

The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, VI: Burchard's Life and His Historiographical Achievement*)

The Ursberg *Chronicon* (hereafter *UC*) contains abundant evidence for the moment at which the historian Burchard set it aside, as for his political and epistemological points of view. It reveals as well the progress of the chronicler's ecclesiastical career. Such information as it offers, however, can support no satisfying explanation of the relationship between the provost and the historian. The Ursberg prelate's work reveals that he wrote history in support of Hohenstaufen claims against the papacy and as an analogical bridge between past and present, but what elements of his personal experience may have induced him to this occupation are as yet obscure. These factors are nevertheless of interest.

As F. Heer pointed out in reference to Otto of Freising and Anselm of Havelberg, medieval historians' involvements in political and theological controversies had potentially strong impact on their historical ideas. So, in Heer's interpretation, the Premonstratensian Anselm was able in his theory of historical innovation to move beyond the Cistercian Otto's more conservatively Augustinian view of a declining *civitas permixta* because of his contact with Eastern theologians and because he was not like Otto shackled by his connection to the imperial house; both great twelfth-century theologians of history belonged to monastic orders self-consciously committed to renewal of apostolic life, and might otherwise have expressed more similar visions of their own time's relationship to the wider flow of history¹). The chronicle written by Burchard of Ursberg is indeed more distinctively Premonstratensian than modern critics have generally been aware, at least in its reflection of the bishop of Havelberg's ideas²), but it may also bear the marks of the author's experience outside his monastic affiliation.

*) This is the sixth and final article in a series beginning in the first 1982 fascicle of this journal. Significant errata, especially in stemmata in the second in the series, are rectified below.

¹) F. Heer, *The Intellectual History of Europe*, trans. J. Steinberg (Cleveland, 1966), pp. 88-90.

²) See «The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, IV: Burchard as Historian», *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 59, 251 ff.

Evidence for Burchard's personal and administrative life external to that presented in *UC*'s first-person passages is difficult to interpret. It is closely intertwined with those materials for the history of the *UC* text which the first article in this series has shown to be self-contradictory and riddled with error. Traces of the provost's life which can still be discerned outside his own chronicle have with few exceptions been preserved only because the provost was a chronicler. They have therefore been bent to conform to a succession of differing interpretations of the manner of composition and of the history of the Ursberg text. Nevertheless enough survive to enable Burchard to emerge — if indistinctly — independently of his role as historian.

Since the historian's insertions of events in his own life into the *UC* text are the firmest evidence for his career and since they recount a sprinkling of important occurrences during the years of his maturity, they will provide a useful framework against which more dubious evidence may be tested and to which it may finally be attached. Burchard was ordained priest by Diethelm, bishop of Constance, in 1202³); he must have been at least in his twenty-fifth year, probably born in 1178. In 1198 Burchard traveled to the papal curia, where he saw the propagandizing display of Sicilian barons held hostage and blinded by Henry VI⁴). He was then still a secular, though perhaps already a cleric, but in 1205 he submitted to a monastic rule, perhaps the Premonstratensian novitiate but which one is unclear⁵).

Two years later Burchard took his permanent vows as a Premonstratensian⁶). In 1210 he returned to Rome and witnessed the appeal of the Poor Men of Lyons and their master Bernard for papal support⁷). He was still in Italy for the establishment of peace between Innocent and Otto IV in Capua during the following year⁸). In 1213 he had access to chancery drafts of papal letters, or so it seems from the generalized salutation of one which he copies⁹); he must therefore have remained at Rome, returned there, or at least have had access to such information through close connections. Finally, in 1215, Burchard was

³) Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson, 2nd ed., *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum* (Hanover, 1916), p. 95.

⁴) *UC*, p. 78.

⁵) *UC*, p. 95.

⁶) *UC*, p. 96.

⁷) *UC*, p. 107.

⁸) *UC*, p. 100.

⁹) *UC*, p. 101.

elected provost of the Swabian convent of Ursberg: «Eodem anno electus fui et translatus in Ursperc»¹⁰).

These autobiographical suggestions raise as many questions about the life of the historian as they answer. They give no indication of his family background or education. They record his monastic affiliation but they do not contribute to description of the position of his houses in the turbulent Swabian and imperial politics of the early thirteenth century. They mention repeated, lengthy trips to Italy and more specifically to Rome, but they leave aside the reasons for those journeys and the possible effects of the prelate's absence on the fulfillment of his duties at home. Most importantly, they account in no way for Burchard's historiographical activity. Indeed, the provost's first-person notices break off fifteen years before the end of *UC*, well before he seems to have begun drafting it.

EVIDENCE FOR BURCHARD'S CAREER OUTSIDE OF THE URSBERG CHRONICON

Among the confusing and flimsy testimony of later historians on Burchard's life, even the date and circumstances of his death are uncertain. Once G. Gronau showed conclusively that Burchard was the author of *UC* up to its conclusion in A.D. 1230, the natural but unjustifiable assumption has followed that the provost died in that year or shortly thereafter¹¹). The abrupt conclusion of *UC* is, however, the sole support for assigning the historian's death to 1230 or 1231. Although the last events with which the text reveals acquaintance are of early 1230, the historian need not have died when he set aside his work. Burchard may have been ill or turned to other occupations. He was then fifty-three or older, not a young man by medieval standards, but his vigor had been proven in repeated crossings of the Alps; he may have lived much longer. In the absence of firmer evidence, the year of Burchard's death then remains problematic.

On what day the historian died is more certain. An Ursberg necrology dating from the mid-sixteenth century but apparently copied from an older book lists several Burchards, one of them — the first name

¹⁰) *UC*, p. 112.

¹¹) P. Lindner, *Monasticon episcopatus Augustani antiqui* (Bregenz, 1913), p. 116; Simson, pp. ix-x; N. Backmund, *Die mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreiber des Prämonstratenserordens*, Bibliotheca Analectorum Praemonstratensium 10 (Averbode, 1972), p. 11.

recorded for that day and therefore probably like the historian a canon of the monastery's early period — on January 11¹²). The 1504 necrology of the Premonstratensian convent of Weissenau, likewise made from an earlier exemplar, lists on January 11 «Burchardi, p(re)positi de Ursperg»¹³). Only one of Ursberg's prelates was named Burchard¹⁴); the Weissenau notice must refer to the thirteenth-century historian. It must have been entered as a marginal addition in an earlier copy, since in the 1504 version it appears last, after the names of the more recent dead of the house.

The day and year of Burchard's death have significance beyond their relationship to *UC*'s abrupt conclusion. Imprecision in early accounts of Burchard's provosty concerning the end of his official career and of his life may reflect ambivalence among historians of his house and, later, of German monasticism concerning the provosty of the chronicler. The circumstances of Burchard's death, if they can be interpreted more intelligibly than they have heretofore been, will in turn shed light on his years at Ursberg and his life as a canon. They may, finally, contribute to a description of his early career and of his origins.

On first consideration, it seems anomalous that the historian and provost Burchard should have been commemorated in the Ursberg necrology by his name alone, without mention of his prelacy¹⁵). Other evidence from his own house concerning his death is similarly vague, indifferent to his status — from the modern point of view — as the most important member of the Ursberg community in all its centuries. The sixteenth-century abbey history of Johannes Weissung offers the earliest record of the year of Burchard's death. It exists in two Munich copies, Clm 27213-4¹⁶). The additional contents of both codices including

¹²) *Necrologium Ursbergense*, ed. F. L. Baumann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Necrologia Germaniae 1 (Berlin, 1886), p. 129.

¹³) *Necrologium Augiae Minoris*, MGH Nocr. 1, p. 154.

¹⁴) N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, I (Straubing, 1949), p. 87.

¹⁵) E.g. the Ursberg necrology lists the death on February 5: «Uodalrici p[re]p[os]iti»: *Nocr. Urs.*, p. 130.

¹⁶) As G. Gronau pointed out, the text of the two is substantially the same: *Die Ursperger Chronik und ihr Verfasser* (Diss. Berlin 1890), pp. 68-69. Gronau thought that Clm 27214 was perhaps an earlier version, but not the direct antecedent of Clm 27213, which seemed to have been Weissung's presentation copy to the Ursberg abbot, Thomas Mang. He was apparently wrong. Even the marginal glosses of the second Munich copy, Clm 27214, are based on 27213. As Gronau noticed (p. 70), 27213 seems to have been damaged, because leaves in a different hand were added at the beginning and end. This perhaps explains why a narrative concerning the abbey's troubles during the Peasants' Revolt appended in both manuscripts to Weissung's *Catalogus* — not necessarily written

Weissung's work shed light on the date, motivation, and purpose of his history of provosts and abbots, and therefore on his record of Burchard's career.

Weissung's catalog of Ursberg prelates

Clm 27213, for which the Munich manuscript catalog attributes the principal text to Adam Bartholomaeus, in fact includes Weissung's abbey history with only a covering letter by Bartholomaeus and continuations to Weissung's work by an unidentified author. The first folio (1r) bears the title, *Catalogus adeoque Epitome omnium rerum gestarum singulorum praepositorum abbatumque Urspergensium coenobii*, and a poem by the canon Stephan Schedell. Stephan was perhaps a relative of the Nuremberg humanist Hartmann Schedel, a historian and friend of UC's discoverer Conrad Peutinger¹⁷). The canon Schedell's three couplets are, however, hortatory rather than historical. The following text in the Munich codex is more instructive. Here Bartholomaeus addresses a pedantic essay on the moral value of tribulation to the abbot of Ursberg, Thomas Mang. The historical misfortunes of Ursberg recounted in the ensuing catalog of prelates, he says, have not destroyed the community; nor, by implication, should the incipient wars of religion¹⁸). Bartholomaeus' comments suggest that Weissung's work was composed in direct response to contemporary Ursberg circumstances. Past monastery fires might then be expected to receive special attention in *Catalogus*. So might the personal interest of the abbot and dedicatee, Mang.

Bartholomaeus' suggestion concerning the relevance of contemporary events to the work he so introduces is confirmed in Weissung's own explanation, in a covering letter following Bartholomaeus', of his motivation for *Catalogus*' composition. Abbot Thomas, Weissung asserts, would himself have been capable of writing an abbey history. Now, as head of a struggling monastery, he is too busy and the task has fallen to

by him — extends further in Clm 27213. The other copy, 27214, shows a few small errors of prolepsis absent in 27213; there is no reason to believe that it was not copied directly from 27213.

¹⁷) See W. Wattenbach's article on Hartmann Schedel in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission der königlichen bayerischen Akademie, Munich, XXX (Leipzig, 1980), 661-662.

¹⁸) Weissung, fol. 3r: «Quod profecto R.D.P. abbas in hoc miserrimo Urspergensi coenobio deus lucidissime declarat. Nam tametsi olim miserae oppignorum fuerit, olim quoque bis conflagratum».

the scholiarch¹⁹). Weissung dates his prefatory epistle on 15 July 1524²⁰). Ursberg was burned in the following year²¹), as addenda to Weissung's text attest. Mang might well have appreciated the encouragement his scholiarch's history provided²²).

