Michaela Hohkamp:
“Stemma, Tabula, Systema”

in: Eric Hounshell, Ruth Amstutz (eds.):

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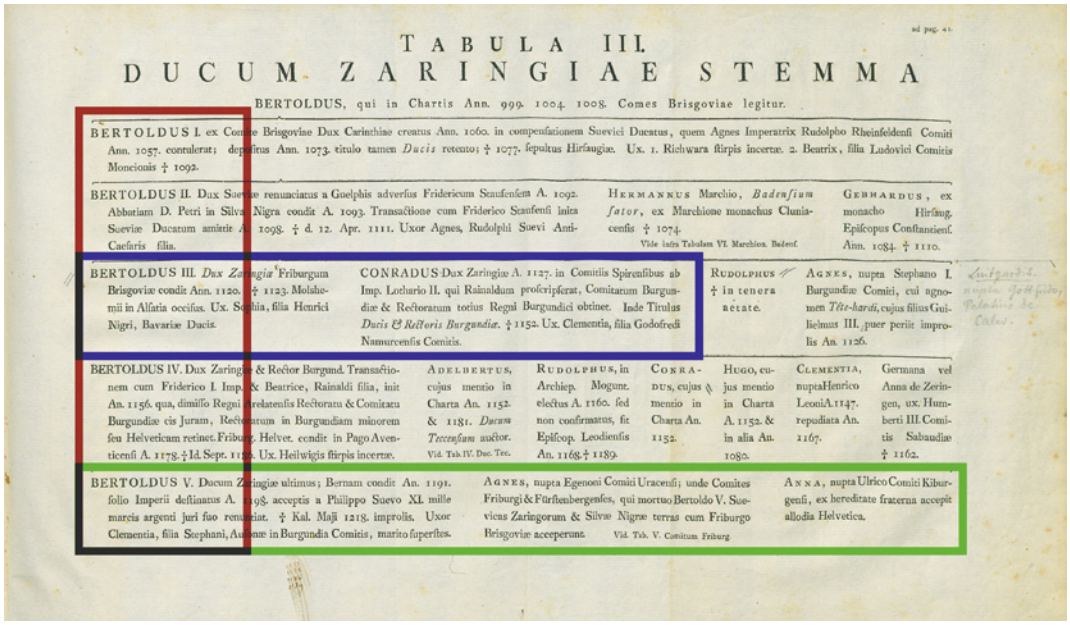
SHADOW OF THE TREE

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Michaela Hohkamp

STEMMA, TABULA, SYSTEMA Kinship at a Glance

Johann Daniel Schöpflin (1694-1771), scholar and historiographer of the Margrave of Baden, published a seven-volume history of the Margrave House in the 1760s that was mainly a collection of official documents.[1] The written parts, mainly contained in the first three volumes, were in Latin, the language of scholars until well into the nineteenth century. The entire work was planned for publication in a practically manageable dimension comparable to today's A4 and intended for library collections. Schöpflin sought to identify the ancestors of the House of Baden. With the publication of his work, he had in his view proven the blood kinship of the Margrave of Baden with the Dukes of Zähringen since the High Middle Ages in the male line on the basis of official documents. In the first volume of his *Historia Zaringo-Badensis*, Schöpflin worked through the stories and histories disseminated throughout the Upper-German scholarly world regarding the ancestry of the Margraves of Baden and the houses that were linked with them and included the relevant ancestry tables *(Stammtafeln)*. The following "Tabula III," elaborated by Schöpflin, shows a *stemma* from the Dukes of Zähringen from the eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth century.



TABULA III.

DUCUM ZARINGIAE STEMMA

BERTOLDUS, qui in Chartis Ann. 999. 1004. 1008. Comes Brisgoviae legitur.

BERTOLDUS I. ex Comite Brisgoviae Dux Carinthiae creatus Ann. 1060. in compensationem Suevici Ducatus, quem Agnes Imperatrix Rudolpho Rheinfeldensi Comiti Ann. 1057. contulerat; depositus Ann. 1073. titulo tamen *Ducis* retento; † 1077. sepultus Hirsaugiae. Ux. 1. Richwara stirpis incertae. 2. Beatrix, filia Ludovici Comitis Montisonis † 1092.

BERTOLDUS II. Dux Suevorum renunciatus a Guelphis adversus Fridericum Staufensem A. 1092. Abbatiam D. Petri in Silva Nigra condit A. 1093. Transactione cum Friderico Staufensi inita Suevicae Ducatum amittit A. 1098. † d. 12. Apr. 1111. Uxor Agnes, Rudolphi Suevi Anti-Caesaris filia.

HERMANNUS Marchio, *Badensium fator*, ex Murchione monachus Cluniacensis † 1074. Vide infra Tabulam VI. Marchion. Badens.

GEBHARDUS, ex monacho Hirsaug. Episcopus Constantiens. Ann. 1084. † 1110.

BERTOLDUS III. *Dux Zaringiae* Friburgum Brisgoviae condit Ann. 1120. † 1123. Molshemii in Alsatia occisus. Ux. Sophia, filia Henrici Nigri, Bavariae Ducis.

