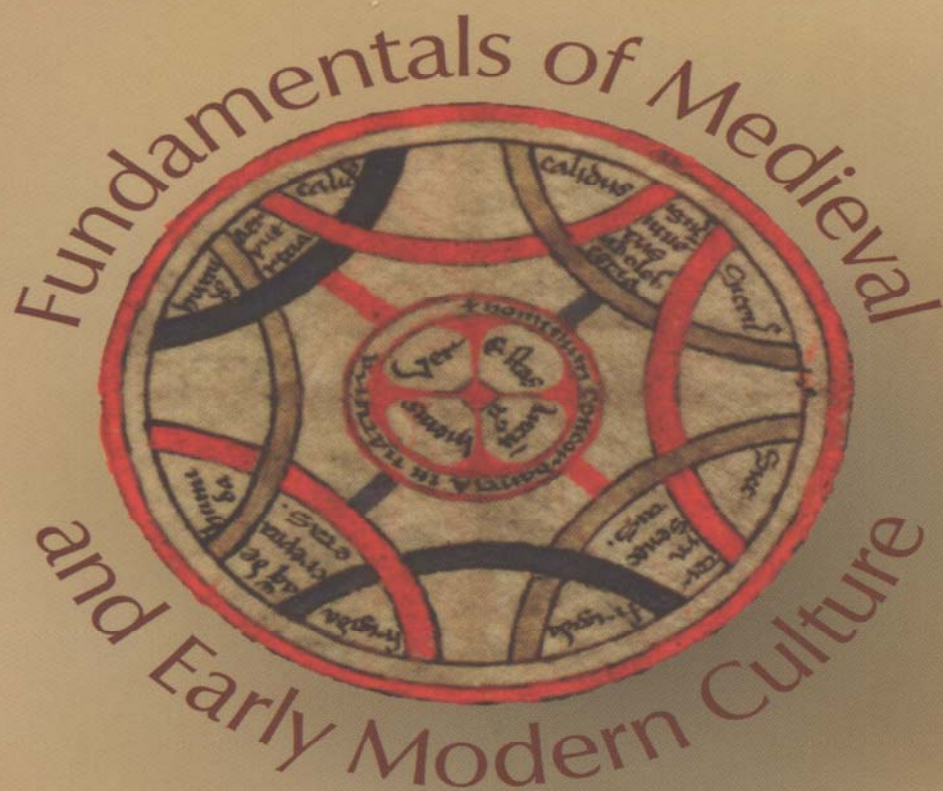


# Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age

Edited by  
Albrecht Classen



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# Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture

Edited by  
Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge

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(Christian Albrechts Universität zu Kiel)

## Urban Space Divided? The Encounter of Civic and Courtly Spheres in Late Medieval Towns

Studies explicitly dealing with the encounters between civic and courtly cultures in the urban spaces of premodern Europe without displaying the usual inclination of separating these two spheres are scarce. This lack is a symptom of a perceivable shadow in research—cast both by the Urban History and the Court History communities. Only recently has there been a tendency to change perspectives and to pursue a new paradigm regarding this matter that might eventually close this gap. Some efforts pointing in this direction have recently been or are about to be published<sup>1</sup>—aiming at analyzing the various aspects and forms of cooperation and confrontation between two social systems that were supposedly both heterogenous and antagonistic: the corporate communes vs. the hierarchical court

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Matthias Meinhardt, *Dresden im Wandel: Raum und Bevölkerung der Stadt im Residenzbildungsprozeß des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Hallische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008); and forthcoming: *Symbolische Interaktion in der Residenzstadt des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Gerrit Deutschländer, Marc von der Höh, and Andreas Ranft; cf. Thomas Zotz, “Informelle Zusammenhänge zwischen Hof und Stadt,” and Stephan Müller, “Im Rücken der Repräsentation: Eine Skizze zur Informalität in der höfischen Literatur des Mittelalters am Beispiel des ‘Guoten Gêhart’ Rudolfs von Ems,” *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche III zur Theorie des Hofes*, ed. Reinhardt Butz and Jan Hirschbiegel. *Vita Curialis*, 2 (Berlin and Münster: LIT, 2009), 157–68, 169–70. See also the introduction to this volume by Albrecht Classen, notably “The City and the Courtly World,” 33–60. The authors would like to thank cordially Professor Dr. Gerhard Fouquet (Kiel), Dr. Reinhardt Butz (Dresden), Dr. Matthias Steinbrink (Munich), Kathrin Zickermann, M.A. (St. Andrews), Prof. Dr. Albrecht Classen (Tucson, AZ), and Prof. Dr. Marilyn Sandidge (Westfield, MA) for their valuable advice on this paper.

society rotating around the prince.<sup>2</sup> In light of recent research it is rather questionable still to claim that court and city, lordship and commune, courtly and civic cultures were indeed adversarial in nature and behavior. After all, the roots of both spheres lay in the feudal structures of the Early and High Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> The above observed “shadow” has its origin in the very setup of two well established and prolific fields of research: The historical as well as the interdisciplinary analysis of urban settlements and urban landscapes (“Städte landschaften”), for instance in the Holy Roman Empire, has a long tradition with numerous “classics”<sup>4</sup> and an abundance of current research,<sup>5</sup> in many cases