Weissung launches into his *Catalogus* proper with the story of the monastery's foundation. He continues with the administrations of its various prelates. His entry on the eighth provost Burchard is brief, but subsequent description of his career has been forced to build on this inadequate foundation. The text therefore demands close analysis:

Bone indolis iuvenem pene a teneris unguiculis palam est Burchardum fuisse, medius fidius, si non fuisset, minime successor tantorum virorum electus esset. Cum autem undecim annos optime prepositi officium perfecit, ne sine adversitate viveret, Christo docente, in mundo pressuram habetis in me autem pacem²³), cenobium combustum est. Vide quam breviculo tempore bis temptati sunt impetu ignis. Sed pacientissimus, voluntati dei tribuit, ac nihilominus iterum quantum potuit edificavit monasterium usque ad undecim annos, tandem cum bonam etatis partem traduxisset, liberatus in celestem patriam vocatus²⁴).

The salient feature of Weissung's account of Burchard and his provosty is the ignorance it shows of both. «Si non fuisset» is a revealing phrase. Much of what Weissung manages to produce concerning Burchard is only guesswork, hindsight imputation of virtue and competence to an individual about whom only a few bare external circumstances were known: a Burchard had been the prelate of Ursberg between Frederick

¹⁹) Weissung, fol. 4r.

²⁰) Weissung, fol. 5v: «... datum in nostro museolo Urspergii quinto decimo die mensis Julii anno vigesimo quarto super millesimum quingentesimum».

²¹) Cf. Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 86; Die Chorherrenorden und ihre Stifte in Bayern (Passau, 1966), p. 205.

²²) The front matter of Clm 27213 here described (the title, elegiac exhortation to the reader and pair of covering letters by Bartholomaeus and Weissung) is absent from the Clm 27214 version, which is not in a stiff parchment-covered binding like the more complete copy, but is wrapped only in a battered leaf from a fifteenth-century liturgical display book with red decoration. The text is copied on paper rather than on parchment, as is Clm 27213; it is generally a hastier copy, evidently a working copy. Its fols. 1r-16r, however, correspond exactly to Clm 27213's fols. 14r-34r, Weissung's *Catalogus* proper. Since order, content, even spelling — with minor exceptions (e.g. the name *Burchard*, regularly spelled *Burckhard* in Clm 27214) — are identical, the readings and foliation of Clm 27213 for the body of Weissung's text are cited here.

²³) Cf. John 16.33.

²⁴) Weissung, fol. 19r-v.

and Conrad of Liechtenau, the buildings were burned while the monastery was under his charge, and they were eventually rebuilt.

Weissung's source or sources must have had extremely little to offer on the provost-historian. Although his notice on Conrad of Liechtenau will in its detail come under consideration later, it is for the moment worth noting that it covers three pages — six times as long as the notice on Burchard²⁵). In the covering letter to Mang, Weissung had described his *Catalogus*' principal source as an ancient and faded list: «Non quod aliqua sit difficultas, cum in vetustissimo libro singulorum nomina, etsi pene situ obsita sicque oblitterata aliquantulum, inveni»²⁶). These *nomina* presumably form the «catalogus vetus» to which he makes repeated reference. For Burchard, Weissung clearly had nothing to work from but this list, a name and a notation on length of tenure; the paragraph he composed concerning the eighth prelate demanded a considerable leap of historical imagination from so skimpy a beginning. At least the *Catalogus* author was honest, forcing in no detail and acknowledging the shakiness of his information.

Subsequent use of Weissung's notice on Burchard has not been so cautious. Conspicuous omissions supplied in all later biographical accounts — and this is not to say that they are pure invention, rather that they require careful scrutiny — are Burchard's birth at the Swabian town of Biberach, his provostry at Schussenried, his erudition and administrative success. Weissung's own text, scanty as it is, militates against at least the last of these. Ursberg was destroyed during Burchard's provostry, and although Weissung strenuously avoids saying anything negative about him, it remains clear that he did not succeed in fully rebuilding it. Burchard's provostry left Ursberg weaker than when he came. While this decline was the result of events outside the community, not of malfeasance on the part of the prelate, his leadership had nevertheless been insufficiently energetic to prevent its near-annihilation. «Quantum potuit»: Burchard had been an unexceptional provost.

Weissung's *Catalogus* had, perhaps in order to obscure inconsistency, omitted exact dates of tenure for each provost and abbot in the succession. It told only how long each held office. Thus, calculating from the probably apocryphal foundation date of 1125²⁷), it is possible to

²⁵) Weissung, fols. 18v-19v.

²⁶) Weissung, fol. 4r. As Gronau notices, Weissung failed surprisingly to use the few but important *UC* references to Ursberg events of the thirteenth century: p. 72.

²⁷) Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 86.

deduce from Weissung that the seventh provost of Ursberg, Burchard's predecessor Frederick, died in 1215, though he does not directly offer this date. Burchard's provostry then began in the same year²⁸). Weissung says that the house was burned «cum autem undecim annos optime praepositi officium perfecit», or in 1226. But Weissung continues, «edificavit monasterium usque ad undecim annos». If, as it seems, Weissung means that this reconstruction effort began after the fire in Burchard's eleventh year at Ursberg, he was provost for twenty-two years. Worn out by his official burdens, as Weissung said, he then died — according to this interpretation in A.D. 1237.

If Burchard's provostry had indeed gone on until 1237, there were, as Weissung cannot have been unaware, impossibly fewer years in the history of the Ursberg house than the sum of years assigned to its individual provosts; adding up the years which he assigns to the intervening prelates would have brought Weissung past the abbacy of his contemporary, Thomas Mang, Weissung's notice on Burchard ought then to be scrutinized for obvious error, even for ambiguity. His source list of prelates' order and dates must have shown some confusion over the transfer of office from Burchard to Conrad of Liechtenau, but exactly how vague it may have been can now only be deduced from his own attempt at reconstruction. At two points the scholiarch allowed for some flexibility in what seems at first to be a rigid description of Burchard's provostry as of twenty-two years' duration. First Weissung inserted a somewhat evasive comment on Ursberg fires between his notice of the disaster of Burchard's eleventh year and his statement that Burchard began the rebuilding: «... vide quam breviculo tempore bis temptati sunt impetu ignis». Whether or not Weissung may have been confused about how many fires Ursberg suffered in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century is a question of independent importance, but here at least a syntactic loophole is opened in his chronological calculation. The *Catalogus* author may have meant to say that Burchard rebuilt from the fire of his own provostry, or he may possibly have meant that the reconstruction under way from an earlier fire was disturbed by the 1226 repetition. The latter explanation is less grammatically but more

²⁸) For discussion of Weissung's obfuscation concerning the *UC* text and Burchard's and his successors' dates, see «The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, I: The Ursberg *Chronicon* Text», *AP* 58 (1982), pp. 100 ff. The argument that Burchard became Ursberg's provost in 1215 assumes that Weissung did not count fractions as entire years in his tally.

chronologically tenable. On the basis of Weissung's text alone, the length of Burchard's provosty cannot therefore be established.

The prelate Burchard could not have died, of course, long before his successor took office. If the length of Burchard's prelacy is undetermined, then so must be the year of his death unless other evidence is available. But Weissung's text here introduces a second element of confusion. Burchard, it says, rebuilt the monastery over an eleven-year period; between this notice and «liberatus in celestem patriam», the words with which Weissung marks Burchard's death, is inserted «tandem cum bonam etatis partem traduxisset». Again one interpretation is grammatically the more sound, but another is still plausible. It seems likelier that Weissung meant to say that after eleven years of rebuilding Burchard died, then already at an advanced age. It may be on the other hand that Weissung meant to indicate that Burchard led reconstruction for eleven years, and that — quite a separate statement — he died at an advanced age. The latter interpretation suggests that Burchard's provosty and his life may not have been coterminous.

G. Gronau asserted that Weissung's considerable chronological error concerning a relatively recent event — the assignment of *UC*'s discovery by Peutingen to 1515 instead of 1496, when Clm 4351's marginal notes indicate it was found — argues against his general accuracy in determining or reproducing dates. Weissung's error on Peutingen was perhaps tendentious, however; his obscurity on Burchard's provosty might have been similarly intentional. On the whole, there is little against which to test Weissung's accuracy. He seems to have done his best to interpret an almost unintelligible «catalogus vetus» in terms of such other documents and scraps of oral tradition as were available to him, but probably none of the dates implied in his text should be accepted unquestioningly. In the case of the provost Burchard, Weissung apparently could make virtually no sense of the abbey traditions. He cloaked his ignorance in a Biblical allusion of special contemporary interest — Christ's description of Himself as a refuge from earthly calamities such as fires — and moved on from Burchard to a provost concerning whom a historian he accepted as authoritative, the abbot Thomas, had laid the chronological groundwork. Conrad of Liechtenau had, Weissung knew, a long and illustrious provosty extending from the near-eclipse of the house in the mid-1220's to the happier 1240's, when Swabia was relatively pacified under Frederick II and his son Henry. Weissung did not know when Burchard died, and he did not command the tools with which to address the

problem, so he did not try. Means to solve it perhaps existed, but Kaspar Brusch's widely-used interpretation of Weissung's account did not recognize them.

Kaspar Brusch's elegiac catalog and its successors

In the context of the record of the Ursberg fire of 1526 included as an epilogue in both sixteenth-century manuscripts of Weissung's *Catalogus*, the vagueness with which that author treated Burchard's death and the monastery fire associated with his provostry — a prior similar crisis — is the more conspicuous²⁹). The second of the two copies, Clm 27214, has still more, later Ursberg material. It contains a manuscript version of Kaspar Brusch's elegiac catalog of Ursberg prelates to A.D. 1551³⁰), as well as his etymological «Topographia» and «Triplices Gubernatores Urspergensis Cenobii»³¹). Brusch's work on Ursberg, an important source for later students of both Burchard and his monastery, shows close dependence on Weissung, but exacerbates the confusion he left behind.

Brusch's history of German monastic foundations, *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum*, in both its printed version and in the Clm 27214 manuscript copy of the Ursberg entry³²), is explicit on points on which Weissung had been vague and includes additional information on the eighth provost of Ursberg:

²⁹) From Weissung's account of the historian-prelate, whom he does not even identify as a historian, *Catalogus* continues with synopses of the accomplishments of Ursberg's abbots and provosts through Thomas Mang, the author's own superior. A few additional leaves, recording the history of the abbey from Weissung's close to the fire of 1525, follow in both manuscripts: Clm 27213, fols. 34r-38v; Clm 27214, fols. 16r-17r. Their presence only emphasizes the principal author's, Weissung's, intention that his historical *Catalogus* be interpreted as of direct relevance to Ursberg's contemporary difficulties. Here an abundance of eyewitness information completely transforms the pattern of Weissung's *Catalogus*. Under the new title, «Narratio», the semi-biographical entries which were at first, like the one on Burchard, skeletal and then grew longer as they approached the sixteenth century, explode with eyewitness detail into a running account. Ursberg's sacking during the Peasants' Revolt was at once the motivation for this suddenly rich record and for its sudden end. The longer «Narratio» continuation in Clm 27213 is truncated, but there is no reason to believe that it originally extended past A.D. 1525, since the number of canons at Ursberg was thereafter so reduced that in 1527 five were sent as reinforcements from Osterhofen. Cf. Backmund, *Chorherrenorden*, p. 205.

