill – the highest point in the city – formed by the same water and ice activity that had given shape to the lake itself between 110,000 and 15,000 years before, during the last Quarternary glaciation period.[8] The Celts had first occupied this hill *c.*120 BCE, followed by the Romans, who built and maintained a walled fortification there between *c.*250 and 400 CE.[9] When the bishops built on the site in the early seventh century, they incorporated the ruins of this *castellum* into the episcopal complex. Just 100 meters to the southwest, beyond what remained of the old Roman wall, stood a second ancient church, dedicated to St. Stephen, built on top of a third- and fourth-century Roman cemetery. Bishop Salomon III (890–919), who was at the same time Abbot of St. Gall (890–919), would later convert the church of St. Stephen into a chapter of secular canons with close spiritual and liturgical ties to the cathedral.[10]

The first impresario of Constance's sacral landscape, Salomon III traveled to Rome in 904, where he procured the relics of the martyr Pelagius and a number of other saints, increasing the prestige of the bishops' church and attracting more pilgrims to the city.[11] He also donated a number of precious liturgical implements and expanded the crypt to accommodate more relics and more visitors, further promoting the cathedral as the spiritual center of the diocese.[12]

Konstanz," *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 96 (1978): 31–67; Franz Quarthal, ed., *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg*, Germania Benedictina 5 (Augsburg: Kommissionsverlag Winfried-Werk, 1975), 484–502; Hermann Jakobs, *Die Hirsauer. Ihre Ausbreitung und Rechtsstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 4 (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1961), 62–64; Manfred Krebs, "Aus der Geschichte der Klosterbibliothek von Petershausen," *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbuch*, 1936, 59–67; Manfred Krebs, "Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Klosters Petershausen," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* n.F. 48 (1935): 463–543.

8   Feger, *Geschichte des Bodenseeraumes*, 1; Fenske, *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen* 3/3: 264; on the geological formation of the area, see Dietrich Ellwanger et al., "The Quaternary of the Southwest German Alpine Foreland (Bodensee-Oberschwaben, Baden-Württemberg, Southwest Germany)," *Quaternary Science Journal* 60 (2011): 306–328.

9   Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter,* vol. 1, 11–24; Feger, *Geschichte des Bodenseeraumes*, 15–19.

10   On the episcopacy of Salomon III, see Helmut Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, vol. 2: *Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1206,* Germania Sacra, nF 42, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 89–119.

11   Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, 55–57; Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 24 and 38–41; Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, vol. 2, 106.

12   Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter,* vol. 1, 55–56.

With an even grander vision for the spiritual and liturgical landscape of this emerging city, Bishop Conrad (934–975) worked to fashion Constance into a fully fledged cultic center.[13] Conrad was not unique among tenth-century bishops in styling his city as a sacred landscape; in many cathedral towns, and particularly in those like Constance with no historical connection to the earliest era of Christianity, bishops worked hard to inscribe sacred landscapes upon urban topography.[14] Under Conrad, *Felix mater Constantia* saw the construction of two new churches and the restoration of a third, all strategically planned to mirror the liturgical landscape of Rome by reflecting four of the ancient city's five patriarchal basilicas (see Figure 2).[15] He built the church of St. John (Roman parallel: San Giovanni in Laterano) just northwest of the cathedral church of St. Mary (Roman parallel: Santa Maria Maggiore), on the main road into the city, to serve the residents of the growing Niederburg, who until then had been connected with the church of St. Stephen. Beyond the city wall and southwest along the old Roman road he built St. Paul (Roman parallel: San Paolo fuori le mura), a church serving the expanding residential area south of the main city. He restored a pre-existing church dedicated to St. Lawrence (Roman parallel: San Lorenzo fuori le mura) near the developing

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[13] Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 70–77; Alfred Haverkamp, "Cities as Cultic Centres in Germany and Italy During the Early and High Middle Ages," in *Sacred Spaces: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 180; Alfred Haverkamp, "'Heilige Städte' im hohen Mittelalter," in *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter. Methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, ed. František Graus (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke Verlag, 1987), 119–156; on Conrad's episcopacy generally, see Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, vol. 2, 125–145.