CONRADUS Dux Zaringiae A. 1127. in Comitiis Spirensibus ab Imp. Lothario II. qui Rainaldum proscripserat, Comitatum Burgundiae & Rectoratum totius Regni Burgundici obtinet. Inde Titulus *Ducis & Rectoris Burgundiae*. † 1152. Ux. Clementia, filia Godofredi Namurcensis Comitis.

RUDOLPHUS † in tenera aetate.

AGNES, nupta Stephano I. Burgundiae Comiti, cui agnomen *Tête-hardi*, cujus filius Guilielmus III. puer periit improlis An. 1126.

BERTOLDUS IV. Dux Zaringiae & Rector Burgund. Transactionem cum Friderico I. Imp. & Beatrice, Rainaldi filia, init An. 1156. qua, dimisso Regni Arelatensis Rectoratu & Comitatu Burgundiae cis Juram, Rectoratum in Burgundiam minorem seu Helveticam retinet. Friburg. Helvet. condit in Pago Aventicensi A. 1178. † Id. Sept. 1186. Ux. Heilwigis stirpis incertae.

ADELBERTUS, cujus mentio in Charta An. 1152. & 1181. *Ducum Teccensium* auctor. Vid. Tab. IV. Duc. Tec.

RUDOLPHUS, in Archiep. Mogunt. electus A. 1160. sed non confirmatus, fit Episcop. Leodiensis An. 1168. † 1189.

CONRADUS, cujus mentio in Charta An. 1152.

HUGO, cujus mentio in Charta A. 1152. & in alia An. 1080.

CLEMENTIA, nupta Henrico Leoni A. 1147. repudiata An. 1167.

Germana vel Anna de Zeringen, ux. Humberti III. Comitis Sabaudiae † 1162.

BERTOLDUS V. Ducum Zaringiae ultimus; Bernam condit An. 1191. follio Imperii destinatus A. 1198. acceptis a Philippo Suevo XL. mille marcis argenti juri suo renunciat. † Kal. Maji 1218. improlis. Uxor Clementia, filia Stephani, Autissiodor in Burgundia Comitis, marito superstes.

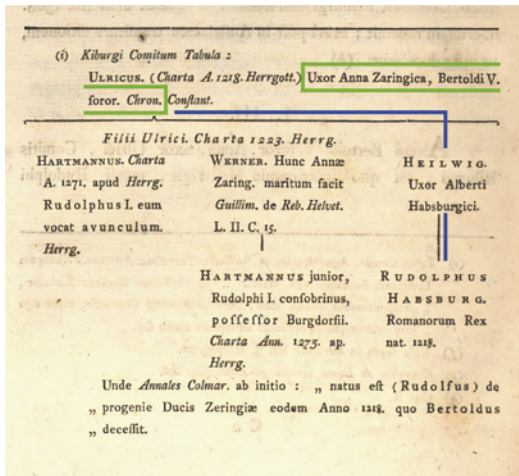
AGNES, nupta Egenoni Comiti Uracensi; unde Comites Friburgi & Fürstenbergenses, qui mortuo Bertoldo V. Suevicus Zaringorum & Silvae Nigrae terras cum Friburgo Brisgoviae acceperunt. Vid. Tab. V. Comitum Friburg.

ANNA, nupta Ulrico Comiti Kiburgensi, ex hereditate fraterna accepit allodia Helvetica.

Johann Daniel Schöpflin: *Historia Zaringo-Badensis*, vol. 1, book 1, Karlsruhe: Officina Macklotiana (1763), Tabula III "Ducum Zaringiae Stemma", after p. 40. Reproduction from Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg, H 3621-1. Online: http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/schoepflin_hist_zar_bad_ga.

This *stemma* gives a diagrammatic representation of the series of Dukes of Zähringen from Bertold I to Bertold V, left-justified and vertically from top to bottom in an order that presents the succession from son to son, omitting successions that deviate from this idealized form, for instance from brother to brother. To the right of each Bertold, his brothers and sisters are listed. If the latter were married, the husband and his position are noted. The wives of the persons listed as Dukes of Zähringen are mentioned according to their ancestry.
By creating a line of Dukes of Zähringen named Bertold on the left, the diagram suggests a continuous succession of rule from father to son that does not conform to actual events. In fact, there was a succession between the brothers Bertold and Conrad (shown here by the red line added by MH). But the latter does not appear on the left-hand side and thereby interrupt the continuous line of Bertolds. And yet the representation is not exactly false: Conrad does appear elsewhere in the diagram.
Patrilineal succession aside, the diagram also broaches the relatedness between the Habsburgs and Zähringen, with Anna von Zähringen, the second sister of Bertold V, as the key link.