³⁰) Clm 27214, fols. 22r-38v.

³¹) Clm 27214, fols. 19r-21r.

³²) Clm 27214, fols. 24v-25r.

Burcardus patria Biberacensis, antea
 Praepositus Schussenriedanus.
 Saeviit hoc regnante iterum Vulcanus in aedem,
 In cineres pene, ut tota soluta foret:
 Per duo lustra datas cum vix tenuisset habenas
 Burcardus, multa vir pietate bonus.
 Sed post hanc miseram cladem et lachrymabile fatum,
 Bissenos menses cum superasset adhuc,
 Tristitia et maerore gravi concussus, ad astra
 Concessit mundo ex hoc miseroque lacu.
 Obiit... anno Christi 1226³³).

Brusch went beyond Weissung in naming Burchard's birthplace as Biberach and listing Schussenried as his earlier provosty. He was more specific than Weissung had been in assigning Burchard's death to 1226. «Per duo lustra»: Brusch pointed to 1225 as the year of the fire which, with Weissung, he identified as the indirect cause of the provost's final illness. *Lustrum*, though, might be understood loosely — not as exactly five years, but as a period of several years³⁴). «Bissenos menses» is similarly vague; Brusch seems to have used the phrase because it suited the needs of his elegiac meter, not because he was concerned to say that Burchard lived exactly twelve months after the disaster. Because his elegy on Burchard is structured closely on Weissung's, it is clear that Brusch consulted the scholiarch's history, abusing it in his attempt to clarify obvious confusions. But Brusch clearly had some source independent of Weissung for the provost's early life.

That source's exact nature is unclear. Brusch's introduction to his published work on Ursberg states that he wrote the elegiac celebration of the abbey when he was eighteen, or in 1527. Embarrassedly, the humanist acknowledges that the poem is «satis puerile» and rehearses events «mediocriter», but he retains it in his monastic history nearly twenty-five years later because it is despite its defects more attractive than a «nudum catalogum» — he seems to mean Weissung's³⁵). The title

³³) K. Brusch, *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum* (Sulzbach, 1682), p. 602. Brusch's work had originally been published in Ingolstadt in 1551.

³⁴) Cf. Lewis and Short, *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis*. *Lustrum* was a favorite classicizing expression of Brusch's. He used it also concerning the fifth Ursberg provost, Ulrich II: p. 597: «Cumque gubernator per bis duo lustra fuisset/Dexter, ad Elysium migrat ab orbe pium».

³⁵) Brusch, p. 596: «Celebratum est totum hoc coenobium a me et prolixo carmine, anno aetatis meae 19. quod quia omnes ejus praepositos et abbates complectitur, ac mediocriter totius coenobii annales recitat, malui illud quam nudum catalogum studioso antiquitatis lectori obtrudere; alioqui carmen satis puerile facile passus essem perire».

of Bruschi's elegiacs on Burchard, mentioning both Biberach and Schussenried, is the same in *Monasteriorum* as in Clm 27214. There is no reason to assume that the latter is not his 1527 autograph. Bruschi must either have revised the poem between 1527 and 1551 to incorporate facts he subsequently uncovered or Weissung must have overlooked information at Ursberg about Burchard's early life which the young historian found there a few years later.

The former possibility is the more likely. In Bruschi's list of prelates at Schussenried, Burchard's first Premonstratensian house, he included the same biographical data on Burchard which he added to the information in Weissung's *Catalogus* for Ursberg:

5. *Burcardus*, ex Biberaco natus, vir praeclare doctus, praepositus tandem Urspergensis coenobii anno Domini 1215. designatus, cum ibi praefuisset 10. annis et aliquot mensibus, obiit anno Domini 1226³⁶).

Bruschi thus seems to have used a Schussenried, not an Ursberg source for his statement on Burchard's birthplace. Why more information about the provost-historian should have been preserved at the former foundation, where he was prelate for fewer years and where *UC*'s biographical notices suggest that he was rarely in residence, than at the older and, in the thirteenth century, more important Ursberg house is at first unclear³⁷). An intimation emerges, however, from Bruschi's text. According to Bruschi, Burchard was known at Schussenried as a learned cleric from a local village. This information may have been lost fortuitously at Ursberg or at some point in the tradition of the abbey history before Weissung it may have been forgotten as irrelevant, even suppressed, because neither his scholarship nor his origin had helped Burchard rebuild burned Ursberg.

Bruschi had been able to decide that Weissung meant to say that Burchard was prelate at Ursberg for eleven, not twenty-two years, because the Schussenried records available to him and not to Weissung supported the former length of tenure. He concluded that Burchard died

³⁶) Bruschi, p. 538. Gronau was persuaded by Bruschi's inaccuracy on the mortgage of 1200 that his Ursberg information was generally careless. He suggests that the «10. annis et aliquot mensibus» of this entry contradicts Bruschi's notice on Burchard's tenure at Ursberg: p. 67. It is, however, not at all contradictory. Bruschi simply used vague and florid expressions in both instances when he meant eleven years.

³⁷) Cf. Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, pp. 83, 86. Ursberg was older than Schussenried and had an associated house of canonesses, as the latter did not.

at the end of his eleven years in office, and his judgment was uniformly accepted in subsequent attention to Burchard and *UC* up until Gronau's incisive criticism. C. L. Hugo's great eighteenth-century synthesis of Premonstratensian sources, *Annales Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, made extensive use of Brusch's work. Like *Monasteriorum*, it omitted any reference to Burchard's literary activity in its history of Ursberg and accepted 1226 as the date of his death³⁸). The entry for Burchard in Hugo's list of Schussenried provosts, as in Brusch's, emphasized that Burchard was an outstanding scholar. On the basis of a document preserved at that monastery, it added the information that the provost procured a papal privilege for Schussenried in 1210. Hugo's continuous narrative of Schussenried events offered the first explicitly negative comment on Burchard's leadership in the literature on his life and provosty:

Post haec elegerunt quemdam Burchardum, natione de *Biberach*, qui ibidem suscepit habitum, religionemque, hominem litteratum valde, sed sub cuius regimine ecclesia in aliquo defecit, in nullo vero penitus profecit³⁹).

Hugo showed no awareness that an earlier source, Weissung's *Catalogus*, had indicated confusion over Burchard's dates. Most of what he, like Brusch, knew about Burchard derived ultimately from Schussenried, not from Ursberg, and at the former house there seemed to be no doubt over when he had been provost, or what kind of a provost. Hugo's successor G. Lienhardt, author of a literary history of the Norbertines, again noticed the obscurity in the Ursberg source for Burchard's death and his relationship to the monastery fire of the 1220's. Lienhardt's suggestions for the solution to the problem have been largely ignored, but they are nevertheless constructive. His hypothesis concerning Burchard's death, the election of Conrad of Liechtenau, and the authorship of the chronicle variously attributed to each is, however, best considered in the light of evidence for the contemporary history of Schussenried and Ursberg, some of which was consulted by Hugo, and some of which has only subsequently come to light⁴⁰).

³⁸) C. L. Hugo, *Sacri et canonici ordinis Praemonstratensis annales*, II (Nancy, 1736), cols. 1150-1151: «BURCHARDUS, iterata devastatione, in cineres redactam luxit Urspergam; ast animum supra fortunam attolens, pro viribus ex ruinis excitavit. Undecimo regiminis anno in cineres ipse mortalis abiit 1226».

³⁹) Hugo, II, col. 823.

⁴⁰) Subsequent biographical discussions are based on those discussed here, principally

BURCHARD'S SCHUSSENRIED

Hugo recorded that Burchard's predecessor in the prelacy of Schussenried was named Luther. He was a pious man but an incompetent: «... homo simplex, bonus et rectus corde ... sed rerum agendarum incapax ...». Luther was forced to resign⁴¹). The house needed a strong defender. In the last years of the twelfth century Conrad, the founder of Schussenried, had died. The monastery subsequently became an object of contention between Zäringen and Hohenstaufen. Conrad of Swabia, Barbarossa's son, gave his kinsman Conrad of Wartenberg free hand to eject the canons. They took temporary refuge at their mother-house, Weissenau, until a settlement was reached and they were allowed to return home⁴²).

G. A. Christmann, the eighteenth-century editor of a partial version of Burchard's history, quoted a Schussenried source which has subsequently disappeared to the effect that Burchard became provost in 1209, or shortly after the community's return to Schussenried⁴³). That date is compatible with Hugo's less specific information⁴⁴), as well as with *UC*'s statement that its author became a white canon in 1207⁴⁵). Burchard then took charge at Schussenried when a simple, devout provost had been unable through moral leadership alone to answer the community's pressing practical needs. The candidate chosen to replace the deposed Luther must have been perceived by the members of the community as quite different from him. The conclusion need not follow that Burchard was especially worldly; indeed, Hugo's list of Schussenried provosts at least calls him «religione conspicuus»⁴⁶). It nevertheless seems clear, even without hindsight reference to Burchard's

on Weissung's: e.g. C. Khamm, *Hierarchia Augustana*, III (Augsburg, 1715), p. 497; G. A. Christmann, in [Burchard], *Historia Friderici* (Ulm, 1790), p. xiii; L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'ordre de Prémontré: Dictionnaire bio-bibliographique*, I (Brussels 1899, rpt. Geneva 1971), p. 95.

⁴¹) Hugo, II, col. 825.

⁴²) This description of the difficulties of Schussenried c. A.D. 1200 is based on Christmann: pp. xx-xxi. The close relationship between Weissenau and Schussenried perhaps explains why Burchard's death received special notice in the former's necrology.

⁴³) Christmann, p. xix: «... teste perantiqua ibidem asservata tabula chronographica praepositorum ac abbatum imperialis canoniae Sorethanae, dicente: 'Regimen coepit anno 1209'». The same «perantiqua ... tabula» had probably been available to Brusch.

⁴⁴) Hugo, II, col. 825.

⁴⁵) *UC*, p. 96.

⁴⁶) Hugo, II, col. 825.

later achievements at the papal curia, that his fellows believed this scholarly man could save their house from the aggression of its secular neighbors and wrest it from a general downhill course.

Burchard's experience at Rome, cited above among the autobiographical details he offers in the *UC* text, had evidently lent him a reputation for administrative skill. It seemed at first well-founded. The new provost left Swabia almost immediately after he was chosen; the winning of a papal privilege must have been part of his mandate. On February 13, 1211, Innocent III issued a letter of protection «dilectis filis preposito et fratribus de Sorech, Premonstratensis ordinis»⁴⁷). The document shows no witnesses, though the *bull*a remains attached; Burchard's direct agency is thus unprovable. A later hand inserted the initial «B.» before «preposito»⁴⁸). Subsequent addition of an initial does not argue powerfully for Burchard's participation in Schussenried's acquisition of a privilege; it is nevertheless extremely probable that the happy result of the Roman venture ensuing from his first election to prelate was Burchard's personal accomplishment.

