

Sangallensia in Washington

The Arts and Letters in Medieval and
Baroque St. Gall Viewed from the
Late Twentieth Century

James C. King, Editor



PETER LANG

New York • San Francisco • Bern • Baltimore
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Foreword

The year 1991 marked the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation. At the North American opening of the exhibition "The Abbey of St. Gall: A Cultural Center," the George Washington University on May 13-15 hosted an international conference, "The Arts and Letters in Medieval and Baroque St. Gall Viewed from the Late Twentieth Century." Invited scholars from Canada, England, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States read fifteen papers in six sessions that were open to members and friends of the academic community in the metropolitan area and beyond.

The conference opened on Monday evening, May 13, in the Dorothy Betts Marvin Theatre with Dean Robert W. Kenny, of Columbian College of Arts and Sciences, serving as master of ceremonies. University President Stephen J. Trachtenberg and his wife, Francine Z. Trachtenberg, welcomed the participants. Dr. Sharon J. Rogers, University Librarian and Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, spoke on behalf of the Melvin Gelman Library, scene of the exhibition and conference, and the Friends of the Libraries, who cosponsored the buffet reception held later that evening in the George Washington University Club. Professor James C. King introduced Dr. Werner Vogler, Abbey Archivist in St. Gall, who delivered the opening lecture, "The Abbey of St. Gall and the Swiss Confederation." The Collegium Musicum, a group of vocalists and instrumentalists directed by Professor Laura Youens, followed with an "Homage to St. Gall: Music from Renaissance Europe."

On Tuesday evening, May 14, Dr. Edouard Brunner, Ambassador of Switzerland, received the conference participants at the Embassy. Dr. Kurt Furgler, a former President of Switzerland, also spoke to the guests. The reception ended

**Building, Lending, and
Cancelling Debts:
Damian Hugo von Schönborn,
Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of
Speyer and Constance (d. 1743)**

Lawrence G. Duggan
University of Delaware

I note with some interest that this conference, being held in the nation's capital, begins with a session on finance. A question immediately popped into my mind: Is there an agenda here? I would hope that we would draw some lessons from the past about responsible financing, but I am considerably less hopeful about the interest or willingness of the statesmen out there to hear what those lessons might be. Nevertheless, the unalterable fact remains: everything must be paid for.

Although the House of Schönborn had few direct contacts with the Swiss Confederation, I suspect that this audience needs little or no introduction to it. They were an old family of Middle Rhenish knights which barely survived into the seventeenth century but then, precisely at that moment, catapulted onto center stage by rising rapidly in the service of the Church and the Empire, achieving the rank of *Reichsfreiherrn* in 1663 and *Reichsgrafen* in 1701. They were no mere servants or politicians, however, for they left their most brilliant and abiding mark in the world of culture as patrons of the arts. Indeed, according to Kenneth Clark, they deserve to be compared to the Medici, the godfathers of Florence and later grand dukes of Tuscany.¹ Lord Clark's suggestion is a startling one, partly because the Schönborns do not seem to have cultivated their own "artisans of glory," in-house historians to celebrate their achievements for the ages,² partly

because the Schönborns were not as lucky as the Medici in having men like Michelangelo, Ficino, Leonardo, Poliziano, and so many others at their disposal. The Schönborns were fortunate and wise, however, in their employment of Balthasar Neumann and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and they are certainly well remembered in German history.³

Some members of the family are inevitably less well known than others, and one of them is my subject today, Damian Hugo, who, although he was created a cardinal (the first member of the family as well as the first bishop of Speyer to receive the red hat), did not receive an entry in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; and although he is now covered in the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, he has never been the subject of a single full-length biography.⁴ I have chosen to examine him not because he was a cardinal, nor because he remains relatively unknown while all the other Schönborns have been studied to death, for they have not. There is, of course, the Speyer connection,⁵ and it was while I was doing dissertation research two decades ago that my attention was drawn to Damian Hugo, who appears again and again in the late medieval records of the bishopric and seemed to be the most intriguing of the later bishops. The impression that I had formed then has turned out to be right, for he was an unusually capable and striking man by the standards of any age. I intend to write a book on him one of these days, focusing in particular on certain aspects of his temporal administration, but I still have meters of correspondence and minutes to read in Würzburg and Karlsruhe before I can write.⁶ This paper is therefore but a *Stichprobe*, an outline, a report on what I have found so far. It is also an appeal to the reader for help, since I ordinarily do not work on the eighteenth century and am all too aware of my limits in this period, especially in the realm of financial history. Any advice, references, or criticisms offered will be most appreciated. On the other hand, I hope that the case of Damian Hugo can shed some comparative light on what happened at St. Gall in the same century.