[14] Haverkamp, "Cities as Cultic Centres in Germany and Italy During the Early and High Middle Ages" lists Liège, Utrecht, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Minden, Halberstadt, Regensburg, Bamberg, Eichstätt, Aachen, and Xanten among the cathedral cities whose bishops were concerned with their transformation into "outstanding cultic centers" (180). For studies of sacred urban space, see R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, "Introduction: Mindscape and Landscape," in *Sacred Spaces: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 11: "There are holy cities, as distinct from holy places. Some of them acquired their holiness as a result of historical circumstances or events, or because either in theory or in actual fact they were constructed so as to reflect some cosmic reality – a kind of microcosmic spatial reflection of the macrocosm and its divine ground. Other cities are holy because they harbour or possess a holy object, a shrine or a tomb. Others again exhibit all these qualities in various combinations."

[15] On the pilgrimage landscape of Rome, see Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 109; for the use of the epithet "felix mater Constantia" in the tenth century, see Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 75–76.
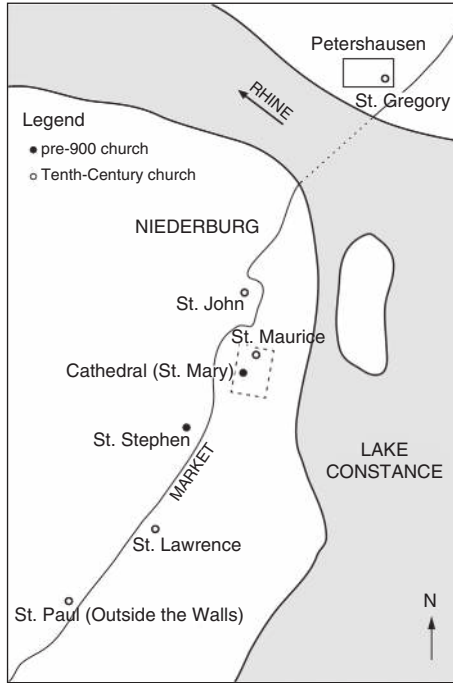
FIGURE 2. The ecclesiastical landscape of tenth-century Constance

upper-market area, and endowed it with relics acquired during his trip to Rome.[16]

Conrad's most prominent new foundation, and one that further demonstrated his savvy use of relics, was St. Maurice, a small central plan church adjacent to the cathedral, modeled on the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which was served by a new community of twelve canons. At the center of the rotunda, Conrad installed a relic of the third-century Roman soldier-saint Maurice, whose cult Emperor Otto I (962–973) had promoted by founding a monastery in his honor in Magdeburg in 937.[17] Through this choice and presentation of relics, Conrad both highlighted the connection of his family to the empire and emphasized his status as a member of the Ottonian imperial church.[18]

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[16] Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 59–60.

[17] Ibid., 50–51.

[18] Ibid., 53–54; on the use of saints and hagiography in the context of Ottonian political thought, and particularly the cult ot St. Maurice, see David A. Warner, "Saints, Pagans,

A proper *sancta civitas*, however, was not complete without some provision for the care of travelers, the poor, and the sick.[19] Such institutions were made especially important by the increasing flow of both pilgrims and merchants into the developing cities.[20] In neighboring Augsburg, Bishop Ulrich (923–973) had founded a hospice that could house an apostolic twelve *pauperes*. Not to be outdone, Conrad founded Kreuzlingen, named for its relic of the Holy Cross (Roman parallel: Santa Croce), a hospice, like Augsburg's, with a capacity of twelve.[21]

With this carefully constructed sacred landscape and the practical necessities that came with the close supervision of a community of monks in mind, Bishop Gebhard II set out to find a location for his new Benedictine community. His idea was clever: he would build the monastery on the right side of the Rhine directly across from the city, just as St. Peter's, the last of Rome's five great patriarchal basilicas, was situated on the right bank of the Tiber across from the city. There were, however, a few serious obstacles. First, Gebhard could not build on the land that was in just the right spot, as it belonged to the monks of Reichenau. After some negotiation, he solved the problem through a land trade with the powerful monastery. The second problem was harder to solve: the newly acquired land, like most of the shore of the lake, was essentially a swamp. While scouting another potential location, in fact, Gebhard and his companions had been kept awake all night by croaking frogs. Not wanting his new community to be saddled with the nickname *Ranunculorum Cella*, the Monastery of the Little Frogs, the bishop had decided to look further.[22] The newly acquired land, marshy and unsuitable for building,

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War and Rulership in Ottonian Germany," in *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages. Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert Charles Figueira (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 21–23.