Thus far, Burchard's career had been generally successful. He later mentioned his acquaintance with Conrad, future abbot of Prémontré⁴⁹). Their relationship, as Abel suggested, probably stemmed from the years when Burchard was provost of Schussenried and when Conrad was provost of its mother-house, Weissenau⁵⁰). Burchard must, T. Lindner further proposed, have known from his Schussenried period the great Swabian *Reichsministerialen* whom his history later praised: among others Anselm of Justingen, whom he called «vir ingenuus»⁵¹), and Henry of Waldburg, whom he said nearly saved Philip of Swabia by frightening the King's assassin with a shout⁵²).

Nevertheless, according to Hugo's late testimony internal affairs at the house were not in good order under Burchard despite the provost's success with Innocent's curia and the wide contacts among spiritual and

⁴⁷) Hugo, Prob. II, col. 525; *Wirttembergisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Königliches Staatsarchiv, Stuttgart, II (Stuttgart, 1858), p. 384. *Wirt. Urk.*'s spelling maintained.

⁴⁸) *Wirt. Urk.*, II, 385, n. 1.

⁴⁹) *UC*, p. 75.

⁵⁰) O. Abel, «Die Ursperger Chronik», *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 11 (1858), p. 102-103; Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 88-89.

⁵¹) *UC*, p. 99.

⁵²) *UC*, p. 90. T. Lindner further suggested that Burchard's favorable mention of these old friends was a species of thanks: «Zum Chronicon Urspergense», *Neues Archiv* 10 (1891), p. 119.

temporal magnates which it was later clear that he had established. Hugo was hardly specific: «... ecclesia in aliquo deficit ...». He might have meant simply that the number of canons declined — surprising, in view of the papal privilege of 1211. Innocent's protection, though, might not have been immediately felt. Hugo's parallel clause is more strongly critical: «... in nullo vero penitus profecit»⁵³). Hugo here used *penitus* in the emphatic rather than the locative sense, but he must still have meant that nothing was fully succeeding inside Schussenried. Objectively, Burchard had done well by the house in winning a papal charter. His moral leadership must on the other hand have been so relatively poor that it clouded the record of his curial achievement. Lindner attributed Burchard's difficulties in his first provosty to his continual absence⁵⁴). The prelate seems from *UC*'s autobiographical notices to have been in Italy for at least three of his six years in office. It is not difficult to imagine that the community which had recently been nearly extinguished should have become discouraged during the long travels of Burchard.

The troubles of the first decade of the thirteenth century continued to plague Schussenried throughout the next. Burchard's successor Conrad of Roth⁵⁵) died only three years after his election. Meinfrid, the seventh provost, died after two years, during which time he had proved a mixed blessing to the house. Hugo points out ironically, «Sciebat enim res bene congregare, sed minus provide dispensare»⁵⁶). The convent had experienced a debilitating series of ineffectual provosts during the especially tumultuous reigns of Philip and of the Welf Otto. The scholar Burchard from Biberach cannot have been expected to work miracles, but even among this undistinguished company he was more conspicuous for what he did not accomplish than for what he did. And the pattern of the historian's subsequent career at Ursberg suggests that absence may not have been Burchard's only failing as Schussenried's provost.

BURCHARD'S URSBERG

Ursberg suffered worse in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century than did Schussenried. When Burchard arrived there in 1215, it needed protection and strong governance even more than had his former house.

⁵³) Hugo, II, col. 823.

⁵⁴) T. Lindner, p. 117.

⁵⁵) That Burchard's successors both at Schussenried and at Ursberg were evidently of noble families is of independent significance.

⁵⁶) Hugo, II, col. 823.

The fires which were to plague the abbey until its secularization in 1803 had long since begun⁵⁷). Ursberg's necrology shows two fires before A.D. 1200, one on May 15, 1142⁵⁸) and the other on April 3, 1199⁵⁹). The house would be burned again during the wars of religion of Weissung's time and the Swedish invasion of 1632; there had been at least one more fire, Weissung has been seen to assert, during the provostry of the chronicler Burchard. The necrology does not, however, support *Catalogus's* record of a fire in the 1220's.

Gronau suggested that Weissung's attribution of a fire to Burchard's Ursberg years was only the result of the sixteenth-century historian's numerical and chronological confusion. Discussing the misfortunes of the community in his eulogy of the founder, Werner of Schwabeck, Weissung had stated, «proinde secundario a prima fundacione anno 99. in libro capitulari invenio combustum esse»⁶⁰). The date of Ursberg's foundation, Weissung supposed, was A.D. 1125. He then seems to have meant that there was a fire in 1224. Gronau believed that Weissung had misinterpreted an earlier source, the book of charters he called «liber capitularis». As Gronau saw it, that source indicated burning in the ninety-ninth year of the century, but Weissung thought it meant in the ninety-ninth year of the foundation. Gronau saw corroboration for the necrology's clear notice and what he thus interpreted as Weissung's garbled notice for fire in 1199 in the latter's statement in his notice of Burchard's predecessor Frederick, «totumque coenobium structuris post combustionem roboraverunt»⁶¹).

Gronau was surely correct in crediting the necrology entry concerning 1199; if Frederick, whose provostry began in 1207, rebuilt the monastery, then it must have been burned shortly before. Although, as Backmund emphasized, there is no contemporary evidence for a third

⁵⁷) Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 86; *Chorherrenorden*, p. 205.

⁵⁸) *Necr. Urs.*, p. 133. Backmund says that the 1142 fire was, according to Ursberg tradition, started by the carelessness of the nuns. This story, he points out, may have been invented to account for the disappearance of canonesses from the originally double monastery: *Chorherrenorden*, pp. 205-6.

⁵⁹) *Necr. Urs.*, p. 131. Both necrology entries for monastery fires are written in at the end of the entry for the relevant day. This casts some doubt on the validity of the information, since it seems to have been added late. Backmund does not note the fire of 1199: *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 86. There seems to be no reason to question the necrology here, however, since Weissung's account tends to confirm it. *UC* mentions no fires in the history of the monastery.

⁶⁰) Weissung, fols. 15v-16r.

⁶¹) Weissung, fol. 18r. Cf. Gronau, pp. 80-81.

fire under Burchard⁶²), Gronau still seems to have been unjustified in questioning Weissung's assertion that the house was again destroyed when he was there. Weissung's dating of a fire in his eulogy of Werner to the ninety-ninth year after Ursberg's foundation, or 1224 — as opposed to his vaguer assignment of fire to Burchard's eleventh year, or 1226 — was accepted by G. Kornmann, the last Ursberg prior, in the history he wrote to commemorate the Premonstatensian house upon its dissolution. Kornmann's work, a six-volume manuscript preserved in the Augsburg episcopal archive, offers little previously unknown information on Burchard's period, but is nevertheless significant because it assembles virtually all extant historical and documentary sources and addresses them in an informed and balanced discussion. The last prior was intimately familiar with oral and written traditions within the abbey; he had ready to hand Ursberg's charters, Weissung's *Catalogus*, and subsequent commentary⁶³).

Kornmann, like his predecessor Weissung — and in this common emphasis the two Ursberg historians reflected respective contemporary crises — saw the fires which had repeatedly ravaged Ursberg as important turning points for the house. The volumes of his manuscript history are divided among five books. Each of the first four books culminates in a monastery fire. The first recounts Ursberg's history to the fire of 1142, the second to the fire of 1224, the third to 1525, and the fourth to 1631. Each section in fact includes as an epilogue a record of the aftermath of its terminal fire; thus the second book ends in 1240 with Conrad of Liechtenau's death, not in 1224, after Kornmann's dating of the fire of Burchard's time from which Conrad's leadership brought recovery. Kornmann's judgment on fire in the 1220's, it is immediately clear, had been quite different from Gronau's. The prior-historian, in choosing to believe Weissung's assignment of a fire to Burchard's prelacy, structured his long work according to an assumption which Gronau then disputed. Backmund has agreed with Kornmann rather

⁶²) Backmund, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 10, n. 40.

⁶³) The abbey history, referred to in previous literature as MS. 133, Bischöfliche Ordinariatsbibliothek, has since the Second World War been housed with the Bischöfliches Archiv. The manuscript, more properly entitled *Chronica prioris Ursbergensis* (see Kornmann, I, p. 35), was composed over several years, c. 1796-1803 (see marginal note, title page cited), presumably between the time secularization seemed imminent and when it actually took place; it was dedicated to the last abbot, Alois (see I, p. 37-9). Kornmann gave his own copy to Augsburg's episcopal library in 1818, as a letter now loose inside the front cover of the first volume indicates.

than with Gronau⁶⁴). The last Ursberg prior's careful argument and linkage of evidence for contemporary conflict between the canons and local baronage with records of monastery fire indeed retain interest for the study of Burchard's monastery and his leadership there.

Kornmann, in advancing his novel interpretation of Weissung, made a concerted attempt to account for all aspects of *Catalogus*' record of burnings and to integrate it with Burchard's *UC* notices of Swabian events⁶⁵). He adduced documentary evidence for the relationship of Burchard's Ursberg to both its secular advocacy and the Staufer monarchy. Kornmann thereby created a more plausible and well-detailed scenario for the end of Burchard's prelacy than earlier or later critics of

⁶⁴) Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 86; *Chorherrenorden*, p. 203.

⁶⁵) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, pp. 10-12: «Postquam Burchardus per novem annos multa cum pietate clavum praepositurae decuisset, in gravissimam incidit calamitatem. Monasterium enim quod vix e primo incendio elusitatum est, anno 1224, non 1226 uti omnes hucusque scripserunt, iterata devastatione: uti testatur Joannes Weissung canonicus Ursbergensis in praefatione catalogi sui praepositorum et abbatum canonio Ursimontano his verbis: Primario a primo fundatione anno 17mo; secundario anno 99mo in libro capitulari invenio combustum esse coenobium — verba, quod hactenus aut cognita aut ponderata non sunt — in cineres redactum luxit Burchardus. [Cf. Weissung, fols. 15v-16r.]

«Ut autem modus quo haec facta sunt, eo melius intelligatur, sequentia bene notanda sunt. Anno D. 1210, uti abbas noster in chronico scribit, Otto excommunicatus denuntiatur. Tunc principes Alemannie convenientes Fridericum regem Siciliae elegerunt in Imperatorem coronandum. Nuntios itaque acquirunt, qui hanc suam electionem tam in civitate Romana, quam apud praefatum Fridericum regem Siciliae promoveant. Mittuntur in hac legatione nobilis vir Heinricus de Nifen et Anselmus de Justingen vir ingenuus, promittunturque eis pro expensis et itinere quindecies centenae marcae de rebus imperii solvendo. [Cf. *UC*, p. 99.]

