

Religious Infrastructure: The Parish Church

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The term infrastructure presupposes planning and a planning authority that has the means and possibilities to realise what has been planned. This planning authority is usually equated with the state and its predecessors, varying in time and space (princes or cities), and infrastructure with traffic or transport routes such as roads, bridges, or canals. What is more, in historical research, nascent statehood is virtually derived from infrastructural projects of this kind.¹ This 'etatist' view, however, obscures a) the central importance that users play in the history of infrastructures, and b) the insight that infrastructures are not limited to transport routes, but ultimately encompass everything that people in the past and present need for their daily necessities.² Of course, these needs are historically changing, yet basic religious services are still part of them today. However, in Church History the topic is rarely discussed under the label of infrastructure.

As a concomitant of the progressive urbanisation and commercialisation of the Christian world, the question became more important during the 13th century. Urbanisation and commercialisation required not only safe transport and traffic routes that connected centres as well as centre and surrounding areas, but also schools where the literacy skills necessary for trade and commerce could be acquired, public institutions (courts or notaries) that guaranteed the security of contracts, as well as specialised personnel who were either responsible for people's health or dedicated to pastoral care and accompanied people from birth to death and kept their memory alive.³

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- 1 Cf. Ulf Dirlmeier et al., eds., *Öffentliches Bauen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Abrechnungen als Quellen für die Finanz-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Bauwesens*, Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte 9 (St. Katharinen: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verlag, 1991); Rainer Christoph Schwinges, ed., *Strassen- und Verkehrswesen im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 66 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007).
 - 2 Guy Geltner, *Roads to Health: Infrastructure and Urban Wellbeing in Later Medieval Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Abigail Agresta, *The Keys to Bread and Wine: Faith, Nature, and Infrastructure in Late Medieval Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022).
 - 3 Ronald J. Stansbury, ed., *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200–1500)*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Peter D. Clarke and

In the history of religious infrastructures, the parish church played the overriding role over the centuries and across confessional boundaries because it was the basic ecclesiastical administrative unit, which was often also used for profane purposes (as a council or court house, public notary's office, as an administrative unit for levying direct taxes, guard services and firefighting, etc.), and because the school system developed in many places along the parish system.⁴ The parish church largely completed its spatial dimensions spanning all over Christian Europe in the course of the 13th century.⁵ At first, the initiative came from bishops, monasteries, and landlords, who retained the right of patronage, the right to elect the parish priest, in the period that followed. From the perspective of the patronage right, the parish church in town and countryside alike reflects the changeable power relations,⁶ while inside the church, society broke through almost everywhere, what leads us to the topic of religious infrastructure.

This intrusion took place in several ways and different forms: While in the 14th century the exclusive altar foundations multiplied in the urban parish churches, as well as the equally exclusive Mass donations on the altars, and the burials of the founders in front of it, in the course of the 15th century the more middle-class oriented brotherhoods tended to multiply, too, as did the praedication foundations, which carried the spreading of the Word of God from the monastery to the parish church.⁷ The initiative usually came from the laity; that is, at the level of the parish

Sarah James, eds., *Pastoral Care in Medieval England: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

- 4 Arnd Reitemeier, *Pfarrkirchen in der Stadt des späten Mittelalters. Politik, Wirtschaft und Verwaltung*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte 177 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005); Enno Bünz, "Die erfolgreichste Institution des Mittelalters. Die Pfarrei," in "Überall ist Mittelalter": *zur Aktualität einer vergangenen Epoche*, eds. Dorothea Klein, Markus Frankl, and Franz Fuchs (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2015), 109–138.
- 5 Martial Staub, *Les paroisses et la cité. Nuremberg du XIII^e siècle à la Réforme*, Civilisations et sociétés 116 (Paris: Édition de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003); Enno Bünz and Gerhard Fouquet, eds., *Die Pfarrei im späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 77 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke 2013); Michele C. Ferrari and Beat Kümin, eds., *Pfarrei in der Vormoderne. Identität und Kultur im Niederkirchenwesen Europas*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 146 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017); Enno Bünz, *Die mittelalterliche Pfarrei. Ausgewählte Studien zum 13.–16. Jahrhundert*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation 96 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017); Pascal Vuillemin, *Parochiae Venetiarum: les paroisses de Venise au Moyen Âge*, Bibliothèque d'histoire médiévale 20 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018).
- 6 Dietrich Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens*, Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht 6 (Cologne-Craz: Böhlau 1966); Wolfgang Petke, "Kirchenpatronate in städtischer Hand: Göttingen," in *Aufsätze zur Pfarreigeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021): 361–399, 364–366.
- 7 Bernhard Neidiger, *Prädikaturstiftungen in Süddeutschland (1369–1530)*, Veröffentlichungen des Archivs der Stadt Stuttgart 106 (Stuttgart-Leipzig: Hohenheim-Verlag, 2011). The topic

church, it was primarily the laity who gave the religious infrastructure its time-specific shape.