Damian Hugo von Schönborn was born in Mainz in 1676, the third son of Melchior Friedrich, who later fulfilled one of

the family ambitions by securing elevation into the *Reichsgrafenstand* in 1701. Damian's elder brothers were Johann Philip Franz, Bishop of Würzburg, and Friedrich Karl, Bishop of Bamberg and Würzburg.⁷ The pattern here of elder rather than younger sons' becoming clerics confirms Peter Hersche's observation to this effect in his study *Die deutschen Domkapitel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*.⁸ In fact, of the seven sons of Melchior Friedrich, only the youngest, General Anselm Franz, was never a cleric. The next youngest, Rudolf Franz, *Großhofmeister* of the Elector of Mainz, had once been a regular canon of the pope's cathedral, the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome, but resigned, reverted to lay status, and married.⁹

Whereas most of Damian's other brothers pursued conventional careers on their way to the top of the imperial church by holding cathedral canonries and offices, Damian Hugo did not.¹⁰ In addition to his study of the arts of administration in Leiden and Louvain, he was educated by the Jesuits in Würzburg and Aschaffenburg and then, between 1693 and 1695, at their Collegium Germanicum in Rome.¹¹ Meanwhile he pursued a military career as an officer in the imperial army, and in 1699 moved to combine the clerical and military worlds by entering the Teutonic Knights, in which he became *Landkomtur* of Altenbiesen and Hessen. Anyone who thinks that this order had long outlived its usefulness should stop and consider the case of Damian Hugo, who commanded a battalion of infantry and served as imperial commissioner to resolve the grave situation in Hamburg between 1708 and 1712, as imperial legate in Berlin for two years, and then for another two as president of the Congress of Brunswick gathered to end the Second Nordic War.¹² By comparison with most other members of the aristocratic *Reichskirche*, Damian was much better educated, professed a stricter rule of religious life and a more explicitly military one, moved in a much larger world of war and diplomacy, and had Roman background and experience. His world was a very large one.

All these factors, but above all his fine and loyal work in imperial service, won Damian Hugo the red hat in 1713 (although the elevation was not announced until two years later). It appears that the emperor and the king of Poland

pressed for his appointment despite some misgivings of the pope, although the reasons given on either side are not very clear to me yet.¹³ In any event, the honor conferred was by no means a common one. No one from any part of the Empire had been made a cardinal since 1689, and of 88 cardinals who died between 1727 and 1748 only three were imperial. These three (including Damian) were created between 1714 and 1720, the other two were faithful Habsburg servants in the east, all three had attended the Collegium Germanicum, and none of them received treatment in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*.¹⁴ Damian's elevation capitalized on his background and rewarded past service, but also made him a significant western imperial link with the Roman court, which continued to rely upon him to safeguard Catholic interests in northern Protestant lands.¹⁵

Damian's promotion to the cardinalate probably also ended whatever hopes he might have had of election as an archbishop-elect, since after the nasty experience with Albrecht von Brandenburg in the early sixteenth century the popes never again conferred the red hat on one of the three ecclesiastical electors. (Barbara Tuchman to the contrary, sometimes governments do learn from the past.¹⁶) It turned out that the only archbishopric practically within reach, Trier, fell to Damian's younger brother Franz Georg in 1729. Damian meanwhile was elected coadjutor (with the right of succession) of Speyer in 1716, to which he succeeded in 1719, and then in 1722 as coadjutor of Constance, although there he did not ascend to the cathedra until 1740. Neither see could be called a plum. Constance, the largest diocese in the Reich, was also the smallest *Hochstift* or principality; and Speyer was not that much larger. Nevertheless, Damian Hugo accepted both and showed no signs of trying to use them as stepping-stones to larger things in contrast to any number of earlier Bishops of Speyer and other smaller sees. He was, of course, technically a pluralist, holding not only the miters of Speyer and Constance and the traditional provostships of Weissenburg and Odenheim (both within the *Hochstift*), but continuing to retain as well several commanderies of the Teutonic Knights. But he was at worst a moderate in an age of egregious pluralists, some