«Hac igitur ratione Heinricus occasionem nactus est, ut monasterium nostrum, quod non nisi aegerrime dimiserat, iterum in suam redigerat potestatem. Effecerat enim, ut novus imperator Fridericus II. praefati monasterii advocatiam denuo pro 200 marcis argenti titulo pignoris filio suo Alberto obligaret. Quo facto tantam ibidem coegit iterum exercere tyrannidem, ut nequaquam potuerit Ecclesia conventualis existere. [Cf. *UC*, p. 92.] Albertus autem eius filius adeo egregie patrem imitatus, et jure advocatio ita abusus est, ut demum repugnans monasterium ad genium illius saeculi, exitiis flammis coercere non dubitaverit.

«Quare canonici Ursbergenses Heinricum regem, imperatoris Friderici II filium, quum in Germania, utpote angelus pacis, ad coadunandos principes, et componendas eorum discordias pervenisset, Augusto advenit, atque a tam exitiali advocatia liberari, imperiumque sub alis, iterum suscipi humillimis et instantissimis precibus, Deo opitulante, efflagita sunt, id quod charta Heinrici VII. Romanorum regis optime adhuc conservata conceptis verbis exprimit, in libro documentorum discripta nro. VII.

«Tandem Burchardus, postquam monasterium duobus annis, quantum potuit, aedificavit, ad advocatia Alberti de Nifen liberavit, privilegiis et possessionibus ampliavit, suis denique scriptis nobilitavit, praeclaris meritis dives ingressus est coelum anno 1226».

Much of Kornmann's biographical information on Burchard is based on *UC*. His psychological interpretation is drawn from Hugo.

UC, although he made no attempt to link circumstances in the monastery to the chronicle's composition and, like all students of Ursberg until Gronau except for Lienhardt, he still believed that the historian had died in 1226.

The emphasis rightly placed by Kornmann on the interaction between monastic foundation and advocate is crucial to interpretation of Ursberg's history from its foundation to the time of Conrad of Liechtenau. Following the twelfth century, as A. Hauck notes, the transfer of ecclesiastical advocacies from their original holders increased⁶⁶). Ursberg's experience was well in line with this general pattern of developments. Adelgotz, son of Ursberg's founder Werner of Schwabeck, died without heirs in 1162⁶⁷). Frederick Barbarossa then inherited Schwabeck land and rights, but alienated Ursberg's advocacy to the Niffen family of Schloss Neuburg. In 1173, he transferred the advocacy to the counts Degenhard. Thus in the first fifty years of its existence the Premonstratensian house had seen its nominal protectorate pass by escheat and in benefice from its initial patrons to the king, then to two unrelated baronial families whose interest in the spiritual health of the community was presumably scant⁶⁸).

The Niffen evidently parted with their Ursberg advocacy only unwillingly; they bought it back from Philip of Swabia some twenty-five years later. Brusch assigned the date of the new Niffen advocacy to 1200, saying that the canons quickly purchased their freedom from this onerous protection for one hundred marks; Brusch, however, knew nothing of the mortgaging of Ursberg under Philip of Swabia except what he learned from the diatribe against the king in UC. This passage, as the first article in this series has shown, is a late interpolation into Burchard's chronicle. It is nevertheless an important source for his monastery's history, and thus requires careful consideration⁶⁹).

⁶⁶) A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 329-331. For discussion of the German terms *Vogt* (advocate), *Vogtei* (advocacy) and *Verpfändung* (mortgage), which grow from the specifically German institution of the *Eigenkirche*, see the relevant articles in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. M. Buchberger, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Freiburg i. B., 1930-1938); U. Stutz, «The Proprietary Church as an Element of Mediaeval Germanic Ecclesiastical Law», in *Mediaeval Germany, 911-1250: Essays by German Historians*, trans. G. Barraclough (Oxford, 1938), II, pp. 35-70.

⁶⁷) Cf. Backmund, *Chorherrenorden*, p. 203.

⁶⁸) This summary of the history of Ursberg's advocacy is based on G. Schrötter's: «Zum 800 jährigen Bestehen von Ursberg 1125-1925», in *Ursberg-Kalendar 1926* (Munich, 1926), p. 34.

⁶⁹) Brusch, p. 595: «Oppignoratum fuit hoc coenobium anno Christi 1200. Bertholdo a

The author of the diatribe meticulously set the event in its historical perspective. He made it clear that this mortgage was arranged by Philip purely as a financial expedient. He then explained how the specific circumstances of mortgaging arose. When the good provost Grimo had been in charge of the abbey, the polemicist said, no king had allowed disruptive secular influence out of respect for him. When Grimo died — in 1174, according to calculation based on Weissung⁷⁰) — a provost entirely unlike him was elected. Grimo's successor's stupidity, weakness, and inarticulateness caused Barbarossa to appoint his *ministerialis* Degenhard as advocate. Degenhard's stewardship was not burdensome, although the later advocacy of the Niffen tended to the destruction of the Ursberg community. The author of the diatribe against Philip thus did not blame Barbarossa for instituting advocacy, rather castigated his son for granting it to an irresponsible party⁷¹).

Oddly, the *UC* invective against Philip omits the name of the provost whose incompetence stimulated Frederick I's gift of rights over the monastery to a secular protector. A canon named Walter in fact followed Grimo in the provosty, but Weissung's statement that Walter fulfilled his duty «sine maculis»⁷²) is hardly compatible with *UC*'s scathing denunciation. The author of the invective against Philip wrote before Weissung, but his information need not on that account be valued more highly since his text is obviously tendentious. If he did not know the name of the prelate under whom the abbey experienced its first mortgaging, he probably knew little else about him, and invented details of mental and physical inadequacy to account for Barbarossa's action⁷³). The anti-Philip author knew similarly little about Ulrich, the fifth provost, whom he said without offering a specific name led the canons to redeem their house's mortgage to the Niffen.

The individual who wrote pejoratively in *UC* about Barbarossa's son

Neiffen, sed monachi se tandem redemerunt a Neiffensium tyrannide centum auri marcis, ut testatur abbas Urspergensis, celebris chronographus». Cf. *UC*, p. 92; «Burchard I», pp. 126 ff. Brusch imitates the interpolator's use of *tyrannis*, but he mistakes one hundred marks of gold for two hundred marks of silver. There was of course no gold coinage in southern Germany during the early thirteenth century. Brusch includes no notice of this or a later mortgage of Ursberg in his elegiac catalog, this because he so closely followed Weissung, who likewise mentioned neither in his list of prelates.

⁷⁰) Cf. Simson, in *UC*, p. 93, n. 1.

⁷¹) *UC*, p. 92-93.

⁷²) Weissung, fol. 17r.

⁷³) As Gronau pointed out, Weissung showed no familiarity with this *UC* passage in his entry on Walter, rather praised him for his leadership: p. 74.

nevertheless was probably familiar with documentary evidence for the monastery's troubles with the Niffen in the earliest thirteenth century, because he was correct in saying that Ursberg secured its own liberation from the Niffen as soon as it was clear how dangerous they were⁷⁴). Just as the interpolated invective indicated, the surviving text of a charter of Philip of Swabia dated to March 17, 1202, and issued at Schwäbisch-Hall granted the advocacy of Ursberg to Berthold of Niffen for two hundred marks. The king reversed this action almost immediately. A royal charter of the same day confirmed that the canons of Ursberg had until the feast of John the Baptist of the same year (June 24) themselves to collect two hundred marks to repay Berthold for his expenditure and avoid molestation by him for four years⁷⁵). Philip's second diploma alleged that he allowed the convent to buy its liberation because he had repented of causing the religious there any disturbance: «Quod cum aliquantulum praeter justitiam fecisse videamur ...». In fact Philip probably had the resale in mind all along or was indifferent to it, since his involvement was purely for financial profit⁷⁶).

If Ursberg had indeed, as the later abbey necrology attests, been burned in 1199 it had substantially recovered, else it could not in 1202 have resisted the threat of the Niffen counts. The canons could not, however, raise the necessary funds in less than three months; perhaps the grace period allowed by Philip is symptomatic that burning did take place at the end of the twelfth century. The next decade showed continued recovery. Ulrich, who had engineered the release from Niffen advocacy, was a good provost; his successor Frederick, who died in 1215, obtained a papal privilege in 1209. Innocent III confirmed Ursberg's property rights, listing nine churches and thirty-eight outlying properties from the Lechfeld to the Alps, as well as vineyards on the Main⁷⁷). As

⁷⁴) The text of Philip's privilege for Berthold and Albrecht of Niffen survives, interestingly, in a manuscript of Peutingen's, Stuttgart hist. fol. 243, fol. 24: cf. *Regesta imperii*, ed. J.F. Böhmer, pt. 5, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard, 1198-1272*, rev. J. Ficker and E. Winkelmann, 3 vols. (Innsbruck, 1881-1901), Philip 66.

⁷⁵) *Reg. Imp.*, Philip 2113. Text quoted below from Kornmann, II, bk. 2, doc. p. 3.

⁷⁶) There is some question as to the date of the mortgage, though none as to the release from it, since Peutingen's notes date the former to 1201. Böhmer queried Peutingen's date and Ficker discarded it, presumably on the basis of the release's text. Cf. *Reg. Imp.*, Philip 66. Clearly the release followed quickly after Philip's sale of rights over Ursberg to the Niffen; on the other hand it is difficult to imagine how the canons might have had time to lodge a protest unless the entire series of events had been prearranged.

⁷⁷) *Wirt. Urk.*, II, pp. 374-378. Text also in Kornmann, II, bk. 2, doc. pp. 5 ff.; Hugo, Prob. II, cols. 709-711.

Kornmann observed, the issuance of the privilege of 1209 ensued quickly upon Frederick's entry into office, and he had probably been elected with this objective⁷⁸). The analogy to Burchard's election at Schussenried and acquisition of a papal protection in 1211 emphasizes that Swabia remained turbulent after the assassination of Philip put a temporary end to the Welf-Staufer contest for the crown, and that monastic houses turned increasingly to Rome for guarantees of independence.

Innocent's privilege for Ursberg may not have had much immediate effect, at least in protecting the house from the Niffen. A. Schrötter suggests that the counts may already in 1210 have recovered their stewardship of Ursberg. As Burchard himself wrote, in 1210 the magnates who had elected Frederick II as anti-king gave Anselm of Justingen and Henry of Niffen fifteen hundred marks to bring the Sicilian prince north to his German kingdom⁷⁹). Henry may have used part of this share to buy back the Premonstratensian convent⁸⁰), if indeed it had not reverted to his family at the end of the four-year period stipulated in the release of 1202. At some point during or before Burchard's provosty, it is clear, the Niffen did regain their advocacy for a second time. No new charter of mortgage exists, but a charter of release from mortgage similar to that of March 17, 1202 was preserved at Ursberg. It indicates that at Augsburg on November 13, 1226, Henry VII freed the monastery previously entrusted to the Niffen⁸¹). Henry's charter further announces that he is assuming Ursberg «sub nostram protectionem» and affirming all the privileges of its early period under Conradi III and Frederick Barbarossa. The diploma's final clause is most significant:

Adjicimus etiam ut quilibet, cui ad electionem fratrum commitimus, ut ipsos vice nostra defendat, et jura nostra et ipsorum tueatur. Si fuerit eis gravis, aut damnosus seu inutilis, cum hoc nostre innotuerit majestati, ad petitionem fratrum alius defensor, quem petierint, ipsis concedatur.