For Schöpflin, this diagram did not only prove the blood kinship of the Margraves of Baden by denoting Hermann (the first of this rank) as bodily brother of the Bertold II, Duke of Zähringen. With its mention of Agnes and Anna, the two sisters of Bertold V, Duke of Zähringen, this *stemma* was also a flashpoint in the debate over the politically volatile question as to whether and in which way exactly the House of Habsburg and the Dukes of Zähringen were related. Here the second sister of Bertold V, Anna von Zähringen, occupied a key position. She and her descendants were the link to the Counts of Habsburg, of whom Rudolf I (1218-1291) in the thirteenth century was the first of a long line of members of this house to be King of the Holy Roman Empire.
In the eighteenth century, the Habsburgs treated the question of Anna's existence as a matter of power politics. If she had in fact existed, then Anna von Zähringen was the mother of Heilwig von Kyburg. She, in turn, was married to Ulrich, Count of Kyburg, and from this marriage came Rudolf I. This perspective found diagrammatic representation in the first volume of the *Historia Zaringo-Badensis*. In his diagram, Schöpflin refers to the *Annales Colmarienses* penned by Dominican clergy in the thirteenth century.[2]

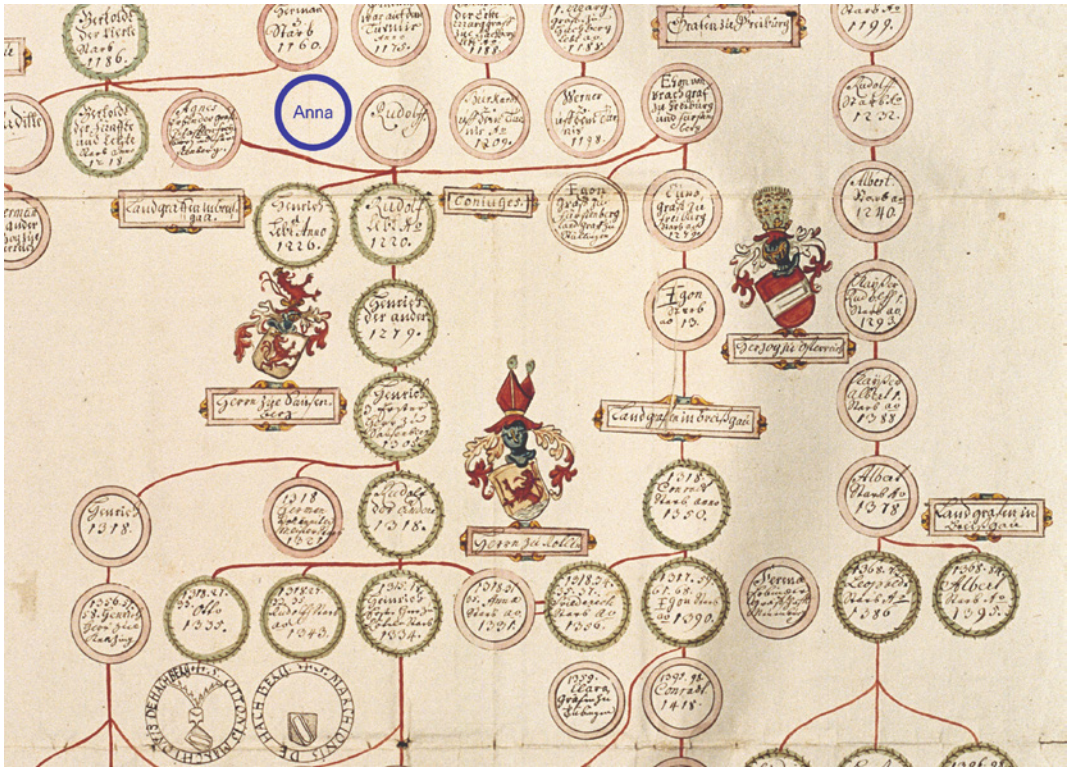


Johann Daniel Schöpflin: *Historia Zaringo-Badensis,* vol. 1, book 2, section 8, paragraph 3: "Zaringacorum Terrarum Divisio", Karlsruhe: Officina Macklotiana (1763), p. 202. Reproduction from Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Germ.sp. 305-1. Online: https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10003293.

This table shows Rudolf I (1218-1298), elected king of the Holy Roman Empire in 1273, as the possible grandchild of Anna von Zähringen, the second sister of the Duke of Zähringen Bertold V. Rudolf's year of birth is said to be the same as Bertold V's year of death. As a reference, Schöpflin mentions the *Annales Colmarienses*, which are dated to the turn of the fourteenth century. Schöpflin also offers, as an alternative to his own findings, a version by the Swiss historian Franz Gulliman (1568-1612), according to whom Anna was an aunt of Rudolf I.