19 Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 61–63; Haverkamp, "Cities as Cultic Centres in Germany and Italy During the Early and High Middle Ages," 177–178; on hospices for the poor along the Maas and the Rhine in the central Middle Ages, see Michel Pauly, *Peregrinorum, pauperum ac aliorum transeuntium receptaculum. Hospitäler zwischen Maas und Rhein im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007).

20 Haverkamp, "Cities as Cultic Centres in Germany and Italy During the Early and High Middle Ages," 178.

21 Crucelin's original location within the city is not known. See Maurer, *Konstanz als ottonischer Bischofssitz*, 61–62. Whatever its initial location, the institution would be refounded and relocated to Münsterlingen, and then moved back inside the city, all in the course of the twelfth century.

22 CP 1.9: Cumque in quodam loco hac ex causa pernoctaret, eumque tota nocte ranunculi clamoribus ex palude inquietarent, et cum die facta locum lustraret, ut si ad eius votum utilis esset perspiceret, interrogasse fertur, quo vocabulo censeri deberetur, si cella ibi

was not much better. Fortunately, this was a problem that technology could solve. Local workers, inheritors of ancient skills for building on the miry lakeshore, drained the area and constructed a dry plateau on which to build.[23] In 983, workers laid the cornerstone for the community's first basilica, oriented like St. Peter's in Rome with its apse to the west.

The lengths to which the bishop had gone to secure this site, despite the obstacles of ownership and suitability for building, reflect both its practical and cultic advantages. Gebhard could see Petershausen, and the monks could see Gebhard's cathedral, from their respective sides of the river. Three times a year the close connection between the two was reinforced by a festive procession of clerics from the cathedral to Petershausen, where they assisted at a Mass for the bishop.[24] But the monastery was also set apart from the city and its bustling market, accessible only by boat until the construction of a bridge in 1200.[25] And perhaps most importantly, Petershausen completed the topographical-spiritual equation of *Felix Mater Constantia* with the *Urbs Sacra*, Rome.

Gebhard also saw to Petershausen's economic foundation, endowing the new community with land that he had inherited from his parents, Count Ulrich VI of Bregenz (*c.*908 to 950–957) and Dietberga (d. 949). Following a bitter struggle with his three brothers over his rightful share of their inheritance, Gebhard divided his portion between the church in Constance and his new monastery. He also continued to acquire land for the monastery throughout his episcopacy.[26] Finally, he secured the community's legal foundation with a privilege from Pope John XV (985–996)

constructa fuisset? Unus continuo ex obsequio ipsius respondit, ranunculorum cellam eam debere nuncupari, quorum strepitu eos nocte contigerat molestari.

[23] Ralph Röber, "Archäolgische Erkenntnisse zum Baubestand von Kirche und Klaustrum," in *Kloster, Dorf und Vorstadt Petershausen. Archäologische, historische und anthropologische Untersuchungen*, ed. Ralph Röber (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2009), 94–96. Röber argues (96) that the monastery buildings were erected, not using oak posts, but the natural rise of the land. The discovery of some posts during excavation, however, suggests some use of this technology during the construction. On the "Pfahlbaukultur" associated with ancient techniques of building on the swampy land around Lake Constance, see Hans Reinerth, "Die Pfahlbauten am Bodensee im Lichte der neuesten Forschung," *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 50 (1922): 56–72.

[24] Feger, *Geschichte des Bodenseeraumes* 1, 209.

[25] Fenske, *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen* 3/3: 272; Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter,* vol. 1, 106.

[26] See Miscoll-Reckert, *Kloster Petershausen*, 31–40 for a list of Gebhard II's donations to Petershausen.

that both protected the monks from those who would alienate their property and confirmed their right to elect their abbot freely.[27]

With the physical, economic, and legal foundations of the new community secure, Gebhard commissioned two elaborate altars, expertly decorated with gold and silver, an array of precious liturgical implements and textiles, and a pair of circular candelabras that hung in the choir and the narthex. He also hired painters to use the precious blue "Greek paint" given to him by the Patriarch of Grado to create beautiful images from the Old and New Testament on the walls of the basilica, and its ceiling was decorated with gilt bosses that evoked the vault of heaven.[28] He even received from Pope John XV the head of Gregory the Great (*c.* 540–604), a blockbuster relic housed in Petershausen's main altar, and from Emperor Otto III (980–1002) the arm of the apostle Philip.