⁷⁸) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 8.

⁷⁹) UC, p. 99.

⁸⁰) Schrötter, p. 34; cf. Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 11. On whose authority Henry might have assumed Ursberg's advocacy in 1210 is, however, unclear. It seems more plausible that Ursberg was among his rewards from the new king after the success of the perilous Italian expedition than that he left it with his son Albert before his departure, especially since Henry VII's later charter says that his father had alienated Ursberg's advocacy.

⁸¹) *Reg. imp.*, Henry 4022. Hugo had published the text of the royal charter, misattributing it to another king named Henry whose father had been a Frederick, Henry VI: Prob. II, cols. 708-709. Quotations from the text are as reproduced by Kornmann, II bk. 2, doc. pp. 18-21.

The Ursberg community would now effectively possess the right to elect its own secular advocate, an important freedom. Among the signers of the royal charter, including Siegfried bishop of Augsburg, the Wittelsbach duke of Bavaria and Henry of Niffen, is no representative of Ursberg itself — neither any of the canons nor their provost. As they had done in 1202, however, the Premonstratensians of Ursberg now themselves purchased freedom from the harassment of the Niffen for two hundred marks.

Exactly what form that harassment had taken is clear in the close analogy between Ursberg events of c. A.D. 1200 and c. c. 1225; that analogy in turn works to confirm events around those years only dubiously attested in sources and scholarship. When the canons raised their own ransom and brought it to a royal court in 1202, they did so several years after the house had been burned. When they repeated this payment nearly twenty-five years later they acted not long after another fire. As students of the foundation's history have consistently deduced, the Niffen advocates of Ursberg were responsible for its burnings⁸²). Whenever the monastery of which they were the nominal protectors failed to pay for their services and to yield satisfactory revenues, Henry and Albert of Niffen set a torch to it. The community then sought to terminate its relationship with them through royal agency.

The release from mortgage acquired under Henry VII held. Ursberg remained an imperial advocacy until the fourteenth century⁸³). Its escape from baronial protectorate in Burchard's time was not, however, exceptional. Just as the papal privilege granted to Schussenried during his provostry was one incident in Innocent III's curial expansion into the affairs of the Hohenstaufen north, so Ursberg's charter of imperial protection in 1226 was part of Henry VII's wide-ranging attempt to refurbish royal influence diminished during the civil war of his great-uncle's reign. Schussenried too was taken under royal supervision three months later⁸⁴).

Kornmann was probably right in accepting Weissung's assignment of fire to 1224; if Ursberg had been burned in 1226, it is difficult to imagine how the two hundred marks for the royal privilege of November 13 could

⁸²) E.g. Christmann, p. xxix; Backmund, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 10, n. 40.

⁸³) Backmund, *Chorherrenorden*, p. 203.

⁸⁴) C. F. Stälin, *Württembergische Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1841-1873), II, p. 733; cf. *Reg. Imp.*, Henry 4033.

so quickly have been raised⁸⁵). From Weissung's self-contradictory evidence, despite its increasingly confusing reinterpretation by subsequent students of Ursberg's history, it is at least clear that the troublesome Niffen advocate burned Ursberg toward the end of Burchard's prelatecy, and that the house was finally emancipated in the year in which he left office. That Burchard himself was active in winning the royal charter of 1226 is less clear. The only affirmative evidence for his direct involvement is the *UC* note on Ursberg in that year, which the first article in this series has indicated is generally recognized as a late addition:

Eodem anno ecclesia Urspergensis pro CC marcis, quas B. prepositus pro liberatione ecclesie persolvit, ab Alberto de Nünburc redimitur et fidem Hainrici regis datam in manu bone memorie Hainrici de Zuplingen, tum episcopi Ahistetensis, accepit. Insuper privilegia regis eiusdem, quod nunquam pro qualibet necessitate eadem ecclesia a defensione imperii alienaretur⁸⁶).

It seems at first peculiar that only the provost's initial is here included, as if the later writer knew only it. The entry shows no specific information, only what might have been compiled from a copy of the 1226 royal charter and a list of Ursberg provosts. If such were the sources from which it was produced, it is indeed possible that Burchard was not provost when the privilege was granted; the historian was prelate only to that year, and his successor may have taken office by November. An assumption that the old rather than the new prelate had been responsible for Ursberg's release from Niffen advocacy was natural, but not necessarily accurate.

Apart from the single dubious association of the historian Burchard with the imperial protection of 1226 in *UC*, there is no evidence that he was effective as Ursberg's provost. Weissung's «optime prepositi officium perfecit» hardly balances his notice that Burchard's Ursberg was burned and that he failed to complete its reconstruction. The Schussenried tradition that he had been a poor leader was thus not

⁸⁵) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 16. As Christmann noted, part of G. Lienhardt's rationale for suggesting that Burchard died after 1226 was his conclusion that a burned house cannot have instantly raised so much money: *Spiritus literarius Norbertinus* (Augsburg, 1771), p. xxix. The weight of Lienhardt's argument, though, was on the relationship between the fire and Burchard's death, not between the fire and the release from *Verpfändung*: pp. 130-131.

⁸⁶) *UC*, pp. 121-122.

contradicted by his later performance. Lindner suggested that Burchard may at least have been influential as a mediator in other local secular-ecclesiastical conflicts. Either he or his predecessor, Frederick, must have been the «prepositus de Ursberch» who, with the prelates of several other local monasteries, participated in a papal commission to end the count palatine Hugh of Tübingen's depredations against the Premonstratensian house at Marchtal⁸⁷). Neither Frederick nor Burchard was among the witnesses of Hugh's father Rudolf's surviving promise to restrain him; one of the two must, however, have participated in preliminary negotiations⁸⁸). Kornmann's text mentions, and his appendix includes, charters documenting gifts of real property to Ursberg during the period A.D. 1215-1226⁸⁹). At least the landholdings of the foundation were increased under Burchard's leadership.

The eighteenth-century Premonstratensian historian G. Lienhardt was thus the first scholar to realize that Burchard must have lived to 1229. Lienhardt attempted to save all the phenomena of the historian's life and the contemporary monastery, and his opinions assume new significance in light of Kornmann's persuasive dating of the fire during Burchard's prelacy to 1224. He suggested that Weissung's dates for Burchard's provosty were all three years off: «Majores nostros in — et circa — chronologiam fuisse vel omnino incurios, vel saltem minus exactos et accuratos»⁹⁰). His own solution took considerable liberty with chronological evidence. Burchard died in 1229, he proposed; Ursberg must then have been burned in 1228. Such a reconstruction required no rearrangement of Weissung's testimony for Conrad of Liechtenau's provosty. He may still have held office for fourteen years ending in 1240, if only it might be assumed that in 1226 he was elected coadjutor to an aged or ailing Burchard. Lienhardt's analysis was forcedly imaginative but, as he pointed out himself, it was no more so than other attempts to account for Burchard's career; «... pro me respondeant illi, quibus meliora et certiora documenta ad manus sunt»⁹¹). The issues of

⁸⁷) Lindner, p. 118.

⁸⁸) *Wirt. Urk.*, III, pp. 41-44. The extant charter, though dated to 1216, must be a bungled copy, since Diethelm, the bishop of Constance whom it says headed the papal commission had been dead since 1206. Cf. *Wirt. Urk.*, III, p. 43 n. Hence the confusion over whether Frederick or Burchard was provost of Ursberg during the events at issue.

⁸⁹) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 10; bk. 2, doc. pp. 13-17. Cf. F. L. Baumann, «Aus dem Registrum fundationis Urspergensis», *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, 4 (1881), 206.

⁹⁰) Lienhardt, p. 132.

⁹¹) Lienhardt, p. 133.

Burchard's death and Ursberg's early thirteenth-century crisis must remain problematic, Lienhardt anticipated, unless new evidence were forthcoming.

No new materials have emerged, but Lienhardt's conjectures had been sensitive. Sympathy for Burchard has almost without exception colored scholarship on the chronicle and the provost's career. Lienhardt's was dispassionate enough to come close to asserting what other historians have consistently avoided: that Burchard was forced out of office at Ursberg because he failed to provide for the monastery's needs. Only two provosts of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Premonstratensian house left office before they died. The eighth provost, Burchard, whose resignation or deposition can only be inferred from indirect evidence, was the first. The next was Hermann, provost from A.D. 1262 to 1268. No other Ursberg prelate stepped down until Conrad III resigned in 1324⁹²). Departure from prelacy was then uncommon. Perhaps Weissung's principal source-book, his «vetustissimus liber», has obscured Burchard's discomfiture by including only his term of office, with no information on his death; perhaps it offered no length for his provosty at all, and Weissung had been forced to deduce it from the beginning of his successor's prelacy. A Burchard is included on the day of the provost's death in the Ursberg necrology, but he did not necessarily even die in that house.

Lienhardt had been correct in arguing that Weissung's information on Burchard was garbled and that it obscured the provost's incapability, but he need not therefore have deduced that fire did not take place at Ursberg until 1228. On the point of when burning occurred, Kornmann was perhaps closer to the truth. Fire struck some months, perhaps a year or two, before the end of Burchard's provosty. The monastery did not begin to rebound from the disaster until a new prelate took office. The former provost remained at Ursberg; he was probably not co-provost with Conrad, or rather Conrad was probably not his coadjutor. Burchard had been unable to help Ursberg safely through the violent disruption accompanying the cesura of imperial control in Swabia between Henry VI's and his son Frederick's reigns. There is no reason to believe that, in 1226, he did not focus his energies on a different obedience.

⁹²) Backmund, *Mon. Praem.*, I, p. 87; cf. Weissung, *passim*; Kornmann, I, bks. 1-2.

BURCHARD AND HIS SUCCESSOR CONRAD

Johannes Weissung strove in his *Catalogus* to prove Conrad of Liechtenau's authorship of *UC*, and he succeeded in convincing — to one degree or another and with the exception of Lienhardt — four centuries of critics. He surely believed the attribution, but his enthusiasm for it was the indirect result of Conrad's success as a prelate and his genealogical credentials. Burchard's successor was elected in a burned house by a discouraged community. The next time Ursberg would not be so easily destroyed. Conrad's gravestone, extant at the former Premonstratensian house, declares his most visible accomplishment; like Augustus, Conrad transformed his seat of authority: he found Ursberg wooden and he left it stone⁹³). Conrad was learned and he filled the convent's depleted library with books. He was so outstanding a provost that finally the great history of his predecessor Burchard, of which he perhaps fostered the composition, came to be considered his own.

Conrad thus succeeded everywhere Burchard had failed. Why he did can only be conjectured. Scholarly though he too was reputed to have been, none of his literary output survives. He may have been a better schoolmaster though less a scholar than the historian. He was, as a marginal note in Weissung's text affirms, a counsellor of Frederick II⁹⁴). His advice was presumably worth hearing; he must in any case have been a successful administrator, though the circumstances of renewed Hohenstaufen strength in which he had to work were surely less intractable than those of Burchard's Swabia, newly recovering from anarchy. The characteristic of Conrad's that returns again and again in accounts of his tenure at Ursberg and which stands in strongest contrast to Burchard is, however, not his organization of education and book-copying at Ursberg or his managerial expertise, but his family connections.