In the five hundred years between the creation of the *Annales Colmarienses* and the publication of Schöpflin's *Historia*, Anna von Zähringen had become invisible as sister of the last Duke of Zähringen while appearing as a spouse. Changes in the conception of bodily substances (blood, semen, flesh) and kinship practices since the end of the Middle Ages made it possible for female descendants and collateral kin to disappear from genealogical trees so long as they did not function as the beginning of a collateral line like Agnes von Zähringen, who took her place at the beginning of a linearly structured series of male blood relatives as a progenitrix (of the Counts of Freyburg and Fürstenberg).[3] Although she was also a sister of

the last Duke of Zähringen, Anna of Zähringen was a different case than Agnes. Anna was not understood as a progenitrix of a collateral line like Agnes but as a possible ordinary link between the Dukes of Habsburg and the Dukes of Zähringen within a vertically designed order of succession. However, as male blood constituted more and more representations of vertically designed ancestry in the following centuries, Anna consequently disappeared from the family trees designed around blood.[4] Paradoxically, Anna reappeared at a time when blood was considered decisive for kinship. But this was also a time in which, for the purpose of establishing evidence, official documents were used to prove dynastic relations. Thus, the transfer of property between the Dukes of Zähringen and the Counts of Habsburg via Anna and her daughter Helwig came into focus and led to the revival of Anna von Zähringen. Diagrammatic representations like those by Schöpflin, who reconstructed kinship in the form of a stemma based on charters and similar documents, made Anna von Zähringen once again visible after centuries.

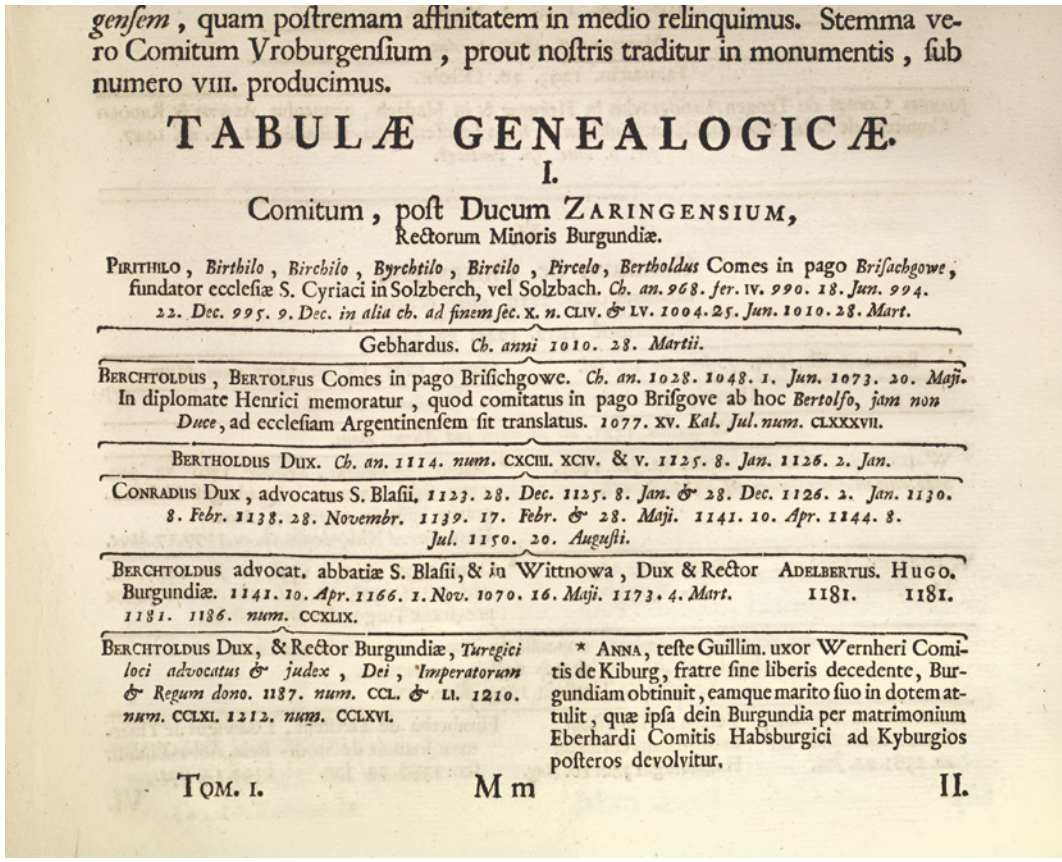


Detail from genealogical diagram on rag paper (end of 17th c.), Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, 47/521/1.

This image, with its blood-red lines linking individuals, shows kinship between the Counts of Habsburg, the Dukes of Zähringen, the House of the Margraves of Baden, and other noble houses in a complex net of bloodlines in which Agnes von Zähringen is shown as a progenitrix of a collateral line, whereas Anna von Zähringen is missing.
The genealogical diagram indicates the complex political structure of the southwest territories of the Holy Roman Empire. The kinship of the Dukes of Zähringen with the Counts of Habsburg was of utmost political significance and shaped genealogical practices in the early modern period in word and deed through the second half of the eighteenth century. Here it serves as an example of the long practice of making Anna von Zähringen invisible.