The possibilities for shaping one's church and inscribing oneself into it were manifold. The spectrum ranges from exclusive chapel and altar endowments to the associated liturgical vessels and vestments signed with the coats of arms or letters of the donors. Almost all of these possibilities stood in the service of the commemoration of the dead, brought from the monastery to the parish church through the lay foundations.⁸

In the following, I will focus on the altar and mass endowments as an expression of the increased appreciation of the liturgy of the Mass, since it left a far more lasting mark on the church space and life than many other endowment options.⁹ I will concentrate on the three cathedral-like (in the words of Felix Fabri¹⁰) burgher churches of Breisach, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Ulm, called Minsters.¹¹ First, I will explore the quantitative dimensions of the phenomenon, and then ask who is responsible for the transformations, as well as how and why. On a large scale the burgher churches show what can be observed in countless smaller parish churches of the time in the city and the countryside: namely the massive influence on liturgy and church by exclusive groups of lay people. Yet, counting mass foundations is a difficult task that

of the urban confraternities is broadly discussed, yet seldomly linked to the parish church: *Le mouvement confraternel au moyen âge: France, Italie, Suisse* (Geneva: Droz, 1987); James R. Banker, *Death in the Community; Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988); Monika Escher-Apsner, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften in europäischen Städten / Medieval Confraternities in European Towns, Inklusion / Exklusion 12* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang 2009); Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *A Companion to Medieval and Early Modern Confraternities*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

- 8 Enno Bünz, "Vikariestiftungen verändern den Kirchenraum. Zum Wandel spätmittelalterlicher Pfarrkirchen im deutschsprachigen Gebiet," in *Die mittelalterliche Pfarrei*, 234–257.
- 9 Jean-Michel Matz, "Chapellenies et chapelains dans le diocèse d'Angers (1350–1550): éléments d'enquête," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 91 (1996): 371–397; Clive Burgess, "Chantries in the Parish, or 'Through the Looking-glass,'" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164 (2011): 100–129; Vincent Tabbagh, "La messe comme pratique de salut (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)," in *Des pots dans la tombe (IX^e–XVIII^e siècles). Regards croisés sur une pratique funéraire en Europe de l'Ouest*, eds. Anne Bocquet-Liénard et al., Publications du CRAHAM (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2017): 431–440.
- 10 Felix Fabri O.P., *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi / Traktat über die Stadt Ulm*, ed., transl. and annotated by Folker Reichert (Konstanz: Ed. Isele, 2012), 74.
- 11 Regarding the difficulties of the term "city" and "burgher church," cf. Hartmut Boockmann, *Bürgerkirchen im späteren Mittelalter. Antrittsvorlesung* (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Fachbereich Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften, 1994); Marc Carel Schurr, "Architektur als politisches Argument. Die Pfarrkirche als Bauaufgabe der mittelalterlichen Städte im Südwesten des Reiches," in *Die Pfarrei im späten Mittelalter*, 259–278.

even contemporaries often failed at.¹² For the churches were in a constant state of change: new chapels, altars, or Mass foundations were added, and old ones were merged because they had not been sufficiently endowed. Nevertheless, it is helpful to start with the numbers in order to make the dimensions of the phenomenon tangible.