Clearly with laudatory reference to a sixteenth-century Lichtenauer bishop of Augsburg — and here the continued preeminence of the family across three centuries emphasizes its importance — Weissung refers to Burchard's successor as «Conradus natus ex nobili genere de liechtenaw»⁹⁵). Brusch echoes, «Nam cum natus erat generoso stemmate et

⁹³) Backmund, *Chorherrenorden*, pp. 204-5.

⁹⁴) Weissung, fol. 18v, l. marg.

⁹⁵) Weissung, fol. 18v.

ampla/Progenie, eximios nobilis inter avos»⁹⁶). Hugo repeats «genere nobilis»⁹⁷). Lienhardt, Goovaerts, Kornmann—all, following Weissung, praise Conrad's origin from the local comital house⁹⁸).

By contrast, as Gronau emphasized in arguing Weissung's tentatiousness regarding Conrad, Burchard was a genealogical nobody. Weissung had been able to say nothing about his social background. Brusch knew from Schussenried evidence that he was «patria Biberacensis» and «ex Biberaco natus» — only the place of his birth, nothing of his parents. Even Hugo was able to say simply that he was «natione de Biberach»⁹⁹). When Lienhardt first vaguely imputed nobility to Burchard's parents, calling him «a parentibus minime plebeis natus»¹⁰⁰), he did so with no grounds at all, and Kornmann's «a parentibus honestissimis natus»¹⁰¹) was only a close imitation of Lienhardt's remark. Burchard, it seems clear, had no distinguished ancestors or relatives. His family seems to have been townspeople of Biberach on the river Riss in Bavarian Swabia¹⁰²). Among the heavily aristocratic population of thirteenth-century German Premonstratensian houses with their characteristically noble prelates, the provost Burchard was thus an anomaly¹⁰³).

Burchard's Biberach had become a free imperial town by the late thirteenth century, though precisely when is unclear¹⁰⁴). It may already have won royal privileges in Burchard's youth; during Frederick Barbarossa's reign the town was already within the sphere of Stauffer influence. As Otto of St. Blasien records, Biberach was among

⁹⁶) Brusch, p. 602.

⁹⁷) Hugo, II, col. 1251.

⁹⁸) Lienhardt, p. 357; Goovaerts, I, p. 509; Kornmann, II, bk. 2, p. 17.

⁹⁹) Hugo, II, col. 823.

¹⁰⁰) Lienhardt, p. 111.

¹⁰¹) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 9.

¹⁰²) J. Hartmann's case, against Abel (p. 87), that Burchard came from the Swabian town now a *Kreisstadt* in Baden-Württemberg rather than from the Bavarian village of the same name near Roggenburg, is compelling: «Über die Heimat des Chronisten Burchard von Ursberg», *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte* 4 (1881), 256. His concluding argument that Burchard's pro-Stauffer political stance derived from his birth in a region of Stauffer power admits some circularity, but his other justifications are persuasive. Bavarian Biberach in the diocese of Augsburg was so small and insignificant that Burchard's identification with it can have had little meaning; the historian's ordination by the bishop of Constance suggests that he grew up in that diocese where the later *Reichsstadt* Biberach lay.

¹⁰³) On the nobility of German Premonstratensians, cf. N. Backmund's article, «Prämonstratenser», in *Lex. für Theol.*, VIII, cols. 427-33.

¹⁰⁴) Cf. P. Griesinger, *Biberach an der Riss* (Biberach, n.d.), p. 93.

Alemannic territories which reverted to the crown through purchase or escheat upon the extinction of proprietary noble lines¹⁰⁵). A 1282 charter of the first Habsburg, Rudolf, mentions that Biberach was given its liberties by an imperial predecessor named Frederick¹⁰⁶). Whether the emperor responsible was Barbarossa or his grandson, by mid-century «ministri» at Biberach were appearing, seemingly as Hohenstaufen agents, in local charters¹⁰⁷). That Burchard came from this royal town to Schussenried and then to Ursberg is in no way surprising, since the former lay less than fifteen kilometers southwest of Biberach, the latter a little more than fifty kilometers to the east¹⁰⁸). Ursberg moreover was connected with Biberach by more than geographical proximity. Within the first half-century after its foundation, the Premonstratensian house had acquired a farm there. Ursberg's cartulary shows that a nobleman named Pillung of Tattenried gave Ursberg «predium, quod habebat in Bibra»¹⁰⁹). As A. Schröder notes, the same Pillung is mentioned in a charter of Welf VI dated to 1172¹¹⁰). Thus there was a well-established relationship between Biberach and Ursberg long before the historian left his first provostry at Schussenried for the more important local Premonstratensian house.

Burchard's use of legal sources reveals that he acquired some legal experience during his Italian sojourns, although it was probably informal and need not have been at the Bolognese law schools. Exactly when or how he acquired it is impossible to determine. This legal and curial education fitted him in his subsequent role as prelate for negotiation with both papal and imperial chanceries, and it was probably the most important factor in the historian's temporary prominence in the Swabian circary of the Order of Prémontré. Burchard was thus one among many twelfth- and thirteenth-century clerics of undistinguished social origins raised to positions of authority by the burgeoning needs of ecclesiastical and secular administrations and the correspondingly explosive growth of extra-monastic education; the career of Rainald of Dassel, Barbarossa's chancellor and a scion of the lower nobility whose advancement was the

¹⁰⁵) Otto of St. Blasien, *Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister, SSRG (Hanover, 1912), p. 29.

¹⁰⁶) *Reg. imp.*, Rudolf 1657.

¹⁰⁷) E.g. *Wirt. Urk.*, III, pp. 434-455.

¹⁰⁸) Cf. W. Zorn's valuable maps, esp. pl. 19: *Historischer Atlas von Bayerisch-Schwaben* (Augsburg, 1955).

¹⁰⁹) A. Schröder, «Das Traditionsbuch und das älteste Einkünfte-Verzeichnis des Klosters Ursberg», *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins Dillingen* 7 (1894), p. 12.

¹¹⁰) *Monumenta Boica* 22 (Munich 1813), p. 186.

result of his training and ambitious efforts to establish personal contacts with powerful princes, had been an earlier and more spectacular example of the same phenomenon¹¹¹).

Bureaucratic expertise, as Burchard's experience proved, was an inadequate leadership tool in the Swabia of the early thirteenth century, where the imperial administration erected by the first Frederick and swept away during the reign of his son Philip and its Welf aftermath had not yet been effectively repaired by the second Frederick and his son Henry. Burchard of Biberach had no reservoir of family connections among the local nobility upon which he might draw to preserve his Premonstratensian communities either at Schussenried or at Ursberg from secular interference. At Ursberg in 1224 he failed to prevent a major disaster, and the election of Conrad of Liechtenau to his office a few years later, with Burchard still alive, suggests that the Ursberg canons recognized the potential utility of such allegiances.

The chronicle which the provost Burchard composed reveals the experience of the more than ten years, from 1198 on, in which he travelled to and from Rome; he collected and studied its sources over a long period. The extant *UC* nevertheless bears no indication that it began to assume its present form before 1226, when Conrad of Liechtenau succeeded Burchard as Ursberg's provost. Parts of the chronicle are more nearly finished than others, but earlier sections are not uniformly more polished than later. Burchard left a *UC* copy revised from an earlier compilation or source collection, but the beginning of the work is no more thoroughly redrafted than the end. The author may quite plausibly have generated his work's present form between 1226 and his death, which possibly but not necessarily came in 1231; such a scenario is well in line with *UC*'s patent incompleteness and its stylistic unevenness since, as the Ursberg tradition concerning its composition discussed in the first article in this series implies, it combines materials recovered from the burned library after the monastery fire during the historian's own prelacy.

Burchard's political point of view, of which the hallmarks are allegiance to a hereditary Hohenstaufen monarchy and belief in written law as a positive social good, proceeded from his rich experience of politics in both Germany and Italy and from informed, careful consideration of

¹¹¹) Cf. P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969), pp. 93 ff.

contemporary discussion on conflict between church and empire. It would be simplistic to connect the expression of his stance in *UC* too closely with a single event in the author's life, or even with the complex of circumstances represented in his background and career. Nevertheless, the provost's Hohenstaufen leaning is the more intelligible in terms of his origin in a pro-Staufer town; his support of the imperial bureaucracy and its legal instruments is clearly compatible with his own access to prelacy through successful dealings with that administration and its papal analogue. Finally and most importantly, the idiosyncratic form in which Burchard's historical work survives and its emphatic acclamation of Staufer ascendancy are clarified against the specifically relevant backdrop of conditions at the chronicler's monastery at its moment of composition.

Burchard's Schussenried had probably been disturbed as an indirect result of papal support of Welf claims against Philip of Swabia. The eclipse of royal and ducal authority on the border region between the opposing parties' original Swabian and Bavarian power bases during the struggle for the crown had left Schussenried more than ever exposed to local turbulence. Burchard's second monastery was destroyed in the aftermath of the same events, likewise as an indirect result of papal interference. Philip's desperate financial plight — for which Burchard did not blame him but the *UC* interpolator did — had led him to mortgage rights over Ursberg to the Niffen advocates who eventually burned it. It is easy to understand how the provost whose community had been so shattered might have bitterly denounced the papacy which, supporting the military efforts of Otto IV against the Staufer, created Philip's discomfiture, especially since Frederick II had meanwhile mortgaged the foundation again to the same counts in order to aid his campaign against the same Welf opponent.

Backmund has found it remarkable that Burchard adhered to Frederick despite his apparent encouragement of Ursberg's second Niffen advocacy, suggesting that the 1226 release from mortgage may have been instrumental in preserving his Staufer loyalty¹¹²). His suggestion is surely right, but an even closer connection between the composition of *UC* in its present form and the events surrounding the end of Burchard's decade as provost of Ursberg may possibly be deduced. It is

¹¹²) Backmund, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 10: «und trotzdem hielt Burchard zu Friedrich».

already clear that one purpose of *UC* was as an apology for the excommunicated Frederick II; why Burchard of Biberach and Ursberg should have written such a tendentious history in the circumstances in which he did now begins to be apparent. Kornmann's insightful attention to the historian's motivations will here offer a point of reference. The last Ursberg prior had no reason to believe that Burchard was forced to abandon his prelacy at Ursberg, but he did understand from Hugo that the early historian of his house had performed poorly at Schussenried and, intuitively, he explored why. Kornmann concluded that Burchard had been a poor administrator in his first post because he was already preoccupied with historical research:

Sub ejus regimine ecclesia in aliquo deficit, in nullo autem profecit¹¹³). Friderici quippe primi imperatoris, ut mox videbimus, historiae conscribendo fors nimis intentus, rem domesticam et cetera praepositi negotia non nihil neglegentius curabat. Quare a suis, si non depositus, saltem despectus vitam degebat minus contentam. Ursbergenses autem, qui praeclarum viri ingenium probe noverant, et magnum chronico suo per scripta ipsius augmentum accessurum sperabant, eundem anno 1215 sibi praepositum elegerunt, ubi mox postea eodem adhuc anno laetus advenit¹¹⁴).