STEMMA, TABULA, SYSTEMA (In)visible Kinship and Evidence

In 1769, only a few years after the publication of Schöpflin's *Historia*, a text appeared from the pen of the Göttingen historian Johann Christoph Gatterer in volume 12 of the *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek* on "Evidence in Genealogy" with an anonymous "Beyspiel zur Erläuterung der Gattererschen Methode in der Genealogie" (Example for Elucidation of the Gatterer Method in Genealogy) in which he laid out his principles of evidence in genealogy.[5] For Gatterer, official documents as evidence for genealogical claims were absolutely fundamental. The author of the "Beyspiel" broached this point in the course of reconstructing the kinship relation between the houses of Fürstenberg and Habsburg. Along with the Habsburgs, in this instance, came once again the Dukes of Zähringen and the question of the existence of sisters of the last Duke, Bertold V. The existence of Agnes, the matriarch of a collateral line, was for the author beyond doubt. By contrast, according to the author of the "Beyspiel," a second sister could not be confirmed from the available written material. Such a person found no mention in the records. But, he argued, the fact that parts of the property of the Zähringen were in the hands of the Counts of Kyburg pointed to the existence of a second sister, the missing Anna.



genſem, quam poſtremam affinitatem in medio relinquimus. Stemma vero Comitum Vroburgenſium, prout noſtris traditur in monumentis, ſub numero VIII. producimus.

TABULÆ GENEALOGICÆ.

I.

Comitum, poſt Ducum ZARINGENSIUM, Rectorum Minoris Burgundiæ.

PIRITHILO, *Birthilo, Birchilo, Byrchtilo, Bircilo, Pircelo, Bertholdus* Comes in pago *Briſachgowe*, fundator eccleſiæ S. Cyriaci in Solzberch, vel Solzbach. *Ch. an. 968. ſer. IV. 990. 18. Jun. 994. 22. Dec. 995. 9. Dec. in alia ch. ad finem ſec. X. n.* CLIV. *&* LV. *1004. 25. Jun. 1010. 28. Mart.*

Gebhardus. *Ch. anni 1010. 28. Martii.*

BERCHTOLDUS, BERTOLFUS Comes in pago Briſichgowe. *Ch. an. 1028. 1048. 1. Jun. 1073. 20. Maji.* In diplomate Henrici memoratur, quod comitatus in pago Briſgove ab hoc *Bertolfo, jam non Duce*, ad eccleſiam Argentinenſem ſit translatus. *1077. XV. Kal. Jul. num.* CLXXXVII.

BERTHOLDUS DUX. *Ch. an. 1114. num.* CXCIII. XCIV. & V. *1125. 8. Jan. 1126. 2. Jan.*

CONRADUS DUX, advocatus S. Blaſii. *1123. 28. Dec. 1125. 8. Jan. & 28. Dec. 1126. 2. Jan. 1130. 8. Febr. 1138. 28. Novembr. 1139. 17. Febr. & 28. Maji. 1141. 10. Apr. 1144. 8. Jul. 1150. 20. Auguſti.*

BERCHTOLDUS advocat. abbatiæ S. Blaſii, & in Wittnowa, Dux & Rector Burgundiæ. *1141. 10. Apr. 1166. 1. Nov. 1070. 16. Maji. 1173. 4. Mart.* ADELBERTUS. 1181. HUGO. 1181. *1181. 1186. num.* CCXLIX.

BERCHTOLDUS DUX, & Rector Burgundiæ, *Turegici loci advocatus & judex, Dei, Imperatorum & Regum dono. 1187. num.* CCL. *&* LI. *1210. num.* CCLXI. *1212. num.* CCLXVI.

* ANNA, teſte Guillim. uxor Wernheri Comitis de Kiburg, fratre ſine liberis decedente, Burgundiam obtinuit, eamque marito ſuo in dotem attulit, quæ ipſa dein Burgundia per matrimonium Eberhardi Comitis Habsburgici ad Kyburgios poſteros devolvitur.

TOM. I. Mm II.

Marquard Herrgott: *Geneaologie diplomatica Augustae Gentis Habsburgicae* [...], Vienna: Typographia Leopoldi Joannis Kaliwoda (1737), vol. 1, book 6, heading 2, p. 273. Reproduction from Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Bibl.Mont. 2793-1. Online: https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10721289.

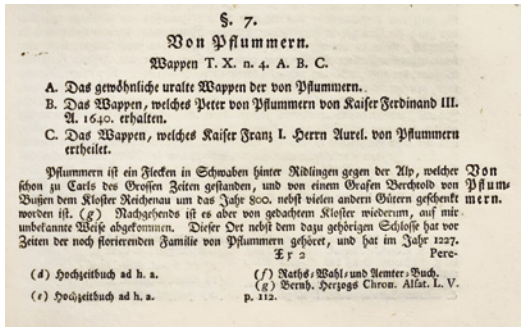
This "tabula" is the work of a Benedictine monk from the Habsburg monastery St. Blaise in the Black Forest. Here, Anna is not explicitly mentioned as the sister of Bertold V. Yet she, her connection to the Counts of Kyburg, and her role in the transfer of Zähringen property are nevertheless

allocated a place in the "tabula." The publication of Herrgott covers two volumes. The first volume tells the history of the house of Habsburg from its beginnings. The second volume presents the corresponding documents. Herrgott wrote for the learned world of the eighteenth century in Latin.