In 994, Gebhard was buried, not in his cathedral, but on the southern side of Petershausen's basilica, just steps from the entrance to the crypt. Five columns ringed his tomb, with capitals richly decorated with sculpted grapes, as well as with birds and other animals. On the wall above was an image in relief of the bishop himself, prostrate, flanked by two assistants, robed and ready to perform the Mass.[29] The bishop, who had conceived the idea for the monastery, engineered the solid ground on which to build it, and provided amply for its material and spiritual future, now became its "humic foundation."[30] Seen through this lens, Gebhard continued to

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[27] J-L #3831 (989); Gregory V (996–999) issued a second privilege (J-L #3897) in 996, the year after Gebhard's death. On these privileges, see Miscoll-Reckert, *Kloster Petershausen*, 61–65.

[28] The Patriarch of Grado at that time, identified as the Archbishop of Venice (*episcopus Venetiorum*) in the Chronicle, was Vitalis IV Candiano (976–1017). The patriarch's connection to the bishop is unknown, but there was at least one Italian wall painter at work in Germany at this time. See C. R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 36, 126, and 130. Dodwell refers to Petershausen's wall paintings as a "major Ottonian cycle" (130) on the level of the surviving paintings in the nave of the monastery church of Reichenau-Oberzell, St. George. The paintings in Oberzell feature the same kind of rich blue background, rendered with lapis lazuli paint, described in the Chronicle. For color reproductions and a description of the St. George nave paintings, see Walter Berschin and Ulrich Kuder, eds., *Reichenauer Wandmalerei 840–1120: Goldbach, Reichenau-Oberzell St. Georg, Reichenau-Niederzell St. Peter und Paul* (Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2011), 30–68; Kōichi Koshi, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien der St. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Bodenseeinsel Reichenau* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1999). On the symbolism of the church ceiling, see *Gebehardi Episcopi Constantiensis*. MGH SS 10: 586 and CP 1.22.

[29] CP 1.55.

[30] The concept of a community's humic foundation stands at the core of literary philosopher Robert Pogue Harrison's *The Dominion of the Dead*, a study of the cultural

rule their shared world, now as necrocrat – exerting his power, press-
ing his demands, and granting or denying the monks his blessing.[31] He
demonstated his continued presence with strategic spectral appearances,
rescuing, for example, a monk from a head-down fall into the crypt foun-
tain and rebuking and even beating a monk-priest for his greed.[32] His
body, tended and honored by generations of monks, protected the com-
munity from disaster. As oral tradition in the monastery would have it,
it was the presence of Gebhard's body that safeguarded the community
from destruction by fire.[33] The monks, for their part, were the heirs and
debtors of their founder. It was their job to honor his body and to pro-
tect his patrimony. And Gebhard was clearly watching. Were the monks
to fail to keep their side of this bargain, he might withdraw from them,
taking with him both their security and their legitimacy as a community.

meaning of burial and the commemoration of the dead. See Robert Pogue Harrison, *The
Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), x–xi and 24–27.

[31] For Harrison, the living are the inheritors and debtors of the dead, and because the dead
legitimate the existence of the living, the living must both protect their remains and culti-
vate their memory – a view that Ewa Domańska calls "necrocratic fundamentalism." See
ibid., ix, and the review by Ewa Domańska, "Necrocracy," *The History of the Human
Sciences* 18 (2005): 111–112; on death as a transformation rather than a fundamental
break in the relationship between the living and the dead in the Middle Ages, see Patrick
J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press,
1994), 86.

[32] CP 3.15 and 3.21.

[33] CP 4.17: Tantis ac talibus miserationibus hactenus idem locus ab incendio noscitur
sepius esse protectus, quoniam et seniores nostri affirmare solebant, quod ipse locus
numquam cremaretur, quousque corpus beati Gebehardi ibi haberetur.