If Burchard was already at work on his chronicle at Schussenried, it has been shown, he was not producing the version represented in Clm 4351. His scholarship may indeed have been an impediment to his leadership there. Kornmann was nevertheless wrong in considering Burchard's transferral to Ursberg as the result of his historical work, although he was not necessarily wrong in asserting a causal connection between the historian's administrative incapacity and his chronicle's composition.

Burchard of Biberach wrote or rewrote his history after 1226 because he had been a poor provost at Ursberg as well as at Schussenried. The historiographical mission upon which he entered after his second prelacy and to which his successor, who later received credit, may well have assigned him, was one which he could perform well; with its fruits he could thank the imperial family which had rescued Ursberg from comital aggression and which he hoped would analogously rescue Swabia, the Empire, and — by the legal confirmation of a general peace — all the religious communities within its dominions. The scholarly non-noble

¹¹³) Cf. Hugo, II, col. 823.

¹¹⁴) Kornmann, I, bk. 2, p. 9.

could not hold his own, even with his office to support his authority, among the baronial squabbles of his native region; the non-noble scholar would then help to quell those squabbles through the composition of a propagandizing history. Ironically, Burchard's unfinished and largely unread work never contributed to the Staufer cause. It saw effective use according to its author's pro-German and anti-papal intentions only much later, in the hands of Philip Melanchthon.

BURCHARD AMONG CONTEMPORARIES

Medieval historiography reached its high-water mark in the twelfth century. Hohenstaufen ascendancy met with extensive and sophisticated historiographical treatment. The conflict of church and empire, which had in the early years of the century contributed to the composition of the important and frequently copied world-chronicles of Sigebert of Gembloux and Ekkehard of Aura, continued until the reign of Frederick I to stimulate historical discussion. The two outstanding works of Barbarossa's Cistercian uncle Otto were in many ways emblematic of that development. Neither royal biography nor universal chronicle would again be executed, at least on the continent, with the level of historical imagination or literary finesse which they found at the hands of the bishop of Freising. Otto was an exceptional individual. As a student at the nascent university of Paris, he belonged to the intellectual front ranks of the period; as a younger contemporary and confrère of Bernard, he participated in Cistercian leadership during the most rapid and widespread growth of reform monasticism; as a familiar and counsellor of kings, he moved in the most influential political company. The historical projects which he undertook reflected the unusual breadth of his experience. But Otto was not alone. His *Gesta* were continued, if only for a few years, by his secretary Rahewin. More importantly, numerous contemporaries were at the same or similar tasks. That their works may have been supported or inspired by a common chancery source in no way diminishes the historiographical explosion which they represent. If the Barbarossa-historians did not all have Otto's broad Augustinian perspective, at least they shared his concern with the significance of German empire in the history of Christian Europe. And if they were not, like him, in the scholastic, monastic or imperial forefront, they still met the achievement of the first Frederick with the newly-honed tools of a wide revival of classical learning on the arts of literature and of government.

The thirteenth century and the reign of the second Frederick were different. The last Hohenstaufen emperor was a man of extraordinary and multifarious talents, and his long reign resumed many of the salient themes of his namesake's, especially the church-state controversy. Frederick II, moreover, was an enthusiastic patron of the arts, of learning and of universities. Still, the historiography of his reign never, in either volume or quality, reached the level which it attained in the time of his grandfather. Its failure to do so demands some credible explanation, particularly since the dwindling of historiographical production was not confined to Hohenstaufen Germany. As the universities flourished, interest in the writing of history decayed across Europe, and the chronological, inverse relationship between the ascendancy of scholasticism and the demise of world chronicle and royal biography has been interpreted as causal. Intellectual momentum passed from the contemplative, traditionalist monastic foundations which had nourished the compilation of chronicles and annals to the new urban sphere of the schools and the mendicant orders; the scholastic attitude toward history as exemplified, for instance, in the work of Peter Comestor attributed independent but mutually exclusive importance to facts, so that narrative tracing cause and development retreated before the catalog of disconnected, typologically significant incidents. Historical speculation would indeed find another focus in the thirteenth century, the apocalypticism of the Spiritual Franciscans, but Joachimism was no more friendly to the narration of events than was scholastic theology¹¹⁵).

The chronicle of the Premonstratensian provost of Ursberg thus lay at a historiographical crossroads, just as the career of its author Burchard lay across the dissimilar and often antagonistic worlds of curia and chancery, monastery and university. The political issues whose discussion, colored with the historian's imperialist and dynastic sympathies, pervades *UC* helped to stimulate its composition. While Burchard wrote in support of Frederick II, however, Hohenstaufen partisanship cannot alone account for the magnitude or the form of his historiographical effort. F.-J. Schmale has suggested that Burchard was inspired, on encountering the historical work of Frutolf-Ekkehard at Zwiefalten, to

¹¹⁵) Cf. B. Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice*, trans. D. Ainslie (New York, 1960), pp. 222-223; Heer, p. 80; A. Funkenstein, *Heilsplan und natürliche Entwicklung: Formen der Gegenwartsbestimmung des hohen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1965), pp. 117-118; R.D. Ray, «Medieval Historiography through the Twelfth Century: Problems and Progress of Research», *Viator* 5 (1974), 35.

provide his own monastery with an updated version ¹¹⁶). The Benedictine tradition of chronicle composition was indeed indispensable for the development both of Burchard's technique and of his objectives, but exploration of his critical attitude has shown that he intended to carry that tradition forward not only by imitating it but also by modifying it. The new interest and methods of the schools made positive contribution to the provost's historical vision at least in the significance which he attributed to the revival of Roman law. That Burchard belonged more to the final expansion of Western monasticism in the twelfth-century reform orders than to a maturing scholastic culture is unquestionable. His contact with university life during his Italian experience may indeed have been extensive, but it was an excursus from the career as an ecclesiastic in the hinterlands of Augsburg which he had already begun and to which he returned for the years of his literary productivity. Still, the presence of fresh scholastic influence alongside patristic and monastic historiographical motifs in Burchard's chronicle marks him as an author in the mainstream of a new age, not as a relict of twelfth-century tradition.

Medieval historiography continued to show a coherent line of development well past Otto of Freising and his contemporaries. The chronicle of the provost Burchard shows neither regression nor stagnation; the unfinished, mangled state in which it survives nevertheless shows creative reference to historiographical — both historical and literary — values common to the discussion of secular developments between the definition of the two cities by Augustine and the narration of their commingling by Otto of Freising. Christian historiography did not collapse immediately in the face of scholastic systematics; the reassessment of *UC* attempted here suggests that the survival and modification of historical writing in the thirteenth-century monastic context show more continuity and greater interest than recent scholarship, strongly focused on the twelfth century, has indicated.

Burchard's historiographical effort, despite the uniqueness and coherence which this series of articles had attributed to it, saw few readers or copyists in the years immediately following its composition. It seems to have been consulted in the preparation of no other extant medieval work. Critics from Abel to Backmund have attributed this disuse to *UC*'s anti-

¹¹⁶) *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter vom Tode Kaiser Heinrichs V. bis zum Ende des Interregnum*, ed. W. Wattenbach, rev. F.-J. Schmale et al., I (Darmstadt, 1976), p. 116.

papal stance¹¹⁷). Many contemporary Germans shared Burchard's political opinions, however. In view of the text's potential utility for Hohenstaufen polemic, its failure to meet with some attention by Frederick II's supporters in the remaining years of his reign, as long as church-state conflict remained a lively political issue if not an intensively debated historiographical issue, is puzzling. Hostility to Rome was likely to have attracted readership at least until the final failure of Hohenstaufen monarchy in mid-century; only faulty analogy to Burchard's popularity among sixteenth-century Lutherans can imply that medieval Catholics avoided *UC* because they disapproved of its political content¹¹⁸). The possibility that the *Chronicon* of the canon Burchard lay accidentally hidden must be allowed, but the survival of a few manuscripts from a corrupt exemplar shows that it was not entirely forgotten. The state of incompleteness in which the historian left his work suggests a more satisfying explanation for its near-disappearance. Burchard's historiographical technique, the distillation and recombination of *hystoria* and *anni*, went unimitated and presumably unappreciated; even if his history book, in the polished form which the author intended for it, might have been stimulating to an ensuing period of waning historical study, it was only rough and internally inconsistent as he left it and as it survives. The oddity of composition and apologetic discussion of the mixed annal-synthesis method which now increase Burchard's interest for the history of historical writing may have discouraged his contemporaries' attention to the Ursberg *Chronicon*.

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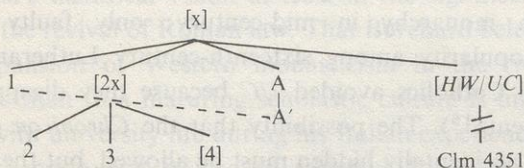
¹¹⁷) E.g. Backmund, *Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 26-27.

¹¹⁸) This was exactly Abel's line of reasoning: p. 80.

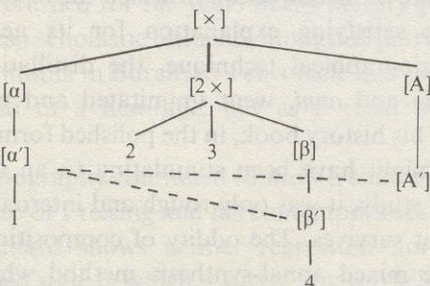
ERRATA

Below are corrected versions of the stemmata in the second article in this series, «The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, II: The Ursberg *Chronicon* and the *Historia Welforum* Tradition», *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 58 (1982), pp. 225-251. The author was unable to correct page proofs because of mail delays.

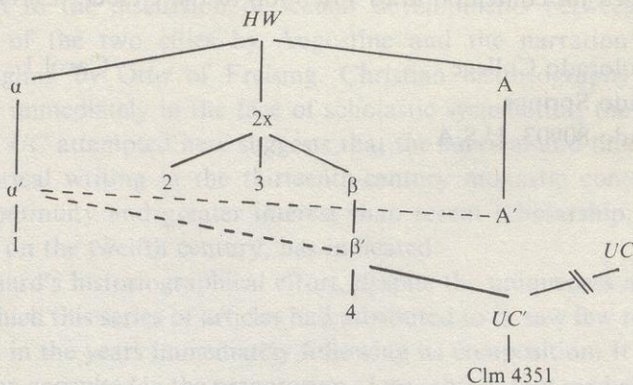
p. 232:



p. 238:



p. 248:



Finally, the following significant error appears in the last lines of the fourth article, «The Historical Work of Burchard of Ursberg, IV: Burchard as Historian», *AP* 59 (1983), 257:

for «with recourse to divine plan»,
read «without recourse to divine plan».