The anonymous author of the "Beyspiel" concluded that the "genealogical theorum" (or axiom: *geneaologischer Hauptsaz*) that Anna is the sister of the last Duke of Zähringen, spouse of Count Ulrich of Kyburg, and mother of Helwig of Kyburg (herself the mother of the Holy Roman King Rudolf I) was not finally "demonstrable."[6] And the historian Gatterer, who had declared that documents were an indispensable requirement for the production of a "genealogical statement" (*genealogischer Satz*), concluded that they constituted the skeleton of ancestry tables.[7] Yet he also placed Anna in his representation of the kinship of the two houses Fürstenberg and Habsburg in the position: "(7. Anna) was Berthold the IV's daughter and Count Ulrich von Kyburg's spouse." In the "genealogical statement," Anna von Zähringen was the "daughter." In the diagram in which this statement is found, she is likewise identifiable through the numerical designation "7" as sister of Bertold V. In this way, *stemma* and *tabula* were the ultimate condensation (or the diagrammatic implementation) of text, of "genealogical statements" that contained nothing other than "what is necessary for the knowledge of ancestry and distinction of one person from another."[8]

STEMMA, TABULA, SYSTEMA Genealogy of Power

Paul von Stetten did without the transformation of genealogical statements into ancestry tables. He was concerned not with corporeal kinship but with a male-dominated genealogy of political power. A member of the noble elite of the free imperial city of Augsburg and city administrator, von Stetten discovered a research desideratum concerning the history of the urban nobility. He noted that scholars who wrote about the German nobility hardly addressed this group without doubt for lack of sufficient evidence.[9] There were isolated works, but they had shortcomings. They were partly too short, partly incorrect, or made no particular distinction between the families of the larger and smaller towns. They dealt with the subject matter more according to legal scholarship or spread many fabulous speculations which could not be proven. His *History of the Noble Families in the Free Imperial City of Augsburg* (printed in 1762) was to remedy these defects.[10] For this purpose, he developed his own *"Systema."*[11] This system consisted of a sequence of statements in which he chronologically arranged and related information about the Augsburg patrician families. He provided detailed, reliable information about the property status of the individuals (including their offices and services) and the privileges of the described family. In footnotes, he listed the documents from which he had taken the information. Gravestones, coats of arms, and seals served him as sources as did honor- and wedding-books *(Heiratsbücher)* and other original documents that the families themselves had made accessible to him.[12] Stetten's *Systema* was a collection of so-called genealogical statements *(genealogische Sätze)* in the sense of Johann Christoph Gatterer, written in the vernacular German rather than Latin as with Schöpflin and Herrgott, that allowed the reader to draw conclusions about political influence and social position of the families described.



§. 7.

Von Pflummern.

Wappen T. X. n. 4. A. B. C.

A. Das gewöhnliche uralte Wappen der von Pflummern.
B. Das Wappen, welches Peter von Pflummern von Kaiser Ferdinand III. A. 1640. erhalten.
C. Das Wappen, welches Kaiser Franz I. Herrn Aurel. von Pflummern ertheilet.

Von Pflummern

Pflummern ist ein Flecken in Schwaben hinter Ridlingen gegen der Alp, welcher schon zu Carls des Grossen Zeiten gestanden, und von einem Grafen Berchtold von Bussen dem Kloster Reichenau um das Jahr 800. nebst vielen andern Gütern geschenkt worden ist. (g) Nachgehends ist es aber von gedachtem Kloster wiederum, auf mir unbekannte Weise abgekommen. Dieser Ort nebst dem dazu gehörigen Schlosse hat vor Zeiten der noch florierenden Familie von Pflummern gehöret, und hat im Jahr 1227.

Ff 2

Pere-

(d) Hochzeitbuch ad h. a.
(e) Hochzeitbuch ad h. a.
(f) Raths-Wahl- und Aemter-Buch.
(g) Bernh. Herzogs Chron. Alsat. L. V. p. 112.

Paul von Stetten: *Geschichte der adelichen Geschlechter in der freyen Reichs-Stadt Augsburg: sowohl in Ansehung ihres besondern Standes als auch in Ansehung einer jeden einzlen Familie. Mit 228. in Kupfer gestochenen Wappen und Siglen versehen*, Augsburg: Haid (1762), p. 347. Reproduction from Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, 999/Bav.686. Online: https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb11083698.

Von Stetten was interested not in reconstructing corporeal kinship but in offering a practical genealogy of political power. He used the instrument of footnotes to document his sources such as those found at the bottom of the page depicted here, which in turn refer here to wedding books (*Hochzeitsbücher*), a book of elections and offices, and a chronicle.

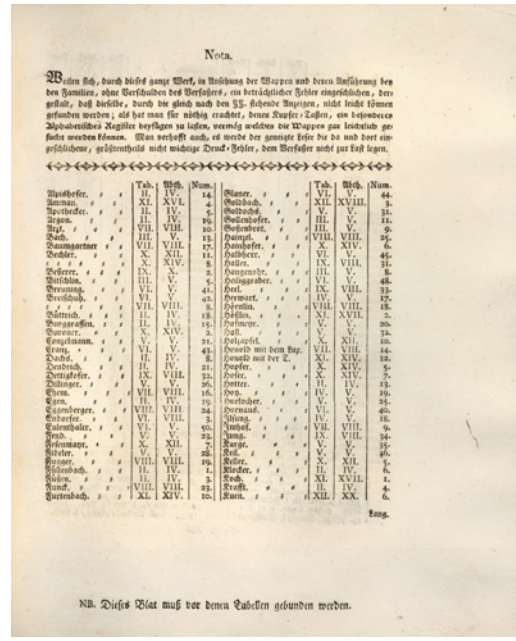


TAB. XII.