The Breisach St. Stephen's Minster received its Gothic appearance in the course of the 13th century, and work on it continued uninterrupted up to the Reformation.¹³ At the beginning of the 16th century, the patronage of the church still lay with the lords of Rappolstein on the left bank of the Rhine,¹⁴ but this did not affect the citizens' willingness to endow their parish church, on the contrary.¹⁵ The "Subsidium charitativum" of the diocese of Constance from 1493 lists twelve altars with a total of 16 Mass foundations. Among the founders, the families Brenner, Schmidlin, Schultheiß, Seckler, Veschelin-Münzmeister, von Pfforr, and zum Rhein stand out.¹⁶ Accordingly, the prebends (Pfründe) were called the Brenner-, the von Pfforr-, the Seckler-, etc. benefices. A similar picture emerges with the Ulm Minster with its more than 50 altars, the only one of the three burgher churches whose patronage rights lay with the city council.¹⁷ In Ulm, however, not only the benefices but also the altars were named after the founders, including four Besserer altars!¹⁸ In the Liebfrauenmünster (Our Lady Minster) in Freiburg, according to the "Registrum in levatione caritativi subsidii" from 1497, there were only 21 altars, but most of them were endowed with several benefices at the same time, so that there were 69 benefices for the 21 altars in 1497.¹⁹ The Mass foundations ensured, so to speak, a round-the-clock

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- 12 The problems in this regard have already been pointed out by Hermann Tüchle, "Die Münsteraltäre des Spätmittelalters. Stifter, Heilige, Patrone und Kapläne," in *600 Jahre Ulmer Münster. Festschrift*, eds. Hans Eugen Specker and Reinhard Wortmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ulm* 19 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977): 126–182, 127.
- 13 *Das Breisacher Münster*, ed. Münsterpfarrei St. Stephan Breisach am Rhein, *Große Kunstführer* 216 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005).
- 14 Andreas Lehmann, "Die Entwicklung der Patronatsverhältnisse im Archidiaconat Breisgau," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 39. NS 12 (1911), 249–317, 255–257.
- 15 Wolfgang Müller, "Der Wandel des kirchlichen Lebens vom Mittelalter in die Neuzeit, erörtert am Beispiel Breisach," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 82/83 (1962/63): 227–247.
- 16 "Das subsidium charitativum im Archidiaconat Breisgau vom Jahre 1493," in "Registra subsidii charitativi im Bisthum Konstanz am Ende des 15. und zu Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts," eds. Franz Zell and M. Burger, *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 24 (1895), 183–237, 188–189; Karl Joseph Rieder, "Das *Registrum subsidii caritativi der Diözese Konstanz aus dem Jahr 1508*," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 35 (1907), 1–108, 75–76.
- 17 Tüchle, "Die Münsteraltäre des Spätmittelalters," *passim*.
- 18 Rieder, "Das *Registrum subsidii caritativi der Diözese Konstanz aus dem Jahr 1508*," 59–60.
- 19 Peter P. Albert, "Zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters im Jahre 1497," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 15 (1919), 19–22. Similar are the results for Lüneburg and Lübeck: Georg Matthaei, *Die Vikariestiftungen der Lüneburger Stadtkirchen in der Kirche des Mittelalters und der Reformation*, *Studien zur Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens* 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928);

liturgy. Most of them came from the 14th century, with a marked increase in the second half of the century in the years after the outbreak of the plague; about a dozen foundations were added in the 15th century, and three more at the beginning of the 16th century.²⁰ With more than five Mass benefices, the Corpus Christi altar, the St. John Baptist altar, and the St. Oswald altar were the preferred ones of Freiburg's citizens. As in Breisach, the benefices in Freiburg also bore the names of their benefactors and went down in tradition as Malterer-prebend, Ätscherin-prebend, Tolerin-prebend, etc.²¹ Most of them belonged to the exclusive circle of the "younger twenty-four," at this time the leading families of the city.²²

The images are similar: regardless of the question of church patronage, in the course of the 14th century the laity gradually conquered the interior of the church, the nave as well as the choir, and donated altars and masses for their salvation and that of their ancestors. Often these altars were also the place where their family grave stones were located, as can be seen from the anniversary book of the Freiburg Münster (which registers almost five hundred church burials!).²³ Everywhere these benefices bore the family names of the founders; Ulm went one step further: here the founders replaced the saints in whose honour the altars had been consecrated, i.e. the founder's name swallowed up the altar patrocini-um.²⁴

Wolfgang Prange, "Die Altäre der Lübecker Marienkirche mit ihren Vikarien und Kommen-
den," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 78 (1998): 143–163.