of whom were his brothers, and the most notorious of whom was Clemens August, "Monsieur des cinq églises" according to Frederick the Great, Archbishop of Cologne and Bishop of Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, and Hildesheim between 1723 and 1761.¹⁷ Not only was Damian Hugo, by comparison, small beer; he also devoted considerable administrative attention to all these offices and jurisdictions for which he was legally responsible. No ordinary pluralist was he.

It is, I think, very important to note when Damian Hugo ruled — in the second quintile of the eighteenth century, between 1719 and 1743 — and to avoid slipping into an easy tendency to treat the whole period from 1648 to 1789 monolithically, especially with respect to areas outside our own particular expertise (about which we presumably know better). Thus Damian Hugo ruled much later than the last great warrior-bishop, Christoph Bernhard von Galen of Münster (1650-78),¹⁸ and did not take advantage of his own military background while bishop, even when his see became part of the battleground in the War of the Polish Succession in the 1730s. On the other hand, he was not like some of the later "Enlightened" bishops who sought to curb the religious orders and certain "excessive" manifestations of popular piety.¹⁹ Damian's piety was deep but conventional (a word I do not mean at all pejoratively), he erected churches, he favored the religious orders, he administered the sacraments more frequently than was probably the norm among *Fürstbischöfe*, and he manifested no hostility to the religious beliefs and practices of his people.²⁰ He also built the diocesan seminary and a *Landesspital*, completing in both instances earlier failed efforts.²¹ In spirit he was, then, thoroughly Tridentine. Here, I suspect, it is significant that Damian's rule preceded that of the first "Enlightened" pope, Benedict XIV, who came to the throne of St. Peter in 1740, only three years before Damian's death, and who by example perhaps gave permission to bishops to "modernize" and to come to terms with their age.²² This is, however, only a suggestion, and it is not to say that had he lived later, Damian Hugo's style as a bishop would have been decidedly different.

In his administration of temporalities Damian was, by comparison, both a man of his age and yet set apart from it. Although I have yet to examine extensively the language he used, his governing style was certainly "absolutist." He had more than the usual measure of difficulties with the imperial city of Speyer, with the cathedral chapter (of which a younger brother was dean), and with his subjects; or so it seems, for it is hard to measure the scale and seriousness of such typically endless querulousness in the Old Reich. One single fact, however, tells us much about him: despite his liking for the Capuchins, Damian expelled from the principality in 1733 a Capuchin who had dared to criticize him publicly.²³ It was an act entirely in keeping with his approach to administration. But a second, contemporary word describes him even more exactly: "cameralist." He believed thoroughly in his own wisdom not only in general but down to the tiniest detail. His hand never stopped writing; an endless stream of comments and directives flowed from his quill on such matters as the *Eisfuhrfrondienst* (obligatory labor in transporting ice) of his subjects in Bretten, the stocking of the moats of old castles with fish, the "cost-effectiveness" of raising pheasants, the optimal time to sell off surplus pigs and wine, et cetera, et cetera.²⁴ He did not leave the details to others, as so many other rulers of such lofty disposition did (and still do). Nothing escaped his attention. This attentiveness is all the more noteworthy in view of the cosmopolitan world in which he had so long travelled. And although I am not yet sure of my tentative conclusion, I believe that he attended to such details as much in spiritual administration as he did in temporal, that in short he was as good a bishop as he was a prince.

In numerous respects Damian Hugo's reign outshone that of most princes of any age, and his achievement was so distinctive that even the cathedral chapter recognized it despite all its past differences with him. In the electoral capitulation imposed on his successor, the chapter said of Damian Hugo: "Without jeopardizing revenues he erected many buildings, stored up considerable reserves of money, cancelled many debts, and by his shrewdness brought the bishopric to a state

of fine flowering."²⁵ In the remainder of this article I wish to concentrate on those aspects of his administration.