Wappen zu der XVIII. Abtheilung.

Wappen zu der XX. Abtheilung.

Paul von Stetten: *Geschichte der adelichen Geschlechter in der freyen Reichs-Stadt Augsburg,* Augsburg: Haid (1762), p. 473.



Nota.

Weilen sich, durch dieses ganze Werk, in Anführung der Wappen und deren Aufführung bey den Familien, ohne Verschulden des Verfassers, ein beträchtlicher Fehler eingeschlichen, ders gestalt, daß dieselbe, durch die gleich nach den ℔. stehende Ziffern, nicht leicht können gefunden werden; als hat man für nöthig erachtet, denen Kupfer-Tafeln, ein besonderes Alphabetisches Register beyfügen zu lassen, vermög welches die Wappen gar leichtlich gesuchet werden können. Man verhofft auch, es werde der geneigte Leser die da und dort eingeschlichene, geösterntheils nicht wichtige Druck-Fehler, dem Verfasser nicht zur Last legen.

	Tab.	Abth.	Num.
Apotheker.	II.	IV.	14.
Artman.	XI.	XVI.	4.
Apotheker.	II.	IV.	5.
Argen.	II.	IV.	19.
Arst.	VII.	VIII.	20.
Bach.	III.	V.	13.
Baumgartner	VII.	VIII.	17.
Bechler.	X.	XII.	11.
	X.	XIV.	8.
Beherr.	IX.	X.	2.
Bitchlin.	III.	V.	5.
Brenning.	VI.	V.	41.
Breschuh.	VI.	V.	42.
	VII.	VIII.	8.
Bürtrich.	II.	IV.	18.
Burggrafen.	II.	IV.	15.
Burwarr.	X.	XIV.	2.
Congshamm.	V.	V.	21.
Crantz.	VI.	V.	43.
Dadel.	II.	IV.	8.
Deadrich.	II.	IV.	21.
Dettigkofer.	IX.	VIII.	32.
Dillinger.	V.	V.	26.
Ehem.	VII.	VIII.	16.
Egen.	II.	IV.	19.
Egenberger.	VIII.	VIII	24.
Endorfer.	VI.	VIII.	3.
Enlenthaler.	VI.	V.	46.
Fend.	V.	V.	23.
Feremayer.	X.	XII.	7.
Fidler.	V.	V.	28.
Fugger.	VIII.	VIII.	19.
Fleischbach.	II.	IV.	1.
Fürer.	II.	IV.	3.
Funck.	VIII.	VIII.	23.
Furtenbach.	XI.	XIV.	10.
Glaner.	VI.	V.	44.
Goldbach.	XII.	XVIII.	3.
Gothofs.	V.	V.	31.
Gollenhofer.	III.	V.	11.
Gossenbrot.	III.	V.	9.
Haimpl.	VIII.	VIII.	25.
Hainhofer.	X.	XIV.	6.
Hallbeer.	VI.	V.	45.
Haller.	IX.	VIII.	31.
Hangendr.	III.	V.	8.
Heiliggraber.	VI.	V.	48.
Heel.	IX.	VIII.	33.
Heywart.	IV.	V.	17.
Hörnlin.	VIII.	VIII.	18.
Höffin.	XI.	XVII.	2.
Hofmayr.	V.	V.	20.
Hall.	V.	V.	32.
Holzapfel.	X.	XII.	10.
Howold mit dem Aug.	VII.	VIII.	14.
Howold mit der T.	XI.	XIV.	12.
Hopfer.	X.	XIV.	5.
Hofer.	X.	XIV.	9.
Hetter.	IV.	IV.	13.
Hoy.	IV.	V.	29.
Huetscher.	V.	V.	34.
Hermann.	VI.	V.	40.
Illsung.	IV.	V.	18.
Imhof.	VII.	VIII.	9.
Jung.	IX.	VIII.	34.
Kurtz.	V.	V.	35.
Keil.	V.	V.	36.
Keller.	X.	XII.	1.
Klocker.	II.	IV.	6.
Koch.	XI.	XVII.	1.
Krefft.	II.	IV.	4.
Kurn.	XII.	XX.	6.

Lang.

NB. Dieses Blat muß vor denen Tabellen gebunden werden.

Paul von Stetten: *Geschichte der adelichen Geschlechter in der freyen Reichs-Stadt Augsburg*, Augsburg: Haid (1762), p. 449. Reproduction from Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, 999/Bav.686. Online: https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb11083698.

Von Stetten's register of families, arranged (as the note at the bottom instructs) before the tables of coats of arms, was ordered alphabetically. It made the slim volume, printed on thin paper, an appropriate tool for informing oneself of the local nobility.

Reproduction from Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, 999/Bav.686. Online: https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb11083698.