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<sup>2</sup> This is the way Andreas Ranft, “Adel, Hof und Residenz im späten Mittelalter,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 89 (2007): 69–81, has phrased it in a programmatic layout for converging the two spheres.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Franz Irsigler, “Zur wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung der frühen Grundherrschaft,” *Strukturen und Wandlungen der ländlichen Herrschaftsformen vom 10. zum 13. Jahrhundert: Deutschland und Italien im Vergleich*, ed. Gerhard Dilcher and Cinzio Violante. Schriften des Italienisch Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Trient, 14 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 165–87; *Grundherrschaft und Stadtentstehung am Niederrhein*. Referate der 6. Niederrhein Tagung des Arbeitskreises niederrheinischer Kommunalarchive für Regionalgeschichte, ed. Klaus Flink and Wilhelm Janssen. Klever Archiv, 9 (Kleve: Stadtarchiv, 1989); *Burgen, Märkte, kleine Städte: Mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung am südlichen Oberrhein*, ed. Ursula Huggle and Thomas Zotz. Das Markgräflerland, 2 (Schopfheim: Geschichtsverein Markgräflerland, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1953); Hans Planitz, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter: Von der Römerzeit bis zu den Zunftkämpfen* (Graz and Cologne: Böhlau, 1954); Edith Ennen, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1250–1500: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Stadtr Regiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1988); focusing on Northwestern Europe: *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain. Vol. 1: 600–1540*, ed. David Michael Pallister (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City and The Later Medieval City. A History of Urban Society in Europe* (London and New York: Longman, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> For a short list of recent publications, see: *Vielerlei Städte: Der Stadtbegriff*, ed. Peter Johaneck and Franz Joseph Post. Städteforschung. Reihe A: Darstellungen, 61 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2004); *Städtelandschaft—Städtenetz—zentralörtliches Gefüge: Ansätze und Befunde zur Geschichte der Städte im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. Monika Escher, Alfred Haverkamp, and Frank G. Hirschmann. Trierer historische Forschungen, 43 (Mainz: Zabern, 2000); *Städtelandschaft: Städte im regionalen Kontext in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit = Réseau urbain = Urban network*, ed. Holger Th. Gräf, and Katrin Keller. Städteforschung. Reihe A: Darstellungen, 62 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2004); *Die urbanen Zentren des hohen und späteren Mittelalters: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Städten und Städtelandschaften im Westen des Reiches und in Ostfrankreich*, 3 vol., ed. Monika Escher and Frank G. Hirschmann. Trierer Historische Forschungen, 50/1–3 (Trier: Kliomedia, 2005). Cf. Gabriel Zeilinger, “Das Netz wird dichter: Neue Forschungen zu alteuropäischen Städtelandschaften,” *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 25 (2007): 89–99. For the spatial concept, see, e.g., *Landschaften im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Heinz Spieß (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006).

developed at the “Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte” in Münster.<sup>6</sup> In recent times research especially on the Urban History of Western and Central Europe has increasingly turned its attention to the processes of premodern urbanization from the perspective of Social History.<sup>7</sup> In the course of this research it has become even more evident that it was the small or even minimal towns<sup>8</sup>—among those quite a few with princely residences<sup>9</sup>—which were formative for the urban structure of, for example, the Holy Roman Empire. The relatively autonomous imperial cities were comparatively big in size, but few in numbers.<sup>10</sup> Yet they have dominated the research focus for many decades, even

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- <sup>6</sup> Cf. the Institute’s internet presentation: <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/Publikationen.shtml>, and the associated “International Commission for the History of Towns” at <http://www.historiaurbium.org/> (both last accessed on April 6, 2009).
- <sup>7</sup> See, among others: Monika Escher Apsner, *Stadt und Stift: Studien zur Geschichte Münstermaifelds im hohen und späteren Mittelalter*. Trierer Historische Forschungen, 53 (Trier: Kliomedia, 2004); Bernhard Brenner, *Ludwig der Bayer—ein Motor für die Urbanisierung Ostschwabens? Zu den Auswirkungen herrscherlicher Städtepolitik auf die Entwicklung der schwäbischen Städtelandschaft im ausgehenden Mittelalter*. Materialien zur Geschichte des Bayerischen Schwaben, 27 (Augsburg: Wißner, 2005); *Die Urbanisierung Europas von der Antike bis in die Moderne*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet and Gabriel Zeilinger. Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe E: Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, 7 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2009).
- <sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Martina Stercken, *Städte der Herrschaft: Kleinstadtgenese im habsburgischen Herrschaftsraum des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*. Städteforschung. Reihe A: Darstellungen, 68 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2006); Katrin Keller, *Kleinstädte in Kursachsen. Wandlungen einer Städtelandschaft zwischen Dreißigjährigem Krieg und Industrialisierung*. Städteforschung. Reihe A: Darstellungen, 55 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2001); Oliver Auge, “Stadtwerdung in Tirol: Ansätze, Ergebnisse und Perspektiven vergleichender Stadtgeschichtsforschung,” *König, Kirche, Adel—Herrschaftsstrukturen im mittleren Alpenraum und angrenzenden Gebieten (6.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Rainer Loose and Sönke Lorenz (Lana: Tappeiner, 1999), 307–64; *Kleine Städte im neuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. Holger Th. Gräf. Innovationen, 6 (Berlin: Berlin Verlag Spitz, 1997). Pathbreaking in modern research of small towns of the German Southwest: Gerhard Fouquet, “Stadt, Herrschaft und Territorium: Ritterschaftliche Kleinstädte am Beispiel Südwestdeutschlands an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift zur Geschichte des Oberrheins* 41 (1993): 70–120.
- <sup>9</sup> See the compilation of this type