As a builder Damian Hugo was more acutely graced than the other members of his family with the "aedifice complex." As a builder, at least, he has recently received very full treatment from Uta Hassler.²⁶ If he was not in a position to rival his kin in Würzburg in the construction of such a superb *Residenz* (arguably the finest in Germany), he more than compensated by causing to be built or renovated more than fifty buildings in the bishopric, to say nothing of the commanderies of the Teutonic Knights of which he was still the lord incumbent. Many of these were quite mundane structures like barns and mills, a respectable number were churches, but the grandest and most expensive of all was the palace complex at Bruchsal, which extended with a grand vista to the Rhine and in the planning (and correction) of which Balthasar Neumann was engaged.²⁷ According to calculations made after Damian Hugo's death, these diverse construction projects cost three million gulden or more while he lived, and in his testament he left several hundred thousand gulden more, including fifty thousand for the cathedral, which the chapter charged he had sorely neglected.²⁸ It needs to be said that much of this activity was scarcely frivolous. Aside from the ordinary necessity of modernizing buildings, many had been badly damaged in the War of the Palatine Succession in the 1680s, including the cathedral and old fortress-residence of Udenheim-Phillipsburg. The other princes of the Upper Rhine were similarly forced to relocate and rebuild in the same era. One thinks of the moves of the Electors Palatine from Heidelberg to Mannheim, the Margraves of Baden-Durlach to Karlsruhe, and the Margraves of Baden-Baden to Rastatt.

What is even more striking is that despite all these expenditures Damian Hugo left truly impressive reserves of money and produce: over 380,000 gulden in cash, another 100,000 *Güterverkaufsgeld*, and the equivalent of another 373,000 gulden in grain, wine, and wood.²⁹ But apart from the reserves, he had also amortized many of the debts of the bishopric going back to the fifteenth century. My calculations are only tentative at the moment. Between 1720 and 1733 he paid

off a minimum of 75,000 gulden in old debts.³⁰ This amount does not seem like much when compared with his building expenses, but it does reflect his determination to clear the slate in the realm of finance.

Such goals and achievements would have put most princes of any era to shame, but they were not all. For besides building on a large scale, paying off substantial debts, and leaving behind handsome reserves, Damian Hugo also lent out a great deal of money, usually at four or five percent. My very rough initial estimate is of over 1.3 million gulden lent between 1727 and 1733 alone, the principal recipients of which were (in descending order) the Franconian *Kreis*, the bishoprics of Mainz, Bamberg, Würzburg, and Trier, the monastery of Weingarten, the counts of Montfort and Schönborn, and the *Stadtbanco* of Vienna.³¹ While some of these were repaid or changed hands before Damian's death, in 1743 over 943,000 gulden were still outstanding as loans (*Aktivkapitalien*) yielding between four and five percent.

Of how many princes in any age can this be said — that he built on a grand scale, paid off debts, lent much more, and left the coffers overflowing? Would that we had such a man as president! However, I have come not to praise Damian Hugo but more mundanely to ask where all this money came from. For I am not sure that the spotty figures I have unearthed add up to a complete explanation. On the side of expenditure, the large disbursements on building must be kept in perspective. Peter Partner once ventured the estimate that the total cost of erecting and decorating St. Peter's in Rome was only about fifty percent more than the money spent on the ten-month siege of Florence by Pope Clement VII in 1529-1530.³² On that score Damian Hugo kept military expenditures low, maintaining ordinarily about 225 soldiers, mostly to fulfill obligations to the *Kreis*.³³ At the moment I have no idea of the costs of maintaining the court. In general administration Damian was certainly parsimonious, employing only a bit over 200 people in service to govern a principality with about 50,000 subjects.³⁴ As for building costs, Peter Scherer has calculated them for the reconstruction of *Kloster Weingarten* and

concluded how different costs were then from what we have come to expect, particularly for labor.³⁵