The last of twelve total tables of seals and coats of arms provided as an appendix by von Stetten, here showing those of the Pflummern (4A, B, and C).

Notes

1 Parts of this chapter were translated by Eric Hounshell.
2 The *Annales Colmarienses* are a collection of sources from the thirteenth century. Parts of it are available in the original. Manuscript copies are housed at the University of Basel library, the Municipal Library in Colmar, the Württemberg Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, and the State Archive of Zurich.
3 See Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher (eds.): *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, New York: Berghahn (2013).
4 Gianna Pomata: "Blood Ties and Semen Ties: Consanguinity and Agnation in Roman Law", in: Mary Jo Maynes, Ann Waltner, Birgitte Soland, Ulrike Strasser (eds.): *Gender, Kinship, Power: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary History*, New York: Routledge (1996), pp. 43-66.
5 Johann Christoph Gatterer: "Von der Evidenz in der Genealogie", in: Johann Christoph Gatterer (ed.): *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer (1769), vol. 12, pp. 3-16; Anonymous: "Beyspiel zur Erläuterung der Gattererschen Methode in der Genealogie", in: Johann Christoph Gatterer (ed.): *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer (1769), vol. 12, pp. 18-46.
6 Anonymous: "Beyspiel zur Erläuterung der Gattererschen Methode in der Genealogie", in: Johann Christoph Gatterer (ed.): *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer (1769), vol. 12, p. 19.
7 Johann Christoph Gatterer: "Von der Evidenz in der Genealogie", in: Johann Christoph Gatterer (ed.), *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer (1769), vol. 12, p. 9. Genealogical statements are the result of the inspection of the available materials. These give information, first, on the ancestry of a person: "Time and place of birth, status group and office, honor *(Würde),* children (for persons of the male gender always, but for female persons only when one intends to show the maternal descent of a person). [...] If this is observed, insofar as it is possible, for all persons who one wishes to derive genealogically, then one compiles one or more genealogical tables *(Stammtafeln)* in the conventional way with the guidance of the genealogical statements that have been drawn from the sources."
8 Johann Christoph Gatterer: "Von der Evidenz in der Genealogie", in: Johann Christoph Gatterer (ed.), *Allgemeine Historische Bibliothek von Mitgliedern des königlichen Instituts der historischen Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Halle: Johann Justinus Gebauer (1769), vol. 12, p. 10.
9 On the problem of evidence in genealogical writings, see Michaela Hohkamp: "Kinship Matters: Genealogical and Historiographical Practices between 1750 and 1850", in: Erdmute Alber, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, Tatjana Thelen (eds.): *The Politics of Making Kinship: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, New York: Berghahn (2023), pp. 53-78.
10 Paul von Stetten: *Geschichte der adelichen Geschlechter in der freyen Reichs-Stadt Augsburg: sowohl in Ansehung ihres besondern Standes als auch in Ansehung einer jeden einzlen Familie beschrieben und aus bewährten Geschicht-Schreibern und Urkunden gezogen durch Paul von Stetten. Mit 228. in Kupfer gestochenen Wappen und Siglen versehen* [History of the Noble Families in the Free Imperial City of Augsburg, described both in terms of their particular status and in terms of each individual family and drawn from proven historians and documents by Paul von Stetten, younger. With 228 coats of arms and sigils engraved in copper], Augsburg: Haid (1762), Vorrede p. 2v.
11 *"Systema"* was a common term in the 18th century, at least since the publication of Carl von Linné, *Systema naturae, sive Regna tria naturae systematice proposita per classes, ordines, genera, & species,* Leiden: Haak (1735).
12 Paul von Stetten: *Geschichte der adelichen Geschlechter in der freyen Reichs-Stadt Augsburg: sowohl in Ansehung ihres besondern Standes als auch in Ansehung einer jeden einzlen Familie beschrieben und aus bewährten Geschicht-Schreibern und Urkunden gezogen durch Paul von Stetten. Mit 228. in Kupfer gestochenen Wappen und Siglen versehen* [History of the Noble Families in the Free Imperial City of Augsburg, described both in terms of their particular status and in terms of each individual family and drawn from proven historians and documents by Paul von Stetten, younger. With 228 coats of arms and sigils engraved in copper], Augsburg: Haid (1762), Vorrede p. 6r.

Further Readings

Erdmute Alber, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, Tatjana Thelen (eds.): *The Politics of Making Kinship: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, Berghahn: New York (2023).

Caroline Arni, Marianne Sommer, Simon Teuscher (eds.): *Diagrammatik der Abstammung*, in: *Historische Anthropologie* 31/1 (2023) (Special Focus), pp. 7-12, 34-164.

Jost Eickmeyer, Markus Friedrich, Volker Bauer (eds.): *Genealogical Knowledge in the Making: Tools, Practices, and Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg (2019).

Martin Gierl: "Johann Christoph Gatterer and History as Science", in: Keith Michael Baker, Jenna M. Gibbs (eds.): *Life Forms in the Thinking of the Long Eighteenth Century*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2016), pp. 19-43.

Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher (eds.): *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, Berghahn: New York (2013).