

RESIDENZENFORSCHUNG



SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF URBAN SPACES THROUGH THE AGES SOZIALE FUNKTIONEN STÄDTISCHER RÄUME IM WANDEL

Edited by Gerhard Fouquet, Ferdinand Opll,
Sven Rabeler and Martin Scheutz



THORBECKE

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Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

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Courtly Sites in Late Medieval Towns

Interaction and Representation, Perception and Construction

SVEN RABELER

Introduction: A courtly event and its historiographical construction
(Eisenach, St George's church, 6th July 1218)

*Anno Domini M^oCC^oXVIII. pridie Nonas Iulii Lodewicus lantgravius gloriosissime
in civitate sua Ysenach militarem honorem consecutus est.*

With these words the compiler of the ›*Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*‹, writing around 1340, described how the young landgrave Ludwig IV († 1227) ›was raised laudably into knight-hood in his city of Eisenach‹ on 6th July 1218¹. Some 80 years later this very short account was repeated in almost the same words by the ›*Historia de Landgraviis Thuringiae*‹ (›*Historia Eccardiana*‹)². The author, anonymous like his predecessor, depended clearly on the chronicle of the monastery of Reinhardsbrunn³, which was closely connected with the family of the Ludowingian landgraves of Thuringia, especially as their regular burial ground

1 *Cronica Reinhardsbrunnensis* (1896), p. 591. For this chronicle cf. TEBRUCK, *Reinhardsbrunner Geschichtsschreibung* (2001), esp. pp. 31–35; PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung I* (1968), pp. 111–116; IDEM, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung II* (1968), pp. 10–12. The quoted passage is based indirectly on the otherwise lost ›*Gesta Ludowici*‹ by the ›chaplain‹ Berthold (1200/28), its direct source was the anonymous ›*Vita Ludowici*‹ (written after 1308), whose also lost Latin text was the basis of the German biography by Friedrich Köditz (see note 5). PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung I* (1968), p. 112.

2 *Historia de Landgraviis Thuringiae* (1722), col. 421: *Anno Domini MCCXVIII. pridie nonas Iulii Lodewicus Lantgravius gloriose in civitate sua Isenach militarem honorem consecutus est*. For the work see Rothe, *Thüringische Landeschronik und Eisenacher Chronik* (2007), pp. XXIII–XXIV (introduction by Sylvia WEIGELT); PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung I* (1968), p. 120.

3 However, in both texts, the ›*Chronica*‹ as well as the ›*Historia*‹, the passage could also be based on the same source (cf. note 1). Concerning the ›*Vita Ludowici*‹ (see notes 1 and 5), WEIGELT, *Thüringische Landeschronik* (1997), pp. 112–113, describes the problem of the sources used by the author as quite obscure (›recht undurchsichtig‹) – it is not the aim of this paper to study the mutual dependencies of the mentioned sources in detail. Cf. the schematic overview by PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung I* (1968), pp. 114–115.

since the twelfth century⁴. Apparently, this was all historiographical information available in the early fifteenth century⁵ concerning a dynastic event and courtly spectacle of the past which was even more significant in its day because the new knight's father, Landgrave Hermann I, had died the year before⁶.

Around the same time, however, another author made a quite different story of it. In his chronicle of Thuringia (›Thüringische Landeschronik‹), written probably in the years 1418 to 1419, Johannes Rothe gives an account of the event, too:

»1218 years after the birth of Christ Landgrave Ludwig held a grand court in Eisenach. And there were all his counts from Thuringia, the *Osterlande* [i. e. the eastern parts of Thuringia], Meissen and Hesse, many princes and lords. And he did them great honours at large expenses. And he was made knight in St George's church before the altar on the eighth day after St Peter and Paul's day, the saint apostles. And he did not want to be made a knight at any other place.«⁷

Johannes Rothe⁸, born ca. 1360, made a clerical career. In 1387 he is first mentioned as a priest in Eisenach, in 1418 (probably already some years before) he was a canon of St Mary's (›Marienstift‹), an Augustinian monastery, whose school he headed later. For a while, he also was a scribe (*notarius*) of the municipal council of Eisenach, and he was related to the ruling Wettin dynasty, too, because he was a chaplain of Landgravine Anna († 1431), the

4 See RÖMER, Reinharbbrunn (2012); RUGE, Benediktinerkloster Reinharbbrunn (1999); SCHUBERT, Grabmäler (1987).

5 Between 1314 and 1323 Friedrich Köditz von Saalfeld, rector of the school of the monastery of Reinharbbrunn, translated the Latin ›*Vita Ludowici*‹ (›Leben des heiligen Ludwig‹, cf. note 1). Concerning the event discussed here, the text does not add any new information. Köditz, *Leben* (1851), p. 24 (II, 7): *Also man schreib nach Christi gebort zwelfhundert jar dar nach in dem achtzenden jar an dem achtin tage der liben zwelfbotin sente Petirs unde Pauls in dem heumanden wart der tugentliche lantgrave Lodewig in siner stat zu Isenach erlich zu rittere geslagin*. Surely, this sentence depends on the same source as the ›*Chronica Reinharbbrunnensis*‹ (cf. note 1), only transforming the date from the Latin form into the calendar of saints and describing the landgrave as ›full of virtue‹ (*tugentlich*), which is not surprising because in this text Ludwig is presented as the husband of St Elizabeth and as a saint himself. For the author and his text cf. MALM, ›Köditz, Friedrich‹ (2012); LOMNITZER, ›Köditz, Friedrich‹ (1985); PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung II* (1968), pp. 12–13.

6 For the Ludowingian landgraves of Thuringia see in general MÄGDEFRAU, *Thüringen im Mittelalter*, vol. 3 (2010); WERNER, ›Ludowinger‹ (2003); ASSING, *Aufstieg der Ludowinger* (1997); PATZE, *Politische Geschichte* (1974), pp. 10–41; IDEM, *Entstehung der Landesherrschaft*, pt. 1 (1962).

7 Rothe, *Thüringische Landeschronik und Eisenacher Chronik* (2007), p. 52: *Also man czalte nach Cristi geborth tußent CCXVIII jar, da hatte landtgrave Loddewig ein großen hoff zu Ysenache. Unde da worn alle sine grafen in Doringen, in deme Osterlande, Missen unde Hessen, vil fursten unde herren unde tath on da große erbarkeit mit kosten unde kleynotten unde wart da ritther in der kyrchen sente Jeorien vor dem altare uf den achten tag sente Petirs unde sente Pawwels der heiligen apposteln. Unde wolde anders nerne ritther werden danne daselbist*. For this text passage cf. in general HUBER, *Ritterweihe* (2002).

8 Concerning Johannes Rothe, see ZAPF, ›Rothe, Johannes‹ (2012); HONEMANN, ›Rothe, Johannes‹ (1992); IDEM, *Johannes Rothe in Eisenach* (1991); IDEM, *Johannes Rothe und seine ›Thüringische Weltchronik‹* (1987); WEIGELT, *Thüringische Landeschronik* (1997); PATZE, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung I* (1968), pp. 120–124; IDEM, *Landesgeschichtsschreibung II* (1968), pp. 14–16.

consort of Friedrich IV (›der Friedfertige‹, † 1440). He died in Eisenach in May 1434. Thus connecting urban and courtly aspects in his biography, Rothe is the author of several historical, hagiographical, judicial and didactical writings⁹. Eisenach and its relationship with the town's rulers form a core issue of his work¹⁰.

The difference between the very short text of the ›*Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*‹ and the more elaborate version by Johannes Rothe is significant: That does not just concern the length of the texts but their content. Rothe emphasises the courtly splendour of the event, the interaction between the landgrave and the nobility and thus the representation of princely power. So far, the town itself and its citizens are almost absent in his account so that courtly interaction and representation seem to take place within but without the town at the same time. At first glance, Rothe's colourful additions to the short remarks given by the ›*Chronica Reinhardsbrunnensis*‹ even enhance this trend. Only the sentence last quoted – »he did not want to be made a knight at any other place«¹¹ – makes it an example of the prince's close, perhaps even emotional relationship with his town. And in particular, Rothe connects the event with a specific site in the urban space not mentioned by earlier sources: one of the parish churches of Eisenach consecrated to St George¹². By presenting and strengthening the site of interaction and representation, Rothe inscribes the courtly event into the urban space so that the episode becomes an instrument of urban identification¹³. Moreover, in this way Rothe solves another problem: Up to the thirteenth century historical information about Eisenach is rather obscure¹⁴, and so Rothe had to take what he could find in order to imagine the town's past. Only the location of the lord, his court and courtly interaction in the urban space and their integration into urban tradition allowed him to construct the early urban history¹⁵.

9 An overview of Rothe's writings is given by HONEMANN, ›Rothe, Johannes‹ (1992).

10 WEIGELT, Thüringische Landeschronik (1997), p. 116, explains Rothe's modifications of his sources partially with Eisenach's precarious position as a residence town: »Zum anderen beziehen sich die Ergänzungen der Landeschronik auf lokale Angaben, die Rothe einfügt, um [...] auf die enge Verbundenheit des Landgrafen [...] mit Eisenach, der Residenz der thüringischen Landgrafen und Rothes Heimat[,] zu verweisen. Diese Umschichtung gegenüber der Quelle erfährt aus der dem Chronisten unmittelbar gegenwärtigen Gefährdung Eisenachs als Residenzstadt des Landgrafen [...] ihre Motivation.« Cf. also JOHANEK, Gedächtnis der Stadt (2016), pp. 389–390; HONEMANN, Johannes Rothe in Eisenach (1991), p. 79.

11 See note 7.

12 For the church St George (›Georgenkirche‹), today a largely post-medieval building, cf. BADSTÜBNER, Werden von Eisenachs Stadtgestalt (2007), p. 183; VOSS, Stadt Eisenach (1915), pp. 217–256.

13 For the creation of models of identification for social groups and entities by historiographical writing see JOHANEK, Gedächtnis der Stadt (2016), pp. 341–343 and 384–386.

14 For the early history of Eisenach cf. BADSTÜBNER, Werden von Eisenachs Stadtgestalt (2007); MÜLLER, Landgräfliche Städte (2003), esp. pp. 234–247; HEINEMEYER, ›Eisenach‹ (2003); HESS, Hessische Städtegründungen (1966), pp. 165–169; in general also BERGMANN, Ältere Geschichte Eisenachs (1994).

15 Cf. also Rothe's chronicle of Eisenach (see note 17). – These and other aspects will be treated in detail in the author's contribution to part III, 1 of the handbook ›Residenzstädte im Alten Reich (1300–1800)‹ dealing with the historiography of Eisenach and especially Johannes Rothe (the respective volume will be published in 2019).

Certainly, we cannot be quite sure that there were no other sources and especially no oral traditions which Johannes Rothe could have used although there would be no further traces of them. But probably, his additions are his own inventions following literary models, the more so as he varies his account in other works¹⁶: in his chronicle of Eisenach¹⁷ and – even more detailed – in his ›Ritterspiegel‹ (a book about virtues and habits of noblemen)¹⁸ and his ›Life of St Elizabeth‹¹⁹ as well. The latter text underlines the spatial aspect by telling that the landgrave came from the Wartburg²⁰, the castle situated above the town, to Eisenach and went by foot to St George’s church: *Lantgraffe Ludewig [...] / Qwam von Warperg keyn Isenache. / In sente Jorgin kirchin her ging [...]*²¹.

In general, the medieval court was an instrument of princely politics and lordship, in a broader sense, however, ›courtly‹ means behaviour patterns, forms of habitus and modes of live (›Lebensformen‹) primarily connected with the court but also spread beyond groups not immediately present there: So, ›courtly‹ and ›aristocratic‹ – the latter itself a difficult term regarding social attribution and self-conception in the Later Middle Ages – are closely intertwined²². In late medieval towns manifestations of court and courtly behaviours were connected with different sites in the urban space which was constituted physically as well

16 A similar view is taken by HUBER, Ritterweihe (2002), p. 170. For the variations of the account in Rothe’s writings see *ibid.*, pp. 169–172.

17 Rothe, Thüringische Landeschronik und Eisenacher Chronik (2007), p. 110: *Also man schreib noch Cristi gebort tusint zcweyhundert achzen jar, da liez her [i. e. Landgrave Ludwig] sich zcu ritter seynen eynen bischoff zcu Isenache yn sente Jorgen pharkerchin mit vel andern ediln jungelingen, dy her alle begabete mid ritters gorteln, pherdin, bunten rogken und ritters geczñge, das on zcugeborit. Dit geschach an deme achtin tage sente Peters und Pawwils der heyligen aposteln uffinberlichin.*

18 Rothe, Ritterspiegel (2009), pp. 72/74 (verses 873–892): *Von Doringin lantgrave Lodewig, / Sente Elsebethin elichir man, / Had gehaldin manchin bertin krig. / Dennoch so nam her sich dez an, / Daz her in sime nuenzcendin jar / In der stad zcu Ysenache / In sente Georien kerchin vor war / Liez sich zcu eyne ritter mache. / Undir der homeße dit geschach. / Eyn bischof seynete eme daz swert, / Man nig edelir man daz ansach, / Her vorgab do barnasch und pherd. / Czweiff junge ritter mit eme wordin. / Wi menlich her eyn forste waz! / So enphing her gotlichin sinen ordin. / An deme achtin tage geschach daz / Sente Petirs und Pauels do, / der lieb in apostiln beide. / In der kronikin vindit man ez also, / Di kan uns dez bescheide.* Cf. HUBER, Ritterweihe (2002), p. 169.

19 Rothe, Elisabethleben (2005), p. 61 (verses 1457–1471): *Alßo man schreib nach Christus gebort / Czweiff hundert jar unde achzen fort, / An syner apposteln achtin tage / Sente Peters unde Pawwils, alßo ich das sage, / Lantgraffe Ludewig umbe dij sache / Qwam von Warperg keyn Isenache. / In sente Jorgin kirchin her ging, / Das swert her ritterlichin enphing / Mit andern jungelingin gnug, / Dij man yme zcu ritter slug / Unde seynete on do er swert. / Den gab her barniß unde phert, / Kleider unde ander riche gabe. / Dit das stunt do wol zcu lobe, / Alßo dit von eyne bischofe geschach.*

20 Regarding the Wartburg in Ludowingian times, cf. KRÜGER, »Ut principem decet« (2005/06); STRICKHAUSEN, Burgen der Ludowinger (1998), esp. pp. 185–203; IDEM, ›Wartburg‹ (2003); IDEM, Bedeutung der Wartburg (2001); IDEM, Baupolitik Landgraf Ludwigs II. (2000); SCHWARZ, Wartburg in schriftlichen Quellen (2001).