Our deliberations now lead us to revenues, where again the data are still incomplete. One useful set of figures is the balance sheet for eleven bailiwicks (*Kellereien*) for 1736-43, the last seven years of Damian Hugo's rule. The average yearly income from them was 190,000 gulden, as against 102,000 in expenditure, producing an average annual surplus of 88,000 gulden.³⁶ If one multiplies that figure by seven, the total surplus for those years comes to 616,000 gulden. But much went on that cannot or was not calculated in monetary terms, particularly the extensive *Frondienst* performed by the cardinal's subjects in building vineyards, cutting and transporting wood, providing carts and animals, and even carrying letters and messages. Prisoners, too, had to work in the quarries supplying the stone for the seminary and the *Landesspital*.³⁷ In some ways the cardinal also attempted to shift certain costs directly onto his subjects, although not always. Thus, late in his reign he ordered the construction of five new churches and three rectories *ex mediis cameralibus*, while it was his successor who sought to move that burden to the local communities.³⁸ Another possible source of income, of which I have not yet found any record, was French subsidies. And yet another was *Spielgeld*, to which the old historian of the Bishops of Speyer, F. X. Remling, makes an intriguing but undocumented reference.³⁹ I have read that the palace at Würzburg owed its existence in goodly part to a lottery won by one of its bishops. I am curious about such possibilities in the eighteenth century. I know that canon law has always forbidden clerics to gamble, but that prohibition was, of course, no impediment to the commission of such improprieties. But was the eighteenth-century equivalent of aristocratic beano potentially so lucrative as to account in substantial measure for the Schönborn palaces in Würzburg and Bruchsal?

But even if Damian Hugo was lucky at the numbers, I still believe his business acumen was sufficiently distinguished to have merited a D.B.A. from Harvard *honoris causa*. At the same time, I have no reason to think that it in any way obstructed his performance as a bishop; rather, in some ways it

probably contributed to his success as a caretaker of souls. If my surmise sounds too strong, it is wise to remember that few bishops have made it into the ranks of the saintly (at least since the Early Middle Ages), that their principal task is to ensure the stability and strength of the institutional resources established for the pastoral care of souls and, hopefully, nourishing holiness in some, and that, judged by these criteria, Damian Hugo did rather well. For if a good prince is a relatively uncommon phenomenon, a good bishop is perhaps even rarer. And when the two offices are well discharged by one man, only one thing can be said - thanks be to God!

Notes

- 1 Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation: A Personal View* (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1969) 229.
- 2 The term is taken from Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980).
- 3 For a brief survey see the entry in *Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Karl Bosl et al. (2nd ed., Munich: Francke, 1973-75), cols. 2535-37. See also the exhibition catalogue *Die Grafen von Schönborn. Kirchenfürsten, Sammler, Mäzene. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg. 18. Februar bis 23. April 1989* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1989). Hubert Jedin, "Die Reichskirche der Schönbornzeit," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 65 (1956): 202-16 went so far as to call the period in German history between 1642 and 1756 "die Schönbornzeit." On Neumann see Hans Reuther, *Balthasar Neumann. Der mainfränkische Barockbaumeister* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1983).
- 4 *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953-) 3: 500 (hereafter *NDB*), to be supplemented by Alfred Strnad, "Kardinal Damian Hugo Reichsgraf von Schönborn im Lichte neuer Quellen," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 24 (1972): 107-53, and Volker Press, "Das Hochstift Speyer im Reich des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit - Portrait eines geistlichen Staates," in Volker Press et al., eds., *Barock am Oberrhein* (Karlsruhe: Kommissionsverlag G. Braun, 1985) 276-84. Still very useful for its solid grounding in the sources and detailed straightforward presentation is Franz Xaver Remling, *Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer* (Mainz, 1852-54) 2: 625-65.
- 5 Lawrence G. Duggan, *Bishop and Chapter: The Governance of the Bishopric of Speyer to 1552* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1978).
- 6 The principal archival repositories are lodged in the Badisches Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe and the Staatsarchiv in Würzburg (Schönborn Archiv, Korrespondenzarchiv, Damian Hugo von Schönborn). These will hereafter be cited with the abbreviations GLA and SA, respectively.
- 7 *NDB* 10: 546 and 5: 492-93, respectively.