- 20 Andreas Lehmann, "Die Entwicklung der Patronatsverhältnisse im Archidiakonat Breisgau," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 40 NS 13 (1912): 1–36, here 16, 21, 30; The St. Helena altar, endowed by Beatrix von Munzingen in 1504, the St. Wolfgang altar (1505), an endowment by Peter Sprung, and the Oberriet-benefices (which were endowed in 1503) on the Holy Cross altar. In the years of 1505 until 1536, individual founders decided to establish expensive chapels, named after their families, in the new ambulatory: Thomas Flum, *Der spätgotische Chor des Freiburger Münsters. Baugeschichte und Baugestalt*, Neue Forschungen zur deutschen Kunst 5 (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001), 70–79.
- 21 Wolfgang Müller, "Mittelalterliche Formen kirchlichen Lebens am Freiburger Münster," in *Freiburg im Mittelalter. Vorträge zum Stadtjubiläum*, ed. Wolfgang Müller, Veröffentlichung des Alemannischen Instituts 29 (Bühl/Baden: Verlag Konkordia, 1970), 141–181.
- 22 Mathias Kälble, *Zwischen Herrschaft und bürgerlicher Freiheit: Stadtgemeinde und städtische Führungsgruppen in Freiburg im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau 33 (Freiburg: Archiv der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau, 2001): 218–233.
- 23 Erwin Butz, *Das Jahrbuch des Münsters zu Freiburg im Breisgau (um 1455–1723)*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 31A (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 1983): 167–198.
- 24 For Freiburg, this same phenomenon is not unknown, but not registered in the *subsidia* list of the diocese: "Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters," ed. Peter P. Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4, no. 120 (1908): 34; *der Malerinenaltar*.

The right of presentation, the right to choose the priest to whom the Mass was conferred, was usually attached to the Mass foundation.²⁵ This gave the founders additional options to impose their values and ideas. The “*Subsidium charitativum*” from 1493 details the Breisach situation.²⁶ While the council claimed the rights to two altars, the chapter and dean administrate the benefice of the former dean of the Minster, Johannes Murer—the only mass benefice endowed by a clergyman. All other foundations were managed by lay people.

In Freiburg, too, until the parish church was handed over to the university,²⁷ only five of the endowments of benefices can be traced back to clergymen.²⁸ In Freiburg, too, the council was designed responsible but for two benefices;²⁹ three others are identified in the “*Registrum in levatione caritativi subsidii*” of 1497, while the burgher prebend on the St. Margaret altar was lent by the church warden.³⁰ Yet, unlike in Breisach and Ulm, the large number of female founders in Freiburg is striking,³¹ as well as several endowments that were made jointly by married couples.³² In Freiburg, about a third of the documented mass foundations were made

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- 25 Markus Walser, “Art. Präsentation, Präsentationsrecht,” *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 8 (31999), col. 513.
- 26 “Das *subsidium charitativum* im Archidiakonats-Breisgau vom Jahre 1493,” 188–89.
- 27 In Freiburg, the Duke of Austria handed over the right of patronage in 1456 to the university he founded. Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 8 (1912): no. 662, 103; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 9 (1913): no. 776, 79; Cf. Andrea Perlt, “Die Universität Freiburg und das Freiburger Münster im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Eine Beziehung zwischen befruchtender Symbiose und innerstädtischen Interessenkonflikten,” *Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins. Schau-ins-Land* 131 (2012): 31–49.
- 28 Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 6 (1910): no. 254, 35; no. 264, 38; no. 275, 42; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 8 (1913): no. 763, 77; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 10 (1914): no. 956, 85.
- 29 Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): no. 128, 37 (1346); Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): no. 142, 26 (1350).
- 30 Albert, “Zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters im Jahre 1497,” 20–21.
- 31 Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 3 (1907): no. 70; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): nos. 120, 132; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): nos. 138–140, 157, 189; Peter P. Albert, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 6 (1910): nos. 220, 231, 302, 311, 324, 334.
- 32 Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): no. 105, 209; Johannes von Hagenow^v, *ein burger ze Friburg, und Katerine, sin elichü wirtin*; *ibidem* 5 (1909): no. 167, 35; Jacob Ederli, *ritter, und vrouw Elzebet von Wittenhein, sin eliche wirtin, burgere ze Friburg*; *ibidem* 5 (1909): no. 224, 83; Cunrat Rohart, *der wechsler, und Agnes, sin eliche wirtin, burgere von Friburg*; *ibidem* 9 (1913): no. 678, 51:

by women, all but one of whom were addressed as citizens.³³ Their foundations are concentrated on the altar of St. Mary Magdalene, on the altar of St. Margaret, and on the altar of St. Oswald on the north side, the women's side of the church.³⁴ The altars of St. Martin and St. Catherine on the south side, the men's side, were preferred by male donors.³⁵

In the Freiburg foundation charts, various models emerge as to how the right of presentation could be transferred from one generation to the next: 1) Half of the founders wished the right to remain within the family (*sipprechthalb*, i.e. by the law of kinship), including the clergy, who behaved like citizens in this respect; 2) the other half entrusted the office to fabric and/or other church wardens, 3) and/or to the council or the mayor of the city; 4) while the fourth and last group opted for a hybrid solution and combined church policy with family interests. Men and women again set somewhat different accents in this respect.