21 See note 19.

22 PARAVICINI, Ritterlich-höfische Kultur (³2011), gives an excellent overview of late medieval courts’ social and cultural structures and habits. Numerous themes are covered by the handbook Höfe und Residenzen, vol. 2, 1 (2005).

as societally²³. This means that the urban space, like space in general, was defined by natural conditions, human shaping and the positioning of goods and objects on the one hand, by relations between individuals and groups on the other. In this view sites within the urban space were not static points of a town's topography but dynamic places of interaction and representation as well as subjects of perception and construction²⁴, thus changing the actual functions of urban spaces²⁵: On 6th July 1218 the church St George was the place of the encounter of courtly actors and urban public (the last present implicitly, at least). Far from daily life, it was an act of representing social structures, political orders and cultural habits. The description of the event was part of this communicative set because its interpretation was shaped by perspectives and intentions of individual (or collective) perception and historiographical construction.

In this relational structure of physical and social urban space we can distinguish roughly three types of shaping courtly sites: built, marked and performative²⁶.

1. Built sites are the housings of court in a material sense, in particular in the medium of architecture: the princes' castles and palaces as well as the court members' houses, furthermore churches and chapels for the court's service, buildings for administrative purposes and so on²⁷. Their forms are changeable, but their spatial positions are rather static

23 Regarding the linking of physical and social spaces, cf. RABELER, *Stadt und Residenz* (2016), pp. 49–51 (with references to the literature). Cf. also REHBERG, *Macht-Räume* (2006), pp. 44–49.

24 According to Karl-Siegbert Rehberg, »sites are connected indispensably with the [...] locating of specific acting« whereby these processes of locating are connected with tradition, memory, experience, planning and imagination. »Sites must be regarded as areas of acting which can be experienced in different spatial references.« REHBERG, *Macht-Räume* (2006), p. 46: »Demgegenüber wären *Orte* notwendig mit der überlieferten, erinnerten, erfahrenen, geplanten oder phantasierten *Verortung konkreten Handelns* (und deshalb *Erinnerns*) verbunden, sind *Orte* als *Handlungsräume* aufzufassen, die [...] in verschiedenen Raumbezügen erlebbar sind.« In this view Pim Kooij's taxonomy of political, economic, social and cultural urban space is rather a taxonomy of sites. KOOIJ, *Taxonomies* (2018), for social spaces/sites pp. 35–39. – In our context »perception« means intellectual description and evaluation, not sensory or atmospheric approaches which are increasingly discussed in some recent studies on urban history: Certainly, courtly sites and urban-courtly interactions could influence a town's specific »inner logic« or »habitus«, and despite the difficulties, the attempt to analyse these aspects of perception could be fruitful – but that would be the task of another paper. Cf. HAHN, *Eigenlogik der Sinneswahrnehmung* (2018). Regarding the concept of a history of (intellectual) perception and imagination (»Vorstellungsgeschichte«), see GOETZ, »Vorstellungsgeschichte« (2007); IDEM, *Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster* (2007).

25 »Spaces [...] can be regarded as areas of latency«, because the »societally encoded space« provides various potentialities: Within a specific space there can be different forms, modes and effects of social acting. REHBERG, *Macht-Räume* (2006), p. 46: »*Räume* [...] können als *Felder einer Latenz* angesehen werden. Ein jeder, notwendig sozial kodierter Raum eröffnet immer einen *Möglichkeitshorizont*.«

26 In the following only a few examples of literature are given in order to illustrate some research perspectives – a comprehensive overview is in no way intended. Extensive references to the literature are given by PARAVICINI, *Krieg der Zeichen?* (2014). Cf. also in general *Symbolische Interaktion* (2013); *In der Residenzstadt* (2014).

27 In particular, there are many studies on the building of castles and palaces, see e.g. *Burg und Stadt* (2008); SELZER, *Stadtburgen* (2006); *Zeichen und Raum* (2006); MÜLLER, *Schloß als Bild des Fürsten* (2004); HOPPE, *Funktionale und räumliche Struktur* (1996). For other architectural tasks see e.g. HAGEN, *Vom Stadttor zum Wappenturm* (2014); LASS, *Stadtkirchen und Hofkirchen* (2014).

- not only in a material sense: Such sites tend to define spaces explicitly and dominantly in a lordly or courtly manner although there can be overlaps and ambivalences, too²⁸.
2. Marked sites refer to languages of signs such as arms, mottos, emblems and inscriptions used to tag places ephemerally or rather permanently²⁹. Compared to architectural constructions, being also signs in their way, these markings are easier to change or to delete, it is easier, too, to counteract one with another, and more often there are different signs at one site. Moreover, such signs can be attached to buildings, but they need not.
 3. Finally, and even more dynamically one might say, performative sites are denoted by the medium of performative practises³⁰, so they are formed by the interaction of individuals and groups. Nevertheless, they are set in a context of architecture and material markings.

These types can be distinguished for analytical purposes, but they are linked with each other – even more, they overlap and thus constitute three aspects of courtly sites in urban spaces by building, marking and performing.

The following remarks will concentrate on performative sites. Their forms, functions and effects are rather well studied, especially from princely and courtly perspectives: for example, entries of the town's lord³¹, princes' encounters³², tournaments and other festivities³³. But regarding the functionalising of urban spaces, we will focus on sites themselves: Which significance do specific sites in the urban space have for interactions and representations of town and court? And which role do these sites play in the perception and construction, the memory and imagination of these interactions and representations, especially in urban perspectives? The study will build upon four examples, i. e. four events related to specific sites in different towns – London, Worms, Augsburg and Würzburg – and presented by texts of various types from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, thus including the threshold between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

28 Cf. the contribution by Matthias MÜLLER in the present publication, pp. 221–236.

29 See e.g. BIEDERBICK, *Von Cosimo il Vecchio zu Cosimo I.* (2017); BOUCHERON, *Hof, Stadt und öffentlicher Raum* (2006); SLANIČKA, *Krieg der Zeichen* (2002); PARAVICINI, *Gruppe und Person* (1998). Marcus Meer (Durham) is working on a PhD thesis about »Signs of Power, Signs of Identity, Signs of the City: Heraldry and Urban Visual Culture in Late Medieval England and Germany«, see <https://www.dur.ac.uk/cvac/centremembers/meer/> [5/8/2018].

30 See e.g. SCHENK, *Spielräume der Mache* (2017); IDEM, *Formen politischer Kommunikation* (2016); HIRSCHBIEGEL, ZEILINGER, *Urban Space* (2009). Cf. in general also HÖLKESKAMP, »Performative turn« meets »Spatial turn« (2015); OSHEMA, »Dass« und »wie« (2015).

31 See e.g. *Adventus* (2009); SCHENK, *Zeremoniell und Politik* (2003); KIPLING, *Enter the King* (1998).

32 See e.g. SCHWEDLER, *Herrschartreffen* (2008).

33 See e.g. DILLON, *Language of Space* (2010); *Europa Triumphans* (2004); *Höfische Feste* (2003); ZEILINGER, *Uracher Hochzeit* (2003); STREITBERGER, *Court Revels* (1994); STRONG, *Art and Power* (1984).

The town as the court's stage
(London, Cheapside, October 1469)

In October 1469 John (II) Paston (1442–1479), belonging to a Norfolk noble family that today is especially known because of a very rich preserved correspondence³⁴, wrote a letter to his mother *Mestresse* Margaret Paston († 1484)³⁵. He was staying in London at this time, and besides some family affairs, he had to deliver thrilling news from the capital. *The Kyng*e, he begins the last but lengthy part of his letter,

*is comyn to London, and there com wyth hym and roode ageyn hym the Duke of Glowcestre, the Duke of Suffolk, þe Erle of Aroundell, the Erle of Northumbreland, the Erle of Essex, the lordez Harry and John of Bokyngham, the Lord Dakrez, the Lorde Chambreleyn, the Lorde Montjoye, and many other knyghtys and sqwyerys, the meyr of London, xxij aldremen in skarlett, and of the craftys men of the town to þe nombre of cc all in blewe. The Kyng*e come thorow Chepe, thowe it were owt of hys weye, be-cauwe [otherwise] he wold not be seyn; and he was acompanyed in all peple wyth mⁱ horsse, som harneysyd and som nat³⁶.

After putting a temporary end to the machinations of Richard Earl of Warwick and the Lancastrians, which were only the beginning of the crisis menacing the king's reign during the next two years³⁷, Edward IV had returned from the North of his realm. In the second week of October he entered the city of London³⁸. In his letter our witness describes the encounter of the king and his town first of all by mentioning the persons involved: the king himself with his courtiers and officials, namely of noble status, on the one hand, the mayor and the aldermen of the city of London along with the members of the crafts' guilds on the other. In his list, however, John Paston does not stress the line between court and town in particular (it is only marked by the words: *and many other knyghtys and sqwyerys*): Just like his younger brother, John (III) Paston (1444–1504), he was an adherent of the Lancastrian party – two years later both took part in the battle of Tewkesbury³⁹. Primarily, he probably saw a gathering of traitors of the true king Henry VI, imprisoned in the Tower of London at that time. But although John Paston was obviously not very interested in the forms of Edward IV's entry, he noted the colours of the aldermen's and the craftsmen's clothing,

34 Paston Letters (2004–2005). Cf. in general CASTOR, *Blood & Roses* (2004); RICHMOND, *Paston Family* (1990–2000); OUELLETTE, *Paston Letters* (1994).

35 Besides general literature (see note 34) cf. ROSENTHAL, *Telling Tales* (2003), esp. pp. 95–147, for Margaret Paston.

36 Paston Letters, pt. 1 (2004), no. 245, p. 409.

37 Cf. POLLARD, *Edward IV* (2016), pp. 41–43; HICKS, *Wars of the Roses* (2010), pp. 186–206; ROSS, *Edward IV* (1997), pp. 126–177; SCOFIELD, *Edward the Fourth*, vol. 1 (1967), pp. 470–595.

38 King Edward's entry into London took place between 7th and 13th October 1469. SCOFIELD, *Edward the Fourth*, vol. 1 (1967), p. 503 with note 2. John Paston's letter, also quoted by Scofield (*ibid.*, pp. 503–504), is undated. HICKS, *Wars of the Roses* (2010), p. 194, dates the king's entry into London on 10th October (without specific proof).

39 RICHMOND, *Paston Family*, vol. 3 (2000), pp. 138–145.

thus indicating the solemn character of the event⁴⁰. Furthermore, he situated it exactly in the space of the city by mentioning a special site: *The Kynge come thorow Chepe* [...].

Historical research on courtly and, more generally, aristocratic festivities and pomp has often pointed out the towns' function as a ›stage⁴¹. Thus, cities were not only important in a practical sense because of their infrastructure, but the urban public was also a necessary background of demonstrating princely power, chivalric ideas and courtly manners. This ›stage concept‹ is immediately present in John Paston's letter giving the mentioned site a specific function: to let the people see the king – or in other words: to make the king's body and power visible by an act of representation open to a broad public⁴². Certainly, Cheapside was the right site for this purpose because it was the widest street in the city⁴³, being part of a central east-west axis as can be seen on sixteenth-century town maps (Figs. 1 and 2)⁴⁴. That enabled the spectators to stand on both sides when their sovereign passed on his ceremonial way through his city. The ›*Gesta Henrici Quinti*‹ give us an impressive image of the excited and curious crowd gathered on the occasion of King Henry V's entry into his capital after the victory at Agincourt (1415):

40 For the significance of the mayor's, the aldermen's and the citizens' common clothing at such events cf. BARRON, *London in the Later Middle Ages* (2004), p. 19.

41 See e.g. RANFT, *Feste* (1995), esp. pp. 249–250; IDEM, *Adelsgesellschaften* (1994), pp. 245–249. Cf. also RABELER, *Interaktion* (2017), p. 155; IDEM, *Niederadel* (2003), pp. 67–68; RUDOLPH, *Adventus imperatoris* (2011), p. 29 (›Kulisse seiner [i. e. the emperor's] Herrschaftsrepräsentation‹) and 33 (›Form der politischen Aufführung‹); LAMPEN, *Einzug des Herrschers* (2010); KRIEG, *Hochzeit* (2003), pp. 51–52. For the town as a stage of urban representation itself cf. e.g. STERCKEN, *Stadt als Bühne* (2012), and for the ›town as spectacle‹ GRIEM, *Text – Spektakel – Praxis* (2016), esp. pp. 176–179. In a broader context see also HENNINGS, HORST, KRAMER, *Stadt als Bühne* (2016); Venedig als Bühne (2017). – BARRON, *London 1300–1540* (2000), p. 411, evokes a similar image constructed and expanded from the perspective of the town's population: »[...] the frequency of these royal ceremonies [in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries] may help to explain the absence from London of any notable play cycles. The streets were full of drama: if not a royal procession, then there would be civic and parochial ones.« For the relationship between ›theatre in town‹ and ›town as theatre‹ in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see STERCKEN, *Spaces for Urban Drama* (2018), the quoted terms p. 52; cf. LANCASHIRE, *London Civic Theatre* (2002). – Concerning the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, WATANABE-O'KELLY, *Early Modern European Festivals* (2004), pp. 15–16, proposes a further differentiation: She distinguishes ›two main types of event: ceremonies and spectacles. Ceremonies are those events which do not just demonstrate power relations in symbolic fashion but which actually bring power structures into being«, e.g. coronations and solemn entries. ›Spectacles [...] are theatrical events«, e.g. operas and ballets. ›While ceremonies create power structures, therefore, spectacles act them out and present them symbolically [...]. This is not to say that ceremonies do not resemble performances [!], but rather that they are not performances in the same way that operas, ballets, *carrousels* and firework dramas are.« – See also note 155.

42 For the urban ›public‹ cf. e.g. MONNET, *Stadt* (2011); SCHWERHOFF, *Stadt* (2011).

43 LANCASHIRE, *London Civic Theatre* (2002), p. 28; LEES-JEFFRIES, *Location as Metaphor* (2007), p. 67; BERLIN, *Civic Ceremony* (1986), p. 21.

44 For the map by Braun and Hogenberg (Fig. 1, published 1572, based probably on the ›Copperplate Map‹, cf. below) see WHITFIELD, *London* (2006), pp. 34–35; BARKER, JACKSON, *History of London in Maps* (1990), pp. 12–13; for the ›Copperplate Map‹ (Fig. 2, 1553/59) see the contributions by John SCHOFIELD, Stephen Powys MARKS and Peter BARBER in: *Tudor London* (2001); WHITFIELD, *London* (2006), pp. 32–33; BARKER, JACKSON, *History of London in Maps* (1990), pp. 14–15.

»And apart from the dense crowd of men standing still or hurrying along the streets, and the great number of those, men and women together, gazing from windows and openings, however small, along the route from the bridge, so great was the throng of people in Cheapside, from one end to the other, that the horsemen were only just able, although not without difficulty, to ride through. And the upper rooms and windows on both sides were packed with some of the noblest ladies and womenfolk of the kingdom and men of honour and renown, who had assembled for this pleasing spectacle [...].«⁴⁵

Such a *compressio populorum* must be imagined as the civic audience on later occasions, too. When on 14th January 1559 the pre-coronation procession of Elizabeth reached Cheapside (Fig. 1), the future queen, according to the author of the procession's description published the same year, *on euerie syde cast her countenaunce, and wished well to all her most louing people*⁴⁶. In his description of James I's coronation procession in 1603 Thomas Dekker (†1632) gives the event the real atmosphere of a theatre: The people lining the streets await eagerly the appearance of the king. *And behold, A farre off they spie him, richly mounted on a white Iennet* [i. e. a Spanish pony], *vnder a rich Canopy* [...]. Consequently, *that morning the Tower served but for his with-drawing Chamber, wherein hee made him ready; and from thence stept presently into his Citie of London, which for the time might worthily borrow the name of his Court Royall* [...]⁴⁷. In Dekker's view the urban stage and the royal court are just the same at this theatrical moment. But this ›stage‹ of royal representation and courtly-urban encounter was by no means a neutral place, free of other meanings, perceptions and functions. On the contrary, there were strong connotations related to Cheapside.