- 8 Peter Hersche, *Die deutschen Domkapitel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Juris Druck & Verlag, 1984) 2: 174 n. 30.
- 9 Strnad 108 n. 5.
- 10 See Hersche 1: 273-74 and 2: 157.
- 11 Damian's two elder brothers had also studied at the Collegium Germanicum for two years, and Damian was critical of its curriculum: see Peter Walter, "Zur Ausbildung am Collegium Germanicum im 18. Jahrhundert. Reformvorschläge von zwei geistlichen Reichsfürsten aus dem Hause Schönborn," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 61 (1981): 362-79.
- 12 Otto Roegele, "Die drei Berliner Missionen des Grafen Damian Hugo von Schönborn," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 103 (1955): 426-67.
- 13 Strnad 117-23; Press 279.
- 14 M. M. R. [Michael Ranft], *Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte aller Cardinäle der Röm. Cathol. Kirche. die in diesem jetzlaufenden Seculo das Zeitliche verlassen haben* (Regensburg, 1768-72) 2: 170-76 (Michael Johannes von Althann [d. 1734]) and 219-22 (Wolfgang Hannibal von Schratzenbach [d. 1738]); Francesco Cristofori, *Storia dei cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa dal secolo V all'anno del Signore MDCCCLXXXVIII* (Rome, 1888) 402-51, especially 419-30.
- 15 See *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*, ed. Franz Xaver Remling (Mainz, 1852-53) 2: 707-8, 717-18.
- 16 Barbara Tuchman, *The March of Folly, from Troy to Vietnam* (New York: Knopf, 1984).
- 17 See Hans Erich Feine, *Die Besetzung der deutschen Bistümer vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zur Säkularisation 1648-1803* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1921) 408-17 ("Tabelle II. Die Kumulationen deutscher Bistümer 1500-1803"). The quotation from Frederick the Great appears in Max Braubach, *Kurköln* (Münster, 1949) 249-50.
- 18 Manfred Becker-Huberti, *Die tridentinische Reform im Bistum Münster unter Fürstbischof Christoph Bernhard von Galen 1650 bis 1678* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978).
- 19 For such policies in Mainz, for example, see François Dreyfus, *Sociétés et mentalités à Mayence dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1968), and T. C. W. Blanning, *Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1743-1803* (London and New York: Cambridge UP, 1974).
- 20 Anton Wetterer, "Das religiös-asketische Leben des Kardinals Damian Hugo von Schönborn, Fürstbischof von Speyer (1719-1743) und Konstanz (1740-1743)," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 43 (1915): 151-66.

- 21 Otto Roegele, "Damian Hugo von Schönborn und die Anfänge des Bruchsaler Priesterseminars," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 71 (1951): 5-51.
- 22 See Renée Haynes, *Philosopher King: The Humanist Pope Benedict XIV* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970).
- 23 Remling 2: 649.
- 24 Examples abound in the *Kammerprotokolle* in GLA 61 (e.g., nos. 12227-28 for 1731), 67/333, and 78/74, 78, 448, and 458.
- 25 Cited in Remling 2: 662, n. 1919: "Da er ohne Schmälerung der Kammergefälle viele Gebäude aufgeführt, bedeutende Vorräthe an Geld erspart, viele Schulden abgetragen und durch kluge Einrichtungen das Hochstift in die beste Blüthe gebracht habe."
- 26 Uta Hassler, *Die Baupolitik des Kardinals Damian Hugo von Schönborn. Landesplanung und profane Baumaßnahmen in den Jahren 1719-1743* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1985).
- 27 SA 414 ("Designatio sub Gloriosissimo Regimine Emmi. Cardlis. Rdisissimi Episcopi et Celsissimi Principis Spirensis Dni. Dni. mei Clemmi. in Dioecesi Spirensi novorum è fundamentis existatorum aedificiorum") lists 101 building projects within the bishopric alone.
- 28 Remling 2: 658 and 662 n. 1921.
- 29 GLA 78/1199.
- 30 SA 380; GLA 78/2218 and 61/12232, pp. 189-94.
- 31 SA 376 and 379; GLA 78/96.
- 32 Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1976) 21, 28.
- 33 GLA 78/2586.
- 34 Remling 2:662 n. 1921.
- 35 Peter Scherer, *Reichsstift und Gotteshaus Weingarten im 18. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der südwestdeutschen Grundherrschaft* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969) 15-18; see also Gebhard Spahr, *Die Basilika Weingarten. Ein Barockjuwel in Oberschwaben* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1974) 28-31.
- 36 GLA 78/1180.
- 37 GLA 78/456, 458, 466, 467, 524, 540, and 1842.
- 38 GLA 61/12269, pp. 326-38.
- 39 Remling 2: 599-600.