When it came to the question of who should have the right to appoint the priest after the founder's death, the women tended to favour their relatives and also appointed other women on several occasions as in the case of the widow Elizabeth Kötzin. On 15 May 1363, Elizabeth, with the consent of her daughters, completed a project begun by her late husband and established a benefice on the St. Nicholas altar. As long as she lived, she wanted to decide for herself; after her death, the right of presentation was to go to her eldest daughter Catherine, provided she lived in Freiburg. Otherwise, it would go to her younger sister Elizabeth. After that, the right was to go to the eldest child, if not from her family, then from her late husband's family, always assumed the person in question lived in Freiburg.³⁶ The designated priest had to celebrate daily, was not allowed to have any other benefices, and was to be present at the daily Main Mass.³⁷ Other founders added that the priest had to be "experienced in the divine services," that he had to say the masses personally, and

Hans Bernhart Snewlin *Im Hoff und Margret von Kilchein, sin elich gemahel; ibidem*, no. 696, 57: *Cunrat Müntzmeister, genant Frowenberg, und Eils Griesserin, sin eliche froue, sesshaft ze Friburg im Brisgow.*

33 Peter P. Albert, ed., "Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): 157, 31–32: *Gisel dü Löffelerin, dü wilont Heintzi Löffelers seligen elichü wirtinne was, ein ingessen selderin.*

34 Gabriela Signori, "Links oder rechts? Zum 'Platz der Frau' in der mittelalterlichen Kirche," in *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Susanna Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff, Norm und Struktur 21 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 339–382.

35 For the late medieval altars of the Frauenmünster, see Butz, *Das Jahrbuch des Münsters zu Freiburg im Breisgau*, 169–181.

36 Peter P. Albert, ed., "Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): no. 189, 41–42.

37 Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): no. 138, 23.

that he reside locally,³⁸ or they gave preference to the same candidates from their family.³⁹

The ecclesiastico-political dimensions of the altar and mass foundations are obvious, not only in Breisach and Ulm, but also in Freiburg, where almost every foundation charter was authenticated with the burgher seal!⁴⁰ Yet, the foundations should not be reduced to a trial of strength between lordship and community as thought in the older research.⁴¹ The main driving force came from society, as ultimately shown by the massive participation of women and couples. Altar and mass endowments were one way among others of shaping architecture and liturgy and thus of expressing one's belonging to the church under consideration beyond one's death. In order to conceptualise this affiliation, Felix Fabri (d. 1505) uses the word *affectus* in his "Treatise of the City of Ulm."⁴² This *affectus* unites common welfare and self-interest, the two main driving forces in the late medieval development of religious infrastructure.

38 Peter P. Albert, ed., "Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Freiburger Münsters," *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): nos. 130, 132–33; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): nos. 132, 167, 194, 234; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 6 (1910): no. 264.

39 Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 3 (1907): nos. 80, 91; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): nos. 105, 109, 120, 130, 133; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): nos. 138–139, 156–57, 167, 211, 224, 234; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 6 (1910): no. 236.

40 Already the Early-Morning-Mass-Foundation of Gottfried von Schlettstadt from 1310; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 3 (1907): no. 70, 72: *unde durh sine bette mit der burger von Friburg in-gesigeln besigelt*. Cf. Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 3, no. 91; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 4 (1908): nos. 108–110, 128, 132; Albert, *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 5 (1909): nos. 138–140, 142, 157, 167, 189, 224.

41 Rolf Kießling, *Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und Kirche in Augsburg im Spätmittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse der oberdeutschen Reichsstadt*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg 19 (Augsburg: Mühlberger, 1971), 126: "genossenschaftlichen Gegenstück zur herrschaftlichen Auffassung der Kirche."

42 Felix Fabri O.P., *Tractatus de civitate Ulmensi /Traktat über die Stadt Ulm*, 78.