In medieval times as well as today Cheapside (*Chepe*, i. e. ›market‹), running from Poultry to St Paul's Cathedral (Figs. 2 and 3), was one of the central streets of the city of London. Since the thirteenth century its starting point in the east had been marked by the ›Great Conduit‹, a public well fed by a water pipe from the rural environs of the city, whereas at

45 *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (1975), p. 112: *Et preter pressuras in stacione hominum et concurrentium per plateas ac multitudinem promiscui sexus aspiciendum ex fenestris et foraminibus, quantumcumque modicis, per viam a ponte, tanta erat compressio populorum in Cheep ab uno fine usque in alium quod vix equites, sed non sine difficultate, eos percurrere potuerunt. Solariaque et fenestre ex utroque latere referti de nobilioribus dominabus et mulieribus regni ac viris honestis et honoratis, qui ad visum delectabilem confluebant* [...]. The English translation quoted above *ibid.*, p. 113.

46 ›*The Quenes maiesties passage through the citie of London to westminster the daye before her coronacion*‹, printed in: NICHOLS, *Progresses*, vol. 1 (2014), pp. 114–139, the quoted passage p. 126. For the text see the introductory notes *ibid.*, pp. 112–114 (with references to literature). Cf. also the introduction by Germaine WARKENTIN in: *The Queen's Majesty's Passage* (2004), pp. 15–74 (the quoted passage in modernised English *ibid.*, p. 85). For royal entries into London see in general DILLON, *Language of Space* (2010), pp. 18–36; MANLEY, *Literature and Culture* (1995), esp. pp. 241–258 (cf. also the map, pp. 226–227); for Elizabeth's procession in 1559 e.g. LEES-JEFFRIES, *Location as Metaphor* (2007).

47 Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), fol. B4r. Cf. London in the Age of Shakespeare (1986), p. 343; for the term *Iennet* *ibid.*, p. 355 note 7. For Thomas Dekker see TWYNING, ›Dekker, Thomas‹ (2004). See also note 155.

the western end, near St Paul's, there was the ›Little Conduit‹⁴⁸. The street was also called ›Westcheap‹ in order to distinguish it from ›Eastcheap‹ in the city's eastern part⁴⁹. At the turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century an anonymous Italian author belonging to a Venetian embassy to King Henry VII was impressed deeply by Cheapside where »are fifty-two goldsmith's shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence [*grandezza*] that are to be seen in London«⁵⁰. A century later, in 1599, Thomas Platter (1574–1628), a young man from Basle and student of medicine at the University of Montpellier, saw Cheapside during his stay in England. In the account of his travels he describes it as a »very long street« where »almost only goldsmiths and money changers [dwell] on either hand, so that inexpressibly great treasures and vast amount of money may be seen here«⁵¹. Around the same time (1598) another traveller from the continent, Paul Hentzner (1558–1623) from Silesia, was impressed deeply by Cheapside, too, which in his view surpassed all other streets of London because of the range of the goldsmiths' products as well as a fountain in form of a *turris de aurata*, the so-called ›Standard‹, halfway between ›Great‹ and ›Little Conduit‹⁵².

Establishing goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside had a long tradition at this time since the *aurifabrica in foro* was already mentioned in 1235⁵³. But in the fifteenth century not only

48 Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1 (1908), p. 264. Cf. BUCHOLZ, WARD, *London* (2012), pp. 47 and 49.

49 Cf. the so-called ›Agas‹ Map of London, a woodcut dating from 1561/70: The A to Z of Elizabethan London (1979), for Westcheap pls. 8 and 10 (4 L–4 N) and p. 37; (Great and Little) Eastcheap, between St Martin's Lane and (Great) Tower Street, *ibid.*, pls. 23 and 25 (6 Q–6 R) and p. 39. Cf. the maps ›City of London c. 1270‹ and ›City of London c. 1520‹ in: *British Atlas of Historic Towns*, vol. 3 (1989). See also ELMES, *Topographical Dictionary of London* (1831), pp. 120 and 177–178; for the ›Agas‹ Map furthermore WHITFIELD, *London* (2006), pp. 38–39; BARKER, JACKSON, *History of London in Maps* (1990), pp. 18–19.

50 A Relation ... of the Island of England (1847), pp. 42–43: [...] *delle botteghe che sono in Londra 52 d'orefici in una strada sola, che si chiama la Strada [sic], che va à San Paolo, sono le dette botteghe tanto ricche, e ripiene di vasi d'argento grandi, e piccoli, che nelle botteghe di Milano, Roma, Venetia, e Fiorenza insieme al parer mio non ne hanno tanti di quella grandezza, quanti se ne vede in Londra [...]*. The English translation quoted above *ibid.*

51 Platter, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, pt. 2 (1968), p. 782: *An einer sehr langen gaßen, die Schepsgassen genemmet, wohnen vast eytel goldtschmidt unndt wegsler, zu beyden seiten, da einer unaussprechlich große schätz unndt menge gelts beysamen sehen kan*. English translation quoted above: Platter, *Travels in England* (1937), p. 157. For this travel journal see KEISER, *Tagebuch* (1963), with only very few references to the description of London.

52 Hentzner, *Itinerarium* (1612), pp. 133–134. Hentzner refers to the street *que ab aurifabris nomen habet*, which indicates the identification of Cheapside and the goldsmiths' shops. An English translation of the text concerning the description of England is given in: Hentzner, *Travels in England* (1797), pp. 31–32. – For the ›Cheapside Standard‹ see Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 264–265; cf. SCHOFIELD, *London* (2011), p. 31.

53 As part of a donation to the church St John the Baptist of Hollywell (Haliwell). Calendar of the Charter Rolls, vol. 1 (1903), p. 202: »[...] of the gift of the same Serlo [le Mercer] [...] two shops with solars which the said Serlo had in the goldsmithery (*aurifabrica*) in the Chepe (*foro*) of London [...]« Cf. also Calendar of Inquisitions, vol. 1 (1904), p. 308 (no. 917): *Orfaveria in foro London'* (Henry III, date uncertain); Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward III, vol. 1 (1893), pp. 42–43 (ad a. 1327).

goldsmiths, whose shops were concentrated at the west end of the street near St Paul's Churchyard⁵⁴, offered their products there. In his satirical poem ›London Lickpenny‹ an anonymous author, writing in the early fifteenth century, gives us a vivid impression when his poor Kentish visitor to the capital reaches Cheapside:

*Then into Chepe I gan me drawne,
Where I sawe stond moche people.
One bad me come nere, and by fine cloth of lawne,
Paris thred, coton, and umple.
I seyde there-upon I could no skyle,
I am not wont there-to in dede.
One bad me by an hewre, my hed to hele:
For lake of money I might not spede*⁵⁵.

Thus, the market area of Cheapside appears as a place of manifold commerce and consumption⁵⁶, especially characterised by luxury goods like gold and silver products as well as imported precious cloths⁵⁷. And so, it is hardly surprising that it became a literary symbol of wealth and urban life per se. Cheapside as site of consumption, pleasure and pomp, but also of moral recklessness is already demonstrated by Geoffrey Chaucer's († 1400) *prentys* who loved bet the *taverne* than the *shoppe*:

*For whan ther any ridyng [i. e. procession] was in Chepe,
Out of the shoppe thider wolde he lepe.
Til that he hadde al the sighte yseyn
And daunced wel, he wolde nat come ayeyn*⁵⁸.

And whereas for the author of ›London Lickpenny‹ Cheapside means a tempting, though confusing commercial centre, in John Webster's († 1638?) *Induction* to John Marston's († 1634) play ›*The Malcontent*‹ (published in 1604) the shop-signs of the now *five and fiftie* goldsmiths in Cheapside being the subject matter of a *strange* example of *the art of memory* represent the world itself, of course in a satirical manner, too:

54 SCHOFIELD, London (2011), p. 155.

55 Medieval English Political Writings (1996), p. 224 (verses 73–80). For the poem cf. BENSON, Civic Lydgate (2006), pp. 147–148.

56 For Cheapside as a food market see e.g. SCHOFIELD, London (2011), p. 26; BARRON, Later Middle Ages (1989), p. 55.

57 BUCHHOLZ, WARD, London (2012), p. 47, label Cheapside as »London's chief shopping street in 1550«. – Regarding the significance, the structures and the spaces of urban consumption in late medieval and early modern times, see e.g. SCHMIDT-FUNKE, Stadt als Konsumgemeinschaft (2018); Konsumentenstadt (2018); SELZER, Eine fürstliche Konsumentin (2014); WELCH, Shopping in the Renaissance (2005).

58 Chaucer, Canterbury Tales (2012), pp. 117–118 (›The Cook's Tale‹, verses 4365 and 4376–4380). We cannot be quite sure whether *Chepe* means ›Westcheap‹ (Cheapside) or ›Eastcheap‹ in this case (cf. above note 49). However, the reference to the *ridyng* seems to be more plausible for Westcheap (Cheapside). Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 118 note 1.

Why Ile lay a hundred pound Ile walke but once downe by the gold-smiths row⁵⁹ in Cheape, take notice of the signes, and tell you them with a breath instantly. [...] They beginne as the world did, with Adam und Eve⁶⁰.

The function of Cheapside as a trade centre is summarised by the historian John Stow († 1605) in his ›Survey of London‹, published 1598 and again 1603⁶¹. In particular, he gives a vivid spatial impression of economic dynamics over time:

*Men of trades and sellers of wares in this City haue often times since chaunged their places, as they haue found their best aduantage. For where as Mercers, and Haberdashers used to keepe their shoppes in West Cheape, of later time they helde them on London Bridge, where partly they yet remaine. The Goldsmithes of Gutherons lane, and old Exchange, are now for the most part remooued into the Southside of west Cheape [...]. Labourers euerie worke day are to bee founde in Cheape, about Sopers lane ende [...]*⁶².

In the course of the seventeenth century, however, Cheapside became less important for the retail of luxury goods because especially aristocratic and courtly customers increasingly preferred The Strand, the main street between the city of London and Westminster, with its new shops and bazaars although Cheapside remained one of the city's consumption centres well into the nineteenth century⁶³.

To sum up, Cheapside had various functions as one of London's central streets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: It was a place of commerce and consumption, but the ›Cheapside Standard‹ was also used for public executions⁶⁴. Moreover, Cheapside was permanently marked by a royal sign, the ›Cheapside Cross‹, which King Edward I had erected in mem-

59 According to Stow, Survey of London, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 345–346, the ›Goldsmith's Row‹, built near the western end of the street on the south side in 1491, contained ten dwellings and fourteen shops. Cf. SCHOFIELD, London (2011), p. 155; BUCHOLZ, WARD, London (2012), p. 47. ›Goldsmith's Row‹ was shown by a lost mural painting of the coronation procession of Edward VI (1547) in Cowdray House which has survived in the form of an engraving by James Basire from 1787. WHITFIELD, London (2006), pp. 30–31; SCHOFIELD, Topography (2000), p. 302; The Queen's Majesty's Passage (2004), p. 51.

60 Marston, Plays, vol. 1 (1934), pp. 143–144. Cf. Marston, Webster, The Malcontent (1604), fol. A4v. For John Marston see KNOWLES, ›Marston, John‹ (2004); for John Webster GUNBY, ›Webster, John‹ (2004), for his additions to ›The Malcontent‹ p. 886.

61 For John Stow see BEER, ›Stow, John‹ (2004), for the ›Survey of London‹ esp. p. 985.

62 Stow, Survey of London, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 81–82. – *Gutherons lane* = Gutter Lane, see The A to Z of Elizabethan London (1979), pl. 8 (4 M) and p. 41 – *old Exchange* = Old Change, replaced by New Change today, see *ibid.*, pls. 8 and 21 (4 L–5 L) and p. 45 – *the Southside of west Cheape* = (especially) Goldsmith's Row, cf. note 59. – *Sopers lane* (Soper's Lane), a street south of Westcheap no longer existing today, correlates with the northern part of present-day Queen Street, see *ibid.*, pl. 23 (5 N) and p. 53.

63 GRIFFITH, Politics Made Visible (2000); KEENE, Growth, Modernisation and Control (2001), pp. 17–19.

64 Stow, Survey of London, vol. 1 (1908), p. 265. Cf. SCHOFIELD, London (2011), p. 31.

ory of his consort Eleanor in 1290⁶⁵. John Stow tells us that there were tournaments in Cheapside, too⁶⁶. This multifunctional central site evoked imaginations of splendour and pleasure, luxury and exuberance, confusion and depravity – in short, contemporaries could see Cheapside as a manifestation of urbanity itself⁶⁷. Was it, therefore, only a further functional facet, spectacular but momentary, when English monarchs passed Cheapside on their regular processional way through the city? And was that just for practical reasons as John Paston suggested in his letter in 1469 when King Edward IV chose his way through Cheapside *thowe it were owt of hys weye*⁶⁸? Was there, in other words, no deeper interrelation between royal presence and this specific part of the urban space, between the courtly stage and the stage's urban site?

The Kynge come thorow Chepe [...]. Certainly, we do not know which associations John Paston had in mind when he wrote these words, the more so as our sources concerning the perception of Cheapside present urban views in particular. At least he did not think that he had to give extensive explanations to his mother – it seems that he expected some understanding at this point. That the site's structure and perception had a potential impact on its function as ›stage‹ of individual or collective actors may be shown by another example.

Describing ›Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London‹ in February 1432, after his coronation in Paris, John Lydgate († 1449) called Cheapside a *lusty place, a place of alle delycys*⁶⁹. This ›joyous entry‹ with its series of pageants was probably planned by the city's common clerk John Carpenter⁷⁰, who recorded a Latin account of the event in the city's letter book⁷¹. The objective of the royal entry's shaping was not only the praise of the king but also and even more the presentation of the city's interests – the ›courtly stage‹ rather became a ›civic stage‹. Lydgate's versified English account, a »fundamentally civic work«⁷² prob-

65 Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1 (1908), pp. 265–266. – Perhaps the meaning of this monument changed slightly in mid-fifteenth century: [...] *being by length of time decayed, Iohn Hatherley Maior of London procured in the year 1441. licence of king H. the 6. to reedifie the same in more beautifull manner for the honor of the citee* [...] (ibid., p. 266).

66 Ibid., p. 268.

67 Concerning the term ›urbanity‹ (›Urbanität‹), see the introductory remarks by STERCKEN, SCHNEIDER, *Urbanität* (2016), and also the other papers of that volume. Furthermore, cf. FOUQUET, *Neue Städtischkeit* (2016).

68 Concerning Elizabeth's pre-coronation procession on 14th January 1559, LEES-JEFFRIES, *Location as Metaphor* (2007), pp. 67/69, adds a further aspect: Cheapside »also took in some of London's most expensive shops, notably goldsmiths, and so could be relied upon to make a fine display along its street frontage«. Cf. BERLIN, *Civic Ceremony* (1986), p. 21.

69 Lydgate, *Mummings and Entertainments* (2010), p. 36 (verse 308). Concerning Lydgate, see in general – besides the short introduction by SIMPSON, *John Lydgate* (2009) – SPONSLER, *The Queen's Dumbshows* (2014), for ›Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London‹ esp. pp. 115–146; FLANNERY, *John Lydgate* (2012); NOLAN, *John Lydgate* (2009); *John Lydgate* (2006). – For Henry VI's entry see also BRYANT, *Configurations of the Community* (1994), esp. pp. 18–25.

70 BENSON, *Civic Lydgate* (2006), p. 152 and 153; FLANNERY, *John Lydgate* (2012), p. 123; BARON, *London in the Later Middle Ages* (2004), p. 21.

71 *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, vol. 3 (1862), pp. 457–464. Cf. *Calendar of Letter-Books: K* (1911), fol. 103b–104b, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-letter-books/volk/pp135-145#h2-0004> [6/8/2018].

72 BENSON, *Civic Lydgate* (2006), p. 151.

ably commissioned by the mayor of London⁷³, reflects this urban point of view. Scott-Morgan Straker even takes it for a piece of »propaganda [...] for the city of London«⁷⁴. The fifth pageant presented to the ten-year-old king was in Cheapside where the »Great Conduit« supplied wine instead of water – a symbol whose biblical as well as classical aspects are depicted in detail by Lydgate whereas Carpenter gives us only a short notice⁷⁵: Lydgate sees the *welles of Paradys* and *the water of Archedeclyne*⁷⁶, / *Which by miracle was turned into wyne*. Moreover, *Bachus shewed there his fulsomnesse / Of holsome wynes to every manere whit* [i. e. every sort of man]⁷⁷. Lydgate's labelling of Cheapside as a *lusty place, a place of alle delycys* – Carpenter calls it only *nobilissimus vicus Civitatis*⁷⁸ – indicates that it was by no means a pure coincidence that these allegories of abundance were situated at this site: The formulation used by Lydgate includes the connotations of pleasure, splendour and exuberance strongly connected with Cheapside, thus underlining the pageant's demonstration of the city's wealth, of course agreeable to God, but at this specific site the effect must have been rather secular and material⁷⁹.

In the following we will study the handling of the »stage« of courtly-urban interaction and thus the social functionalising of urban space from the perspectives of different sources. Thereby, the term »stage« is not a mere metaphor but an instrument of investigation which allows for analysing the relationship between the actors and the public, the material shaping and the observers' interpretation. We will approach the topic in three steps: constructing, reversing and transforming the courtly stage.

Constructing the courtly stage (Worms, »Obermarkt«, 26th August or 3rd September 1495)

In the spring and summer of the year 1495 King Maximilian and many princes of the Holy Roman Empire as well as emissaries of the imperial cities met in Worms. The resolutions of this Imperial Diet mark an important step of the development of the Empire's consti-

73 STRAKER, Propaganda (2006), p. 119; BENSON, Civic Lydgate (2006), pp. 153–154.

74 STRAKER, Propaganda (2006), p. 119. Cf. FLANNERY, John Lydgate (2012), pp. 123–124; BENSON, Civic Lydgate (2006), pp. 154–157.

75 Lydgate, Mummings and Entertainments (2010), pp. 36–37 (verses 310–348); Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis, vol. 3 (1862), p. 461.

76 The *architriclinus*, i. e. the master of the banquet, namely of that in Cana (John 2:1–11).

77 Lydgate, Mummings and Entertainments (2010), pp. 36 (verses 310, 312–313) and 37 (verses 316–317).

78 Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis, vol. 3 (1862), p. 461.

79 BENSON, Civic Lydgate (2006), pp. 156–157, also stresses less the religious aspects of the passage: »Yet, however holy, this transformed London is very much a garden of *earthly* delights [...]«. Due to a slightly divergent interpretation, Benson concludes: »Even though the *Triumphal Entry* describes a procession through the streets of London, there is no evidence that Lydgate knew much about daily life there.« That well may be, but it must not exclude the knowledge of the connotations connected with Cheapside.

tution at the threshold between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period⁸⁰. A quite long description of the Diet is delivered by Reinhart Noltz († 1518), a councillor and mayor of Worms and author of the so called ›Tagebuch‹ (›Diary‹), which is in fact a chronicle about contemporary events concerning the city on the Upper Rhine whereas autobiographical remarks are only occasionally inserted⁸¹.

Noltz tells us hardly anything about the contents and results of the negotiations – he is by far more interested in persons and circumstances, protocol issues and ceremonies⁸². He describes, for example, the various venues of the negotiations in detail: The electors and other princes met in the *Burgerhof* (›Bürgerhof‹), the town hall, where each elector had his own room for counselling whereas they used the *grosse stube* (›great hall‹) for general assemblies. The imperial cities' emissaries were also often in the *Burgerhof* in order to deliberate with the princes, and the nearby building of the shoemakers' guild was at their disposal for internal consultations. The venue of the meetings with the king was either the *Burgerhof* or the bishop's court where Maximilian was accommodated. Whenever a meeting of the imperial estates was scheduled, the marshal Wilhelm von Pappenheim⁸³ rode through the town from one prince's accommodation to the other and communicated the place of the talks, either the *Burgerhof* or the bishop's court⁸⁴.

80 See in general the collected sources in: Reichstag von Worms (1981); cf. BRADY, Maximilian I and the Imperial Reform (2015); HEINIG, Wormser Reichstag (2006); WEFERS, Wormser Tag (2000); GÖBEL, Reichstag von Worms (1993); 1495 – Kaiser, Reich, Reformen (1995). For the Imperial Diet in Worms from the town's perspective see REUTER, Worms als Reichstagsstadt (1995); furthermore the short remarks by KREUTZ, Königtum – Fürstentum – Städtebünde (2015), p. 190, and BÖNNEN, Zwischen Bischof, Reich und Kurpfalz (2015), p. 255.

81 Noltz, Tagebuch (1893), for the Imperial Diet pp. 388–398. Cf. also Reichstag von Worms, vol. 2 (1981), no. 1851, pp. 1675–1683. For Noltz see EISERMANN, ›Noltz, Reinhard‹ (2004), who interprets the text as »einen – an eine Öffentlichkeit gerichteten – städtischen Ereignisbericht mit gelegentlichen autobiographischen Anmerkungen« (col. 1056); MALM, ›Noltz, Reinhard‹ (2012); BÖNNEN, Zwischen Bischof, Reich und Kurpfalz (2015), p. 250; REUTER, Worms als Reichstagsstadt (1995), esp. pp. 125–126.

82 Cf. the general assessment of Noltz's ›Tagebuch‹ by EISERMANN, ›Noltz, Reinhard‹ (2004), cols. 1056–1057: »Große Bedeutung kommt, vor allem in den ersten Berichtsjahren, der Schilderung protokollarischer Fragen sowie ritueller und zeremonieller Handlungen zu, etwa bei königlichen Entrées anlässlich der Wormser Reichstage, bei der Übergabe von Geschenken seitens der Stadt an hochrangige Persönlichkeiten und bei der Beschreibung von Turnieren. Demgegenüber treten politische Themen zurück, etwa die Verhandlungen und Reformbeschlüsse des Reichstags von 1495.«

83 Cf. note 125 for the person.

84 Noltz, Tagebuch (1893), pp. 390–391: *Item die churfürsten und auch andere fürsten haben rade gehalten uf dem Burgerhof, das der statt rathus ist, und hat auch jeglicher churfurst ein eigen stub zu sinen räten uf dem hus, und darnach giengen sie zu hauffe in die grosse stube; auch waren die frien und richs stätte dick auch uf diesem hus zu rade bi den fürsten; auch was der könig manchmal uf dem hus bi den fürsten zu rade und waren auch dick die fürsten zu rade bi dem könig in sinem hof; und die richs stätt auch bi der kön. mayestat in sinem hof; die frien und richsstätt hatten ein sunder hus und stuben, daruf sie zu rad saszen, das was das Schumacherzunftus nahe bei dem Burgerhof. / Item wan die fürsten herren und stätte wolten rad halten, so reidte der marschalck, das was her Wilhelm von Pappenheim, umb von eines fürsten hof zum andern und gebeut zu rat uf dem Burgerhof oder zu dem könig in sin hof oder wo sie dann hinkommen solten.* Cf. REUTER, Worms als Reichstagsstadt (1995), p. 128.

Thus, Noltz inscribes the event into the urban space, a historiographical procedure we have already seen, although in quite another context and shape, in Johannes Rothe's localisation of Landgrave Ludwig's accolade in St George's church in Eisenach. Reinhart Noltz, one might say, stretches a narrative web of sites over the town, which he expands further, for example, by specifying the accommodations of the princes regularly:

»In the year 1495 on Wednesday after Reminiscere [i. e. on 18th March] the Roman king Maximilian arrived in Worms [...] and his accommodation was in the bishop's court according to the old tradition and custom [...].

Archbishop Berthold of Mainz [...] came with the king from the Low Countries, and he was the Empire's chancellor, and he was accommodated in the *Hanegassen* [i. e. »Hagengasse/-straße«] in a house called *zum Tyrolf*, in which Hammann Liszberg dwelt, a councillor of Worms, and the Roman chancellery was also hosted with him in the house *zum Tyrolf*. And the bishop of Mainz had a further house called the *Jabenhof* on the other side [of the street], and in this house there was the kitchen, and a footbridge had been constructed over the alley from the one house to the other.

On Monday after Oculi [i. e. on 23rd March] Archbishop Hermann of Cologne arrived [...] and he was accommodated near the St Andreas Gate [»Andreaspforte«] in the house of the canon Johann von Hattstatt.«⁸⁵

In this manner Noltz continues to notice the provided dwellings and their civic owners, often members of the town's council, whenever a prince arrives⁸⁶.

One event seems to have attracted the attention of our witness far more than all the other: the tournament combat between King Maximilian and the Burgundian nobleman Claude de Vaudrey on 26th August (or on 3rd September as the account of a Venetian embassy says)⁸⁷.

85 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), pp. 388–389: *Item anno 1495 uff mitwoch nach reminiscere ist der Römische konig Maximilianus gen Worms kommen [...] und ist aber zur herberg gewest in des bischofs hof nach altem herkommen und gewonheit [...]. / Item der ertzbischof Bartoldus von Mentz [...] quame mit dem konig gen Worms usz dem Nederland und was selbst cantzler des richs und was zur herberg in der Hanegassen in einem hof zum Tyrolf genant, da Hammann Liszperg in sasze, ein ratherr zu Worms, und hat auch die Römische cantzelei bi im zum Tyrolf. Und hat der bischof von Mentz auch einen hof dagegen über bestanden genant der Jabenhof, und was die kuchen im selben hof, und was ein gang über die gasz gemacht von einem hof oben zu dem andern. / Item darnach am montag nach oculi quame der ertzbischof Hermannus von Cölln [...], und ward beherbergt bi s. Andres pforten in eines thumbherren hof genant her Johan von Hattstatt. Cf. REUTER, Worms als Reichstagsstadt (1995), pp. 130–131.*

86 See Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), pp. 390 (Archbishop Johann of Trier, Count Palatine Philipp, Count Eberhard of Württemberg, Duke Friedrich of Saxony), 391 (the margrave of Brandenburg and the »young« duke of Mecklenburg), 393 (Landgrave Wilhelm of Hesse, Duke Hans of Bavaria) and 394–395 (Duke René of Lorraine).

87 For the date given by Noltz see note 88. A summary of the Venetian account is published in: *Reichstag von Worms*, vol. 2 (1981), no. 1881, pp. 1810–1812 (for the tournament see p. 1812). According to *Regesta Imperii XIV*, vol. 1 (1990), no. 2352, p. 288 and no. 2401, pp. 295–296, the 3rd September is more likely; cf. also ZOTZ, *Adel, Bürgertum und Turniere* (1985), p. 459. The Venetian embassy's

»On Wednesday after Bartholomew's Day the Roman King Maximilian fought with a *Walon* [i. e. someone from a francophone region] named Claude de Vaudrey, a native from *Hoch-Burgundie* [i. e. the Franche-Comté], in Worms on the Upper Market at the New Gate [...].«⁸⁸

At this time the ›Obermarkt‹ (›Upper Market‹), situated in the northern part of the city at the ›Neupforte‹ (›New Gate‹)⁸⁹, had already been the scene of other events during the Diet, for example the solemn investiture of the former count Eberhard of Württemberg as a duke⁹⁰. And reading the following one and a half pages of the edition of our source – the passage occupies nearly 15 per cent of the whole description of the Diet and Maximilian's stay in Worms –, one might think that Noltz was by far less interested in the two tournament champions than in this site of their combat. »And the market«, he continues, »was prepared in a nice, beautiful and pleasurable manner, covered by sand and surrounded by barriers«⁹¹. He gives much more information about these barriers, their arrangement and construction⁹² although his description of the two opponents' tents, full of arms and colours, is even more detailed⁹³. Again and again, he locates exactly what he sees: King Maximilian's tent was placed between the *Dantzhus* (the ›dance house‹ used for the town's festivities) and the inn ›Zum Schwan‹ (›The Swan‹), Claude de Vaudrey's tent near the

presence is also mentioned by Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 396. For Claude de Vaudrey see COOLS, *Mannen met macht* (2001), p. 296 (no. 247).

88 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 396: *Item uf mitwochen nach Bartholomaei kempfet der Röm. könig Maximilianus zu Worms uf dem Obermarck bi der Newon pforten mit einem Walon genant Glade de Wadria, was geboren us Hoch-Burgundie [...]*. – For the tournament cf. ZOTZ, *Adel, Bürgertum und Turniere* (1985), pp. 458–460; furthermore, the short remarks by REUTER, *Worms als Reichstagsstadt* (1995), p. 133; WIESFLECKER, *Maximilian*, vol. 2 (1975), pp. 238 and 478 note 98.

89 For the topography of late medieval Worms see the map in: BÖNNEN, *Zwischen Bischof, Reich und Kurpfalz* (2015), p. 252. HIRSCHMANN, *Zu den Wormser Märkten* (1999), p. 14, outlines the development of market areas in the northern part of the town since the thirteenth century but does not mention the ›Obermarkt‹ explicitly.

90 MAURER, *Eberhard im Bart* (2000), pp. 24–25; IDEM, *Erhebung* (1999), pp. 13–16; REUTER, *Worms als Reichstagsstadt* (1995), pp. 132–133. Cf. Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 393: *Item uf fritag nach dem ostertag macht man dem könig sinen königsstuel, die regalia zu lieben, uf dem Obermarck bi dem Pfulde hinderm Schwanen bi dem Dantzhus*.

91 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 396: [...] *und was der marck hüpsch schön und lustig zugerüst mit sand und mit schrancken gerings umher [...]*.

92 Ibid., p. 396: [...] *doch so was dieses mal an die schrancken bort geschlagen, die waren halber entzwei geschnitten und ufrechts die lenge angeschlagen und waren oben daran spitz enge schnitten, auch stunden die burger gewapnet daran gerings umher je einer an dem andern, wie auch vorhin, da die kön. mayestat sasze, und in diesen schrancken waren andere schrancken ufgeschlagen, auch rings umher, die warent nider, dasz man darüber lenet, und stunden viel edellut daran [...]*.

93 Ibid., p. 396–397: *Auch hat der könig ein gezelt ufgeschlagen, das stünde zwischen dem Dantzhus und dem Schwanen und hat oben daran des richs schild gemalt, und hant auch bort vor das getzelt geschlagen, die waren wisz rot gelb und grün gemalt dick umb einander. Dargegen über die lang ysen bi Altenburg hus hat der Wale auch ein gezelt ufgeschlagen, daruf sin schild und helme stant und auch die schild des jungen printzen hertzog Philips des Römischen königs son, die darnach in unser frawen kirchen in der fürstat gesteckt waren worden; und auch bort umb sin gezelt geschlagen, die warent grün gemalet*.

*Altenburg hus*⁹⁴. Queen Bianca Maria stood before a cleric's house called Peter Zan⁹⁵. After such an amount of details concerning all aspects of the scene Noltz's very few words about the combat itself appear rather laconic:

»And the king as well as the *Wale* [i. e. his Burgundian opponent] rode out of their tents and they fought with each other and the judge [Rudolf of Anhalt] decided justifiably in public that the king had won the combat.«⁹⁶

There is another account of the Worms tournament in the biography of the Franconian knight Wilwolt von Schaumberg († 1510), the so-called ›Geschichten und Taten‹ (›Histories and Deeds‹), written by his brother-in-law Ludwig von Eyb († 1521)⁹⁷. Both, the author and his hero, who were also present in Worms during the Imperial Diet⁹⁸, were experts of tournament, and this text gives all the information one might expect concerning the course of the combat itself⁹⁹. It is characteristic, too, that the appearance of the herald, generally playing a most significant role in courtly and noble culture¹⁰⁰, is noticed by Noltz in just one short sentence whereas the ›Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumberg‹ report his announcement in detail¹⁰¹. The material scene, however, seems to be far less important for the Franconian noblemen than it is for Reinhart Noltz, and they do not mention the location in the urban space at all: In their perspective the site does not matter. Changing the medium, a similar concept, still further increased, can be found in a miniature (Fig. 4) from the ›*Freydal*›¹⁰², a manuscript (ca. 1512/15) which documents Maximilian's tourna-

94 See note 93.

95 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 397: *Die königin stunde uf einem gang gegen dem richter stuele vor eines pfaffen hus genant her Peter Zan [...]*.

96 *Ibid.*: [...] *und reid der könig und auch der Wale us iren gezeltcn und kempften mit einander und ward also do offentlichen mit recht durch den obgenanten richter erkant, dasz der könig den kampf gewonnen hat.*

97 Ludwig von Eyb, *Geschichten und Taten* (2018). For Wilwolt von Schaumberg and Ludwig von Eyb as well as the ›Geschichten und Taten‹ see in general RABELER, *Lebensformen* (2006).

98 RABELER, *Lebensformen* (2006), pp. 167, 210, 266 and 422.

99 Ludwig von Eyb, *Geschichten und Taten* (2018), pp. 272–274.

100 See e.g. BOCK, *Herolde* (2015); HILTMANN, *Heroldskompendien* (2011); MELVILLE, »Un bel office« (2002).

101 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 396: [...] *auch wurden viel gebott usgeruffen und getrumbt, also dasz niemand solt dazu lauffen want wer dazu bescheiden were.* – Ludwig von Eyb, *Geschichten und Taten* (2018), p. 273: *In dem reitt ein heroltt aus des künigs getzeltt, außsprüffende vnnd meniglich still zw sein gebittende, die kempffenn nit zw irren, weder redenn, schreyen, wincken noch teuten, sündler sie mitt einander fechtenn vnnd gewern lassenn. Wer aber sülichs verbrecht, wes stanndts der wer, den solt nichts beschirmen, sündler im das haubtt an alle gnad abgeschlagen werden.*

102 See in general *Freydal* (1880–1882), with edition of the text and reproductions of all miniatures; furthermore KRAUSE, *Turnierbuch Freydal* (2014); NIEDERHÄUSER, *Kaiser Maximilian als Turnierkämpfer* (2014), pp. 97–99; *Ritterturnier* (2014), cat. no. 22, pp. 170–171 (Stefan KRAUSE); *Kaiser Maximilian I.* (2012), cat. no. 72, pp. 282–284 (Stefan KRAUSE); TERSCH, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse* (1998), esp. pp. 120 and 123; *Hispania – Austria* (1992), cat. no. 126, pp. 310–313 (Christian BEAUFORT-SPONTIN). For the miniature of the combat with Claude de Vaudrey cf. *Freydal* (1880–1882), pp. LVIII–LX and ill. 39; PFAFFENBICHLER, *Maximilian I. und das höfische Turnier* (2014), pp. 132 and 139; 1495 – *Kaiser, Reich, Reformen* (1995), cat. no. F 13, pp. 286–287 (Claudia HELM);

ment adventures, created within the emperor's ›Ruhmeswerk‹¹⁰³: Maximilian and Claude de Vaudrey are depicted as combatants on foot. There is no hint of a specific locality, only the shaping of the ground suggests some spatiality in a quite abstract way. This form of visualisation, typical for illustrated tournament books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerning the deeds of an individual prince or nobleman¹⁰⁴ (see also Fig. 8), concentrates exclusively on the persons immediately involved and the combat itself. Yet, around 1500 the perspective of artists imagining tournaments could be quite different: In a woodcut from 1506 (Fig. 6)¹⁰⁵ Lucas Cranach the Elder († 1553) depicts a tournament, not a joust but a mass struggle, on a market place, showing the spectators behind the barriers as well as in the windows and shaping the urban scenery by groups of people on the streets and in front of the houses and shops. The courtly audience is seen on a balcony in the background. We also find a clearly urban localisation of the depicted tournament – this time a joust, obviously in a not quite serious context – in an engraving by the monogrammist MZ (probably Matthäus Zasinger, † ca. 1555) from 1500 (Fig. 5): In this case, however, the space appears to be divided clearly in the foreground's courtly stage and the nearly separated urban scenery as backdrop¹⁰⁶.

Noltz's extensive account of the Imperial Diet reflects the event's significance for the town of Worms which claimed the status of an imperial city against the governance of the

Hispania – Austria (1992), cat. no. 126a, p. 311 (Christian BEAUFORT-SPONTIN). There is an actual research project concerning the ›Freydal‹ under the direction of Dr. Stefan Krause (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien), see [https://www.khm.at/erfahren/forschung/forschungsprojekte/kunsthistorische-projekte/freydal-das-turnierbuch-kaiser-maximilians-i-von-151215/\[11/8/2018\]](https://www.khm.at/erfahren/forschung/forschungsprojekte/kunsthistorische-projekte/freydal-das-turnierbuch-kaiser-maximilians-i-von-151215/[11/8/2018]).

103 See Maximilians Ruhmeswerk (2015); Kaiser Maximilian I. (2012); TERSCH, Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse (1998), pp. 111–149; MÜLLER, Gedechnus (1982).

104 KURRAS, Ritter und Turniere (1992), p. 15: »Es sind hier verschiedene Kategorien [of tournament books] zu unterscheiden: 1. Persönliche Turnierbücher, die von den Rennen und Stechen eines einzelnen über eine Reihe von Jahren berichten. [...]« Examples *ibid.*, pp. 50–53.

105 For this woodcut (Bartsch 124) cf. Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 11 (1980), p. 417; Lucas Cranach (1972), pp. 380–385; HOLLSTEIN, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, vol. 6 (1960), p. 93; 1514 – Macht, Gewalt, Freiheit (2014), cat. no. 81, pp. 141–142 (Bernd MAYER); Cranach der Ältere (2007), cat. no. 32, pp. 178–179 (Bodo BRINKMANN). – For Cranach's later tournament woodcuts from 1509 (Bartsch 125–127) see Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 11 (1980), pp. 418–420; Lucas Cranach (1972), pp. 392–397; HOLLSTEIN, German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, vol. 6 (1960), p. 94–96; 1514 – Macht, Gewalt, Freiheit (2014), cat. nos. 82–83, pp. 142–144 (Bernd MAYER); Cranach der Ältere (2007), cat. nos. 33–34, pp. 180–181 (Bodo BRINKMANN); Lucas Cranach (1994), cat. nos. 141–142, pp. 320–321 (Ursula TIMANN).

106 For this engraving by Master MZ (Bartsch 14) cf. Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 9 (1981), p. 370; HUTCHISON, Early German Artists, pt. 2 (1991), p. 318; Ritterwelten (2009), cat. no. 22, pp. 216–219 (Franz NIEHOFF, who assumes that it could be the depiction of a carnival tournament: »[...] eines Ritterspiels, welches vielleicht zur Fastnacht stattfand«). Concerning the widely accepted identification of the monogrammist MZ with Matthäus Za(i)singer, a Munich goldsmith, see HUTCHISON, Early German Artists, pt. 2 (1991), pp. 301–302; Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, vol. 36 (1947), p. 417, s. v. ›Zasinger, Matthäus‹; *ibid.*, vol. 37 (1950), pp. 437–438, s. v. ›Meister MZ‹. – Further examples of images of a tournament in an urban scenery are a painting by Hans Leonhard Schäußelein († 1538/40), see 1495 – Kaiser, Reich, Reformen (1995), cat. no. F 9, pp. 283–284 (Claudia HELM), and a miniature by Jörg Breu the Younger in the manuscript of Paul Hector Mair's ›Fechtbuch‹ (ca. 1542), see KURRAS, Ritter und Turniere (1992), pp. 45 and 48–49.

bishops, especially (again) since the late 1480s¹⁰⁷. Only in one passage the chronicler presents the town in direct interaction with King Maximilian who granted an audience to the representatives of the commune on 21st March: The latter submitted that they no longer wanted to be subjugated by the episcopal rule because they were »free citizens of the Roman Empire« ([...] *allein des Römischen richs als frie burger*), stressing the unity of commune and magistrate in this question (*dasz es der gemein wille was und rat und gemeine eins weren*)¹⁰⁸. Otherwise, the city's population and the magistrate have no substantial active part in the events told by Noltz, they seem to be mostly passive spectators of a drama. Noltz introduces the dramatis personae, he records their appearances and exits as well as their movements. From this perspective it is only consequential that his account culminates in the theatrical scene of the tournament on 26th August (or 3rd September): On this day the ›Obermarkt‹ was the stage of a courtly spectacle in which the citizens of Worms could be only spectators, not even mentioned by the ›Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumberg‹. But Noltz changes the perspective: The main subject of his description is neither the king and his power nor the court and its protagonists, not even the aristocratic pomp and knightly ritual, but the site and its shaping. He is less interested in the courtly action on the stage than in the stage itself so that the courtly action nearly vanishes behind the urban site's description. His sense for the material details which mark the site ephemerally – the barriers, the sand, the tents' position – may have been further motivated by his function as the city's mayor because the council was responsible for the organisational issues¹⁰⁹. Constructing the site and thus functionalising urban space, Reinhart Noltz transforms the courtly spectacle in an opportunity of civic representation.

Reversing the courtly stage
(Augsburg, ›Fronhof‹, 1489)

About five decades earlier, in the year 1442, there was a tournament combat between Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg and the knight Hans Frauenberger at the *fronhoff* (›Fronhof‹) in Augsburg. Burkard Zink († 1474/75) gives a lengthy account of this event in his

107 BÖNNEN, *Zwischen Bischof, Reich und Kurpfalz* (2015), p. 243: »Der Bezug auf die Reichsfreiheit wurde seit den späten 1480er Jahren zur rechtlichen und gleichsam ideologischen Grundlage des städtischen Handelns.« Cf. also SCHENK, *Spielräume der Mache* (2017), pp. 55–60. – There are also later urban historiographical works emphasising the role of the own town as venue of Imperial Diets although the authors had not always quite the same reason. Cf. e.g. for the imperial cities Frankfurt and Regensburg, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, DZEJA, *Geschichte der eigenen Stadt* (2002), pp. 147–161; WOLF, *Bilder* (1999), pp. 233–234.

108 Noltz, *Tagebuch* (1893), p. 389.

109 Cf. also the ›Baumeisterbuch‹ (written 1464–1475) in which Endres Tucher, member of the magistrate of the city of Nuremberg and since 1461 as ›Baumeister‹ responsible for buildings, streets, water supply, fire protection, waste disposal etc., explains what was to do concerning the cleaning of places and streets and the preparing of tournament areas, *wo vill herschaft herkomen sollt or wo herschaft hie were oder von burgern iemant were, die stechen oder rennen wolten*. Tucher, *Baumeisterbuch* (1862), pp. 254–256. Cf. also ENDRES, *Turniere und Gesellenstechen* (2001), p. 266.

chronicle of the imperial city on the Lech, emphasising the circumstances and describing even the barriers rather similar to Reinhart Noltz¹¹⁰. In this respect Zink's account is not surprising. At the end of the passage, however, he widens the perspective, away from the combatants and the scenery, from the actors and the stage to the public, depicting the crowd present during the spectacle:

»When the joust was ended and the people walked away and everybody left the *fronhoff* and the people escorted the lord [i. e. Margrave Albrecht], the street from the cathedral [*unser frawen*] up to the granary [*kornschrant*, ›Kornschrann‹]¹¹¹ was full of folks, I think that there were about four or five thousand people. So the margrave rode to his accommodation [...].«¹¹²

It seems that the ›Fronhof, the place in front of the episcopal palace west of the cathedral, was regularly used for tournaments during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries¹¹³. The Augsburg map by Wolfgang Kilian (›Kilianplan‹) from 1626 (Fig. 7) illustrates not only the topographical situation but demonstrates also the public character of the place in the early seventeenth century. Zink's report about the huge event in 1442 shows that the ›Fronhof‹ must have been especially suitable for public access, even if the number of people may have been a little exaggerated.

Nearly half a century later there was a spectacle documented by the tournament book of an Augsburg citizen: »In 1489 I, Marx Walther, had a very large lance and jousted [*rant*] with it against Jacob Ridler [...].«¹¹⁴ Walther tells further that four renowned *wappenmaister* (masters and instructors in the art of tournament) present at this event were quite astonished about this special object of weight and reputation, which could be carried only by two men. Thereupon his adversaries spread the rumour that this frightening lance should be hollow and a mere trick. In order to rebut that defamation, Walther chose a quite extravagant way:

»I, Marx Walther, mounted a horse at the *fronhof* in Augsburg and I had a boy with me, who was in his fourteenth year. I had this boy placed on the lance as it is painted

110 Zink, *Chronik* (1866), pp. 97–98. For Burkard Zink see – besides MALM, ›Zink, Burkhard‹ (2012), and SCHNITH, ›Zink, Burkhard‹ (1999), both with further references to the literature – e.g. FOUQUET, *Familie, Haus und Armut* (2008); MASCHKE, *Aufstieg des Burkard Zink* (1965); SCHNITH, *Augsburger Chronik des Burkard Zink* (1958).

111 Perhaps »die große Kornschrann bei St. Moritz« (ROECK, *Bäcker* [1987], p. 123).

112 Zink, *Chronik* (1866), p. 98: *Und ist ze wißen, als das stechen ain end [bett] und sich das volk zerließ und iederman ab dem fronhoff kam und man dem herrn das gelait gab, da was die straß alle von unser frawen biß zu der kornschrant voller leut, ich main es wer bei 4 oder 5 tausent menschen. also rait der marggraff in sein herweg gen dem Erhart, da was er zur herweg.*

113 That is also suggested by a drawing by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder (1490–1556) from 1542 presenting a tournament on the ›Fronhof.‹ »Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel« (1994), cat. no. 76, pp. 194–195 (Bernd MAYER). Some details of this drawing are repeated by an etching of the same venue by Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann († after 1634) from 1618. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 77, pp. 196–197 (Bernd MAYER).

114 Walther, *Turnierbuch* (2014), p. 75: *Item 1489 führt ich, Marx Walther, ain übergroße spieß und rant in auch widern Jacob Ridler von Minichen fur als besüchen.* Cf. Walther, »Tournierbuch« (1892), p. 381. The last part of the sentence – »as seen before« – refers to the illustration on the preceding double page, presenting Walther's combat with Jacob Ridler (Walther, *Turnierbuch* [2014], pp. 72–73).

above and I took him back and forth around the *fronhof*. Count Friedrich of Öttingen, who later became a bishop of Passau, and Friedrich von Lichtenau, Christof Herwart, Ulrich Probst, the painter Ulrich Apt, Christian Breyschuh, the chest makers Peter Meck and Christelin and many other people saw that and were present. And after that I removed the spearhead and poured a *maß* of wine into it.«¹¹⁵

Our champion does not finish the account of his performance without indicating that Count Eberhard of Württemberg and Wilhelm Marschall von Pappenheim were very impressed by the lance because they had never seen a greater one¹¹⁶.

Marx Walther was born in 1456 as the fifteenth child of Ulrich Walther, a prosperous merchant and member of the city's council in Augsburg¹¹⁷. He did not belong to the urban nobility (the ›Patriziat‹) but was rich enough to adopt chivalric manners. In particular, he participated in tournaments, mainly in Augsburg. He arranged the documentation of these events by a manuscript containing coloured ink drawings which present nineteen combats from 1477 until 1489 (see, for example, Fig. 8 – the joust between Marx Walther and the knight Endris von Liechtenstein in 1485)¹¹⁸. The manuscript's section concerning the tournaments, which is supplemented by a chronicle of his family and a register of foundations, was made ca. 1506, so it dates from Marx Walther's last years – he died in 1511. The illustrations, integral and most important part of this ›ego-document‹, are typical for the already mentioned personal tournament books¹¹⁹: In slight variations most of them show two knightly riders clashing in a joust, Marx Walter on the one side, his (not always defeated) opponent on the other. In some other cases groups of combatants or auxiliary staff are presented. The subject is the memory of the protagonist's chivalric adventures, by which the book becomes a proof of a nobleman's justified fame – in this view presenting social and spatial contexts is simply not necessary, in that respect comparable with Emperor Maximilian's ›*Freydak*‹.

115 Walther, *Turnierbuch* (2014), p. 76: *Da für ich, Marx Walther, czü und beritt mich ongefär auf dem fronhof czü Augspurg und hett darinen bey mir ein knaben, der was im vierzecheden iar; den ließ ich mir auf den spieß setzen, wie es den da gemalt stat, und fürt in uber den fronhof und herwider. Das hat gesechen und ist darpey gewessen graf Friderich von Öttingen, der darnach ain bischoff czü Passau ward, und Friderich von Lichtenaw, Cristof Herwart, Urlich Probst, Urlich Apt (maller), Cristein Breischüch, Petter Meck (kystler), Cristelin (kystler) und sunst vil leut. Und darnach schlüg ich das eyssen vom spies herab, da gos ich ain maß weins ins spieseyszen binden ins dil.* Cf. Walther, ›*Tour-nierbuch*‹ (1892), pp. 381–382.

116 Walther, *Turnierbuch* (2014), p. 76: *Graf Eberhart von Württemberg und her Wilhalm marschalck von Papenheim sagten baid gegen mich auf der pan, das sy noch kain grosern spies hetten nie rennen sechen für besüchen.* Cf. Walther, ›*Tour-nierbuch*‹ (1892), p. 382.

117 For Marx Walther see Walther, *Turnierbuch* (2014), pp. 7–19 (introduction by Daniel J. M. HUBER); JAHN, ›Walther, Marx‹ (2012); SCHNITH, ›Walther, Marx‹ (1992).

118 Walther, *Turnierbuch* (2014). The manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1930) is online accessible, [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00038795/images/\[13/8/2018\]](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00038795/images/[13/8/2018]). Cf. *Ritterturnier* (2014), cat. no. 21, pp. 166–169 (Peter JEZLER); *Ritterwelten* (2009), cat. no. 23, pp. 219–225 (Max TEWES); ›*Kurzweil viel ohn' Maß und Ziel*‹ (1994), cat. no. 72, pp. 186–187 (Arnd REITEMEIER); DORMEIER, *Kurzweil* (1994), p. 203; KURRAS, *Ritter und Turniere* (1992), pp. 54–55.

119 Cf. above pp. 80–81 and note 104.

The illustrations are accompanied by very short textual descriptions naming the combatants and the year of the combat. Only beneath the last image showing the tournament hero with his enormous lance in 1489 (Fig. 9) Marx Walther wrote the lengthy text quoted above by his own hand. Of course, his demonstration required the public, specified by the list of witnesses at the end of the account: Apparently, the spectacle had attracted a group of citizens whose number is not stated. Walther noted a representative selection of the urban society, so to say: two descendants of the city's merchant and aristocratic families (Christoph Herwart and Christian Breyschuh)¹²⁰, perhaps the dean of the cathedral (*Ulrich Probst*, i. e. Ulrich von Rechberg zu Hohenrechberg?)¹²¹, and three craftsmen (the *maller* Ulrich Apt¹²² and the *kystler* Peter Meck and Christelin). In Walther's view the noblemen admiring his proof of strength and virtue seem to have been even more important: Friedrich of Öttingen, already bishop of Passau at that time¹²³, and Friedrich von Lichtenau¹²⁴ at the beginning of the list, Count Eberhard of Württemberg and Wilhelm Marschall von Pappenheim¹²⁵ at its end. The distribution of roles between the courtly actors on the urban stage and the civic public in front of it, which was essential for the tournaments in Augsburg in 1442 and in Worms in 1495 as well as for the visual structure of Cranach's tournament woodcut from 1506, is reversed at this point: The Augsburg citizen demonstrates his aristocratic habitus in a performance whose theatrical manner could perhaps appear unintentionally amusing, but is taken very seriously by its protagonist whereas princes and noblemen are part of the applauding public, at least in Walther's view. For this purpose he uses the regular site of courtly spectacle which he names explicitly in his tournament book: the ›Fronhof‹.

Concerning intensity and forms, Marx Walther's passion for tournaments may have been rather extravagant, yet tournaments were also generally significant for the self-image of the urban nobility in Augsburg. That is indicated, for example, by the ›Augsburger Monatsbilder‹ (›Labours of the Months‹). This cycle of four paintings, dated 1531, was probably commissioned by a member of the social and political leading families of the city, perhaps of the Rehlinger family¹²⁶. In the middle of the painting representing the months January,

120 For the patrician Herwart family cf. GEFFCKEN, SIEH-BURENS, ›Herwart II‹ (1998), for Christoph Herwart (1464–1529) – the person in question here? – *Augsburger Eliten* (1996), pp. 273–275 (no. 401). For the Breyschuh family, which was incorporated into the ›Patriziat‹ in 1538, cf. GEFFCKEN, WUNDERLE, ›Breyschuh II‹ (1998).

121 In 1489 Ulrich von Rechberg zu Hohenrechberg was not ›Propst‹ but ›Dekan‹ of the cathedral chapter, cf. *Monumenta Boica*, vol. 34, 2 (1845), no. 87, p. 229 (ad a. 1488) and no. 95, p. 266 (ad a. 1490). It seems possible that Marx Walther made a mistake when he commemorated the event about seventeen years later (for another inaccuracy cf. note 123).

122 Cf. BRAUN-RONSDORF, ›Apt, Ulrich der Ältere‹ (1953).

123 LEIDL, ›Öttingen, Friedrich Graf von‹ (1996). Friedrich had been bishop of Passau already since 1486.

124 Lichtenau was a noble family from Swabia. *Neues allgemeines Deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, vol. 5 (1864), p. 508. In 1505 Heinrich von Lichtenau († 1517) became bishop of Augsburg. RUMMEL, ›Lichtenau, Heinrich von‹ (1996).

125 Cf. SCHWACKENHOFER, Pappenheim (2002), pp. 154–155; DÖDERLEIN, *Historische Nachrichten*, pt. 1 (1739), pp. 225–228.

126 DORMEIER, Kurzweil (1994), pp. 148–149.

February and March (Fig. 10), we can see a tournament with lances and, behind the riders on the right side, with swords¹²⁷. The scene is part of the February section, whose venue, despite of the characteristic architecture, has not been identified till now¹²⁸. The identification of the combatants causes problems as well¹²⁹. Despite these difficulties the painting clearly integrates aristocratic habits in civic context, thus, like Marx Walther, adopting courtly habits for the civic stage.

Transforming the courtly stage
(Würzburg, ›Grafeneckart‹, 30th August 1303)

Anyway, the distribution of roles between courtly actors and civic public could be fluent. A miniature from Lorenz Fries's (1489–1550) ›Chronicle of the bishops of Würzburg‹ shows the interior of a hall divided into two parts (Fig. 11)¹³⁰. On the right there is a banquet: Six men are sitting at a laid table, two of them under a canopy indicating special seats of honour: One is wearing a crown, the other a golden chain, obviously king and mayor. There are other men dressed fashionably and standing next to the table. In the foreground a man pours wine into a cup, and there are two musicians with drum and pipe. On the left we see three couples performing a ›Schreittanz‹ (a slow dance with a processional character). The man with the crown, already known from the other part of the miniature, and his dance partner step forward just behind the torchbearers. In the background there are two women talking with each other as well as two musicians.

The miniature by Georg Mack, an artist from Nuremberg¹³¹, is taken from a manuscript of the chronicle made for Bishop Julius Echter of Würzburg (1573–1617) between 1574 and ca. 1582. In the bishop's library it replaced the chronicle's manuscript burnt two years earlier¹³². The illustration refers to a text passage in which Lorenz Fries describes how the citizens of Würzburg had fallen into the disgrace of the Roman king Adolf (1292–1298) because they had not adhered to the agreements arranged by the king between the bishop and the city¹³³. After Adolf's death the citizens sent an embassy to his victorious opponent and successor, King Albrecht I (1298–1308), and begged for his mercy. The king personally came to Würzburg and reconciled with the citizens¹³⁴.

127 For the depicted mixed forms of tournament see DORMEIER, Kurzweil (1994), p. 207.

128 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 201.

129 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 207–210.

130 For this illustration, especially for the persons' clothing, cf. PLETICHA-GEUDER, Erläuterungen (1989), p. 76.

131 For Georg Mack (the Elder, † 1589) see GRIEB, ›Mack, Georg I.‹ (2007).

132 MÄLZER, Fries-Chronik (1989), pp. 9–10, 12 and 15–16.

133 For the town's conflict with the bishops Manegold von Neuenburg (1287–1303) and Andreas von Gundelfingen (1303–1313) as well as the role of the kings Adolf and Albrecht cf. ARNOLD, Ringen um die bürgerliche Freiheit (2001), pp. 99–100; WENDEHORST, Bistum Würzburg, pt. 2 (1969), pp. 29–30, 32–33, 37 and 40–41.

134 Fries, Chronik, vol. 2 (1994), pp. 250–251. – The annual gift of thirty *fuder* of wine which Fries mentions is stipulated by a charter from 30th August 1303, printed in: FÜSSLEIN, Ringen um die bür-

»And this agreement [between the king and the city] was read out publicly in the presence of all citizens on St Gemerer's [i. e. St Adactus's¹³⁵] day, the 30th August in the year 1304 [correct: 1303¹³⁶]. And the citizens of the council begged the king to stay with them for the evening meal in the ›Grafeneckart‹ [...]. King Albrecht did that, and the citizens also called their wives and daughters, all dressed up and adorned, and they arranged a dance for the king and his noblemen. In short, there was only joy and happiness in the whole town [...].«¹³⁷

The illustration follows this passage quite literally: Like the text the illustrator presents banquet and dance as interaction between king and city representing the restored consensus. He does not characterise the venue of this courtly-urban encounter specifically, but the text points out that it is the ›Grafeneckart‹, i. e. the town hall. However, that cannot be correct because the magistrate purchased this *curia*, built at the end of the twelfth century, only in 1316¹³⁸: Obviously Fries connects the event, perhaps on the basis of an older tradition, with the town hall of his day.

Besides the copy of the chronicle for Bishop Julius Echter's library (and some other copies, especially from later times, as well) we have the manuscript which was made, obviously under supervision by Lorenz Fries, for the cathedral chapter in 1546, lavishly illustrated by the bishop's court painter Martin Seger († 1580/83?) and his workshop¹³⁹. The episcopal manuscript is a copy of the chapter's from 1546 and adopts not only the text but usually also the basic shape of the illustrations¹⁴⁰. Yet, in the older version the quoted text passage is accompanied by a totally diverse miniature (Fig. 12)¹⁴¹: In the street people dressed

gerliche Freiheit (1926), pp. 295–297 (no. 8). King Albrecht was already on 29th August in Würzburg, on 31st August he was in Windsheim. *Regesta Imperii* (1844), p. 236. Obviously, the magistrate had achieved the king's pardon at a slightly earlier date because on 14th August King Albrecht had already confirmed the city's privileges given by the bishops. FÜSSLEIN, *Ringens um die bürgerliche Freiheit* (1926), pp. 293–295 (no. 7).

135 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 2 (1994), p. 251 note 17.

136 *Ibid.*

137 *Ibid.*, p. 251: *Vnd warde solcher vertrag an sant Gemerers tag, den dreissigsten des Augstmonds anno 1304 vor allen burgeren offenlich verlesen. Vnd baten die burgere des raths kunig Albrechten mit allem vleis, das er das nachtmal bey inen in dem hoff Greue Eckarts, itzunt zum Grünen Bäumen gnant, nemen vnd si nit verschmahen wolte. Das thete kunig Albrecht, vnd baten die burgere ire weibere vnd dochtere geschmuckt vnd getziret auch dahin vnd hielten dem kunig vnd seinem adel ain dantz. Mit der kurtze, es ware nichts dan alle fraid vnd frolickait in der gantzen stat, dweil nit allain die acht vnd vngnad des künigs (von derwegen sie etwas laidig vnd bekomert gewest) hinweg genomen, sunder inen vom kunig gnedig schutz, schirm vnd handhabung zugesagt ware.*

138 For the ›Grafeneckart‹ see HELLER, *Grafeneckart* (1986), for the purchase in 1316 pp. 7–8; MADER, *Stadt Würzburg* (1915), pp. 548–562. Cf. also ALBRECHT, *Rathäuser* (2004), pp. 195–197; WAGNER, *Grafeneckart* (2001).

139 These illustrations are reproduced in: Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 6 (1996). For the manuscript see HEILER, *Würzburger Bischofschronik* (2001), pp. 158–162 (for the corrections by Fries's own hand p. 158 note 3). For Martin Seger see in general KUMMER, *Illustration der Würzburger Bischofschronik* (1995).

140 MÄLZER, *Fries-Chronik* (1989), p. 13.

141 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 6 (1996), p. 113 (no. 86). Cf. KUMMER, *Illustration der Würzburger Bischofschronik* (1995), pp. 243–244; LENZ [= EADEM], *Sechs Miniaturen* (1989), pp. 117–118.

in a quite ordinary manner are dancing to a bagpiper's music. On the left we see the ›Grafeneckart‹, rather exactly depicted in its sixteenth-century form¹⁴². The only direct reminiscence of the historical context is the flag with the imperial eagle and the city's coat of arms. The action does not take place inside the town hall which restricts participation to the king and his court and the city's council, it is transferred to the public urban space. Thereby, the illustrator sets the last sentence quoted above in scene: »In short, there was only joy and happiness in the whole town [...].«¹⁴³ The king and his court are just eliminated from the stage which belongs to the city's commune. In a different way that transformation is also realised by the text which continues as follows:

»And in eternal commemoration of this joy and happiness the mentioned citizens of the council of Würzburg and their successors with their wives and children have been coming together in the mentioned ›Grafeneckart‹ every year on 30th August in order to take the evening meal happily there and to dance.«¹⁴⁴

The ›Grafeneckart‹ which the chronicler previously presented as a temporary site of courtly-urban interaction and representation now becomes a place of solemn civic commemoration of the town's liberation from the Imperial ban for which the king himself and his court are no longer necessary.

Since 1521 Lorenz Fries had been serving the bishops of Würzburg as their secretary¹⁴⁵. In their conflicts with the cathedral city¹⁴⁶ he took the bishops' side (or perhaps better that of the ›Hochstift‹¹⁴⁷). He had experienced the conflicts' last climax during the Peasants' War (1525), the flight of Bishop Konrad von Thüngen and his final victory over the rebellious citizens¹⁴⁸, immediately – and certainly, he did not see the city's earlier striving for autonomy favourably¹⁴⁹. So, we must consider the context of the episode discussed here. Prior to that, Fries recounts that after the death of Bishop Manegold (1303) the labourers in the vineyards (*beckere*) and the restless mob of the craftsmen (*der vnruig hauffe von den handwerckeren*) deemed the last agreement between the bishop and the city, me-

142 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 6 (1996), p. 113 with note 54.

143 See note 137.

144 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 2 (1994), pp. 251: *Vnd zu ainer ewigen gedechtnus diser fraide vnd froligkait sind die gemelten burgere des raths zu Wirtzburg vnd ire nachkomen hinfur alle jor vff sant Geymeters tag mit iren hausfrawen vnd kinden in dem gemelten hof Greue Eckarts zusammen komen vnd haben darin froliche nachtmal vnd dantz gehalten.*

145 BAUM, Lorenz Fries (2014), p. 105. For Fries's biography see *ibid.*, pp. 103–120; WEIDISCH, Lorenz Fries (1989). Various topics connected with Fries are treated in: Lorenz Fries und sein Werk (2014).

146 For the conflicts between the bishops and the city of Würzburg in the Late Middle Ages see ARNOLD, Ringen um die bürgerliche Freiheit (2001); WAGNER, Geschichte der Stadt (2001); cf. also SCHNEIDER, Nach dem Sieg des Bischofs (2006).

147 HEILER, Würzburger Bischofschronik (2001), p. 273.

148 WAGNER, Würzburg im Bauernkrieg (2004). For Fries's chronicle of the Peasants' War see HEIDENREICH, Konzeption der Bauernkriegsdarstellung (2014); WAGNER, Bauernkrieg bei Lorenz Fries (2014), pp. 161–164; HEILER, Würzburger Bischofschronik (2001), pp. 83–102.

149 Cf. BAUM, Lorenz Fries (2014), pp. 122–129; HEILER, Würzburger Bischofschronik (2001), pp. 259–273.

diated by King Adolf and conjured by all citizens, to be void. According to Fries, they began to riot and to prosecute the clergy. Therefore, the new bishop, Andreas von Gundelfingen, did not dare to return to Würzburg¹⁵⁰. The following reconciliation between King Albrecht and the city is told by Fries in neutral formulations, but from the bishop's perspective – and that was the chronicler's, too – it was nevertheless a rebellious town which resisted its lord unjustly and was shaped by the unrest of the commune's poorer parts.

Civic unrest and rebelliousness are a constant subject matter of Fries's chronicle¹⁵¹. A culmination point of the bishops' confrontation with their cathedral city was the great conflict in the years 1397 to 1400 leading to the town's defeat at Bergtheim¹⁵². Among other things Fries reports that in 1397 the citizens asked King Wenzel (1376–1400) to grant them his and the Empire's protection. When the king's emissary came to Würzburg and read out the royal approval of their request, the citizens, according to Fries, started a loud shouting and rejoicing. Thinking that they were liberated from the bishop and the clergy, they called themselves »citizens of the Empire« (*burgere des reichs*). As King Wenzel personally arrived in Würzburg, the citizens rendered homage to him and raised flags with the imperial eagle at the ›Grafeneckart‹ and the city towers, thus demonstrating that Würzburg, in their view, was an imperial city¹⁵³. Not only the flag with the Empire's arms on the miniature from 1546 (Fig. 12) but the whole episode of King Albrecht's visit in 1303 seems to be an anticipation of that short-lived dream to become an imperial city at the end of the century.

So, the courtly-urban interaction, the meal and the dance inside the ›Grafeneckart‹ could be seen as a sign of the magistrate's arrogance and haughtiness whereas ›joy and happiness« outside the ›Grafeneckart‹ could be interpreted as a further expression of the unrest of the city's crowd. In this view the image of a king dancing with a female citizen as well as that of dancing people in the streets, in both cases connected with the ›Grafeneckart‹ as a symbol of the autonomy claimed by the council and the commune, could be rather frightening.

150 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 2 (1994), pp. 249–250.

151 See note 149.

152 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 3 (1999), p. 48–68. Cf. ARNOLD, *Ringen um die bürgerliche Freiheit* (2001), pp. 104–107; WAGNER, *Bürgerfreiheit gegen Fürstenmacht* (1989).

153 Fries, *Chronik*, vol. 3 (1999), p. 53: *Dornach schickten die burger ainen aus inen, Friderichen Schaden gnant, sambt etlichen andern mit ainer ehrlichen schencke zu kunig Wentzeslaen, ine zu biten vnd zu erlangen, das er die burgere vnd stat Wirtzburg in sein vnd des reichs schütz nemen vnd behalten wolte. Das sagt inen der kunig zue, sendet inen auch von stund an ain behemischen hern, Bortziwoi von Swinar gnant, burggrauen zum Elmbogen, vnd schrib inen darneben, das er in kurtze auch bei inen sein wolte. Da nun der kunigisch gesante gein Wirtzburg kame vnd die briue verlesen, da warde ain gros geschrai vnd frolocken doselbst, iderman fraiet sich des kunigs zukunft, vermainten alle, sie weren nuhmer des bischofs vnd der gaistligkait gar ledig, reich vnd selig, verkundigten auch solchs in die andern stete iren bundsverwanten vnd nenneten sich in iren briuen burgere des reichs. Nit lang dornach kame der kunig selbst gein Wirtzburg, da er mit grossen ehren vnd fraiden empfangen warde; die burgere theten jme huldung vnd liessen etliche panir vnd tucher mit des reichs adler malen vnd die vf das rathhaus vnd thurnen stecken vnd fliegen zu ainem zaichen, das sie gefreiet weren vnd allain dem reich zustunden.*

Conclusion

In August 1566 Queen Elizabeth visited Coventry. Her intention, communicated only a few weeks earlier, induced hectic activities by the magistrate:

*The maior and aldermen of the citie of Coventrie, not havynge a monethes warnynge of her graces pleasure herein, endeavored them selues to provide all and sett in order all thynges within the citie. The hie waies wheyre her grace should passe were Repaired and amended, the gates of the citie paynted with her maiesties armes, the streites graveled the houses and buyldynges Refreshed with sondrie colours, manie showes provided in sondrie places to staie her grace with all and generallie every thing sett forth in as good as tyme and space wold permitt*¹⁵⁴.

Obviously, the town's authorities did all they could to prepare the scene for the appearance of Her Majesty and to smarten up the stage of royal and courtly action¹⁵⁵, thereby exposing the material fundament of the following spectacle. The anonymous author continues to deconstruct, probably unintentionally, the splendid facade of the solemn performance: On 17th August the sheriffs of the city and 40 *substanciall* citizens went on horseback to meet Queen Elizabeth and her entourage at *the vttermoste parte of the Liberties of the citie of Coventry*. When the sheriffs had welcomed the queen, the citizens hurried to return to the town choosing another route than the royal procession because in the second act they had to *place them selues in the streites agaynst her graces comynge in their hoodes and Lyveries*¹⁵⁶. Thus, the author reveals the citizens' double role as actors and public in the play given at the frontier of the town's judicial district as well as inside the town walls: Both stages needed the material and the personal scenery.

Other observers of courtly spectacles like, for example, entries and tournaments in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century towns could be strongly influenced by insights into the practical aspects of the events, too: In 1469 John Paston knew that King Edward IV needed a broad street to be seen in an adequate manner during his entry into London, and in 1495 Reinhart Noltz was by far more interested in the preparation of the tournament's venue than in King Maximilian's combat itself. In particular, they used to think and to write in spatial terms when naming, describing or instrumentalising courtly sites in urban spaces.

Concerning the significance of specific sites in the urban space for interactions and representations of court and town as well as the role of these sites in the perception and construction of these interactions and representations, especially in urban perspectives, there are four aspects to be outlined.

154 »A brief description of the Receavyng of the Quenes maiestie in to the citie of Coventry the xvijth of Auguste anno domini 1566 & anno viij E Regine«, printed in: NICHOLS, Progresses, vol. 1 (2014), pp. 453–455 (the quoted passage pp. 453–454).

155 Cf. COLE, *Monarch in Motion* (2007), p. 31; also DILLON, *Language of Space* (2010), p. 22, concerning London: »Preparations by the city focused first on transforming the space itself. The work of transformation was equivalent to building a stage set, and not suprisingly writers describing the city on such occasions turned regularly to the metaphor of theatre.«.

156 NICHOLS, Progresses, vol. 1 (2014), p. 454.

1. *Courtly staging in urban spaces*: Towns were often functionalised for intra-courtly and courtly-urban interactions, connected with representations of lordly claims, aristocratic ideals and courtly habits. Sites that were points of concentrated communication in the urban space became stages of these interactions and representations. Under the basic conditions of the »Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden« (Rudolf Schlögl)¹⁵⁷, i. e. the communication between persons and groups in face-to-face-situations, this urban stage made public perception of courtly interaction and representation possible: The (residence or capital) town was a necessary resonance space of the court. Traces of this public resonance can be found in some urban sources, especially in historiographical writings.
2. *The »urbanisation« of the courtly stage*: Historiographical along with other sources like travel accounts and descriptions of festivities, however, show that the sites of these stages in the urban space were not without preconditions: They could be full of connotations and meanings which were not determined by the courtly spectacle, yet they potentially influenced its perception. Moreover, the stage's site itself and its shaping could become the predominant subject matter of perception and instrumentalisation from an urban perspective: By shaping the site of the courtly stage, the town and especially the council appeared as hidden participants of the spectacle. And in particular, emphasising the site allowed civic observers to integrate lordly rule and courtly presence in the perception of the urban present (Noltz) and in the construction of the urban past (Rothe).
3. *The town's self-staging*: Certainly, there were courtly spectacles which needed only a passive civic audience and courtly sites in urban spaces which had only to be appropriate for a large public's inclusion, sometimes subtly thwarted by the ways of perception and construction as seen above. In other cases, however, such performative acts were »a vehicle for dialogue between a ruler and the urban classes«¹⁵⁸. Thus, courtly-urban interaction was part of the negotiation of the consensus between lord and town, court and commune. But the stage could be also reversed entirely so that the roles of courtly actors and civic public were changed: Addressing not least a courtly audience, the usual site of courtly spectacle was utilised, individually or collectively, for the self-staging of citizens belonging to the urban nobility or cultivating aristocratic ambitions.
4. *Courtly criticism of towns*: Thus, courtly sites functionalised urban spaces in different ways – they presented courtly interactions and representations, they were used to inscribe the lord and his court into the town's memory, they manifested interests of various sides. However, they were also instrumentalised to criticise town, magistrate and commune from the lord's and his adherents' perspective: As shown by Lorenz Fries's chronicle, a venue of courtly-urban encounter could be transformed into a symbol of arrogance and haughtiness or of the unrest of the town's crowd.

The last point illustrates that courtly interaction and representation in urban spaces could also be perceived and constructed against the grain. Writing his chronicle of Worms (»Wormser Chronik«) around 1565/70, Friedrich Zorn (1538–1610) gave some information about the Imperial Diet of 1495 but without mentioning much details and especially the combat be-

157 SCHLÖGL, *Kommunikation* (2008).

158 STRONG, *Art and Power* (1984), p. 11, regarding princely or royal entries.

tween Maximilian and Claude de Vaudrey. Only by the additions Franz Berthold von Flersheim made to Zorn's text, the account got some more colour, but Flersheim knew just as little of the tournament whose circumstances had once captivated Reinhart Noltz – or perhaps he simply was not interested in that event¹⁵⁹. Like Noltz, Franz Berthold von Flersheim mentions the inn ›Zum Schwan‹, but he does not use it for describing the place of King Maximilian's tent during a tournament. Instead, he tells us something completely different:

»By boozing, the noblemen attending the Imperial Diet rather behaved like pigs. One evening 24 of them met in the inn ›The Swan‹ and ate raw geese with feathers, meat and other, and they drank and wasted 174 *maaß* of wine because they forced each other to drink wine.«¹⁶⁰

The chronicler's verdict of aristocratic drinking habits corresponds to the ideas of sixteenth-century ›*policey*‹ and civic morality¹⁶¹. In this way he constructs quite another image of a courtly site in a late medieval town.

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159 Zorn, *Wormser Chronik* (1857), pp. 200–201.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 201: *Es haben sich auch die edelleut mit saufen auf diesem reichstag ziemlich säuisch gehalten. eins abends waren irer 24 zum schwanen, die aßen einander robe gäns zu mit federn, fleisch und anderm, und trunken und verwüsteten 174 maaß weins, denn sie zzwungen einander mit wein. The author continues: item einen abend legten sie eine gesellschaft auf das neuhaus, hatten vor darum gebeten, und ließen auf 34 tisch zurichten. sie lebten wohl, trunken und verwüsteten wein, daß man hätt drin mögen wetten, der imbiß kost ob 200 fl., zerworfen wohl bei 100 gläser.*

161 FRENZEL, *Ordnung des Zorns* (2013); TLUSTY, *Bacchus and Civic Order* (2001).

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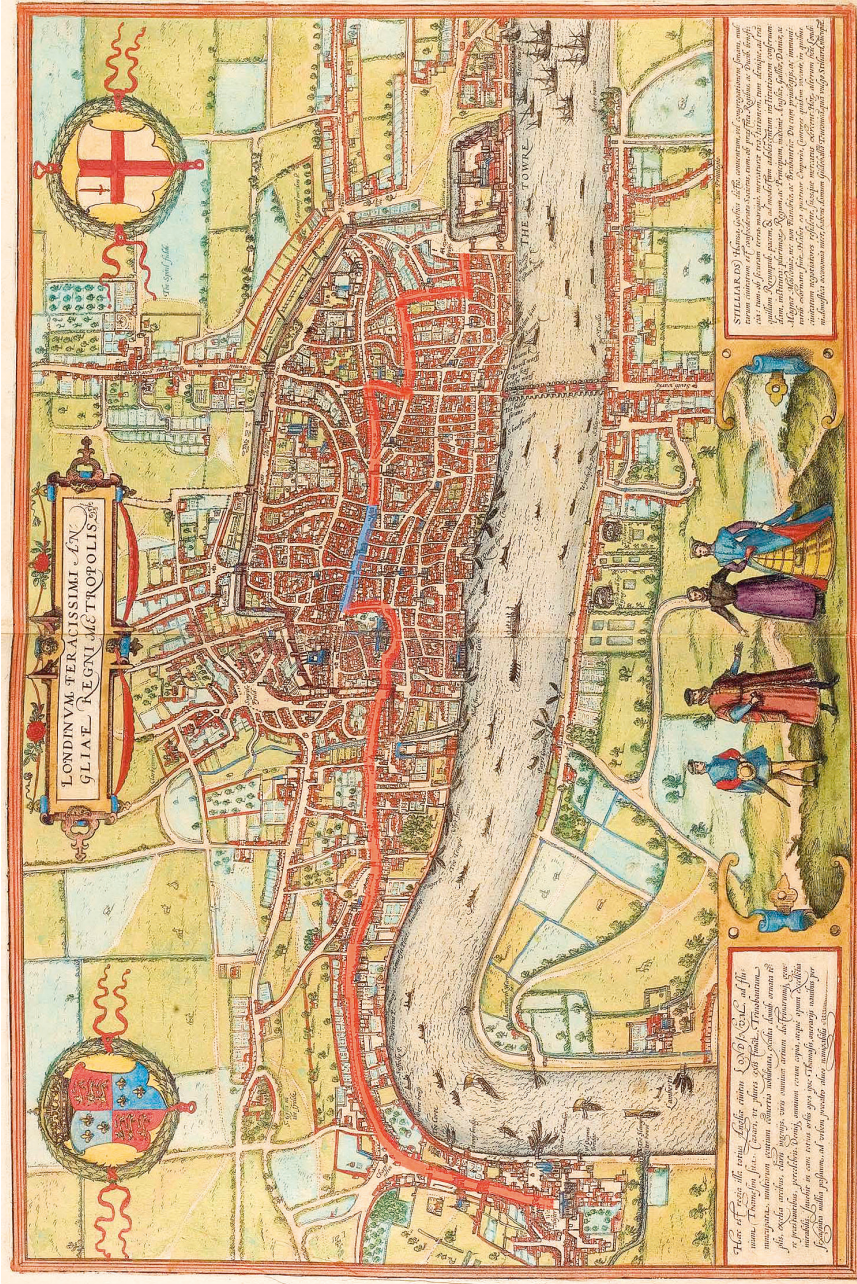


Fig. 1: Map of London, engraving (coloured). Braun, Hogenberg, Civitates orbis terrarum, vol. 1 (1572). URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Braun_London_UBHD.jpg (public domain) [16/6/2018]. The route of Queen Elizabeth's pre-coronation procession, from the Tower to Westminster, is marked (blue: Cheap side). See NICHOLS, Progresses, vol. 1 (2014), p. 115.

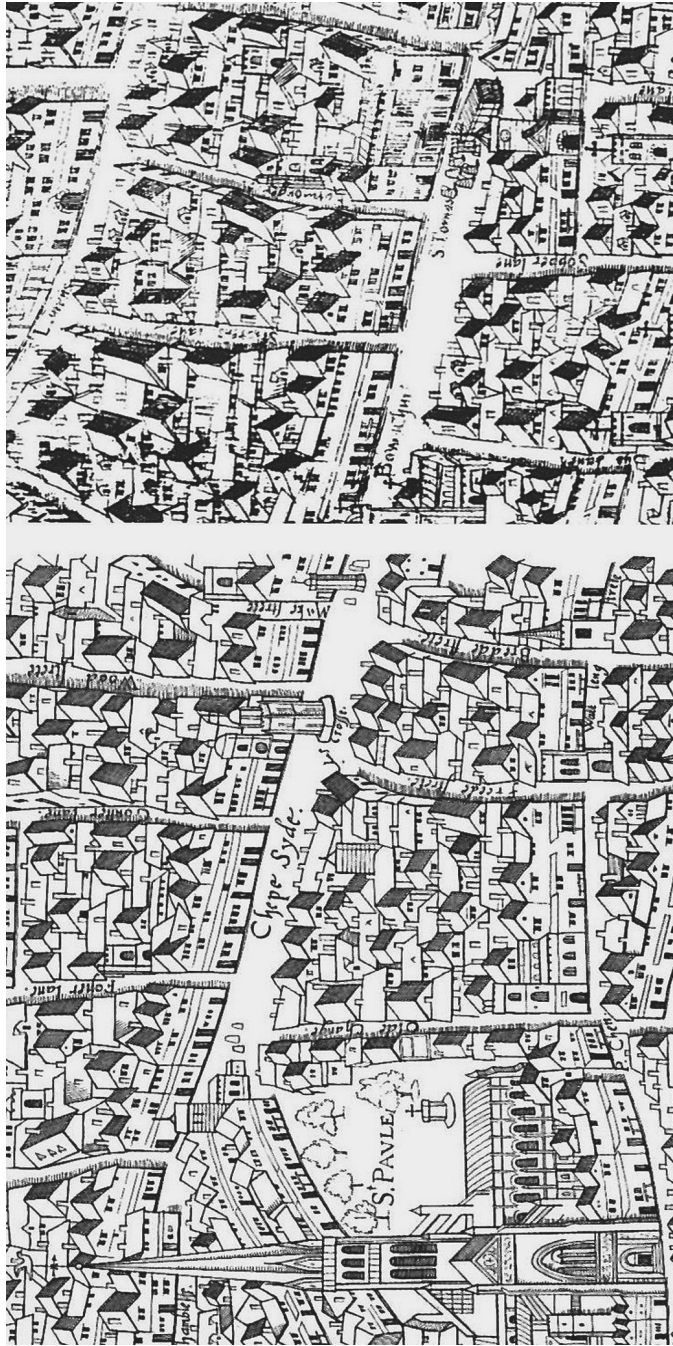


Fig. 3: Details of Fig. 2: Cheapside (*Chepe Syde*).



Fig. 4: Tournament between King Maximilian and Claude de Vaudrey (Claude Badre) in Worms (1495), miniature from the *Freydal*, 1512/15 (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Inv. Nr. P 5073). 1495 – Kaiser, Reich, Reformen (1995), p. 287.



Fig. 5: Master MZ (Matthäus Zasinger?), Tournament, engraving, 1500 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). URL: http://library.artstor.org/asset/SS7731421_7731421_11215007 [10/8/2018].

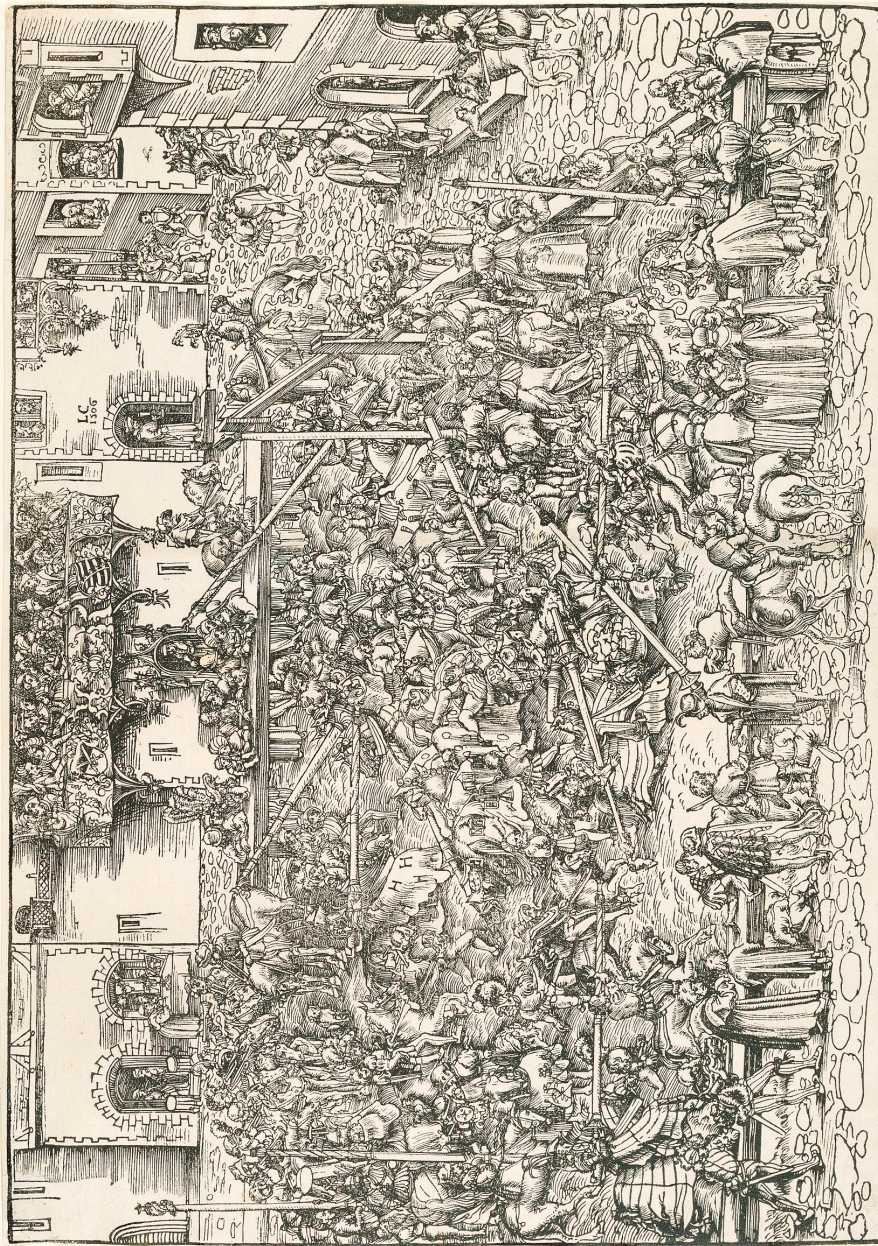
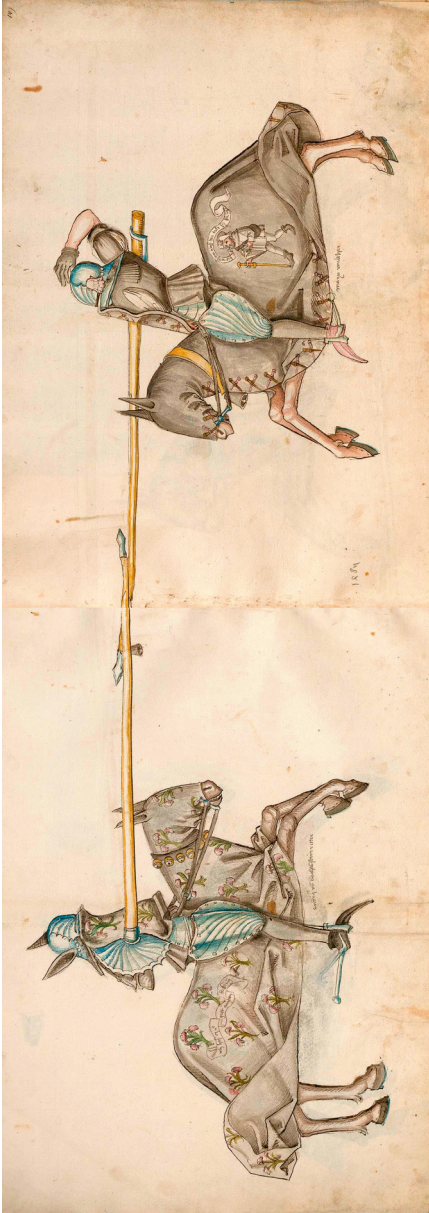


Fig. 6: Lucas Cranach the Elder, Tournament, woodcut, 1506 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art). URL: http://library.artstor.org/asset/SS7731421_7731421_11221744 [10/8/2018].



Fig. 7: Map of Augsburg by Wolfgang Kilian (>Kilianplan<), engraving, 1626 (detail). URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Augsburg_Stadtkern_Kilianplan.jpg (public domain) [16/6/2018].



Figs. 8 and 9: Miniatures from Marx Walther's >Turnierbuch< (>Tournament Book<), Augsburg, 1506/11 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1930, fol. 13v-14r and 20v-21r). URL: http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00038795/image_28,.../image_29,.../image_42,.../image_43 (Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0]) [16/6/2018].



Fig. 10: >Augsburger Monatsbilder< (>Labours of the Months<, January–March, after Jörg Breu the Elder (detail), dated 1531 (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 1990/185.1). URL: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:J%C3%B6rg_Breu_-_Augsburg_-_Spring.JPG (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license) [16/6/2018].



Fig. 11: Georg Mack, miniature from the ›Chronicle of the Bishops of Würzburg‹ by Lorenz Fries (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Codex M.ch.f. 760, fol. 237v). Fries-Chronik (1989), p. 17.



Fig. 12: Martin Seger (and workshop), miniature from the ›Chronicle of the Bishops of Würzburg‹ by Lorenz Fries (Würzburg, Stadtarchiv, Ratsbuch 412, fol. 160v). Fries, Chronik, vol. 6 (1996), p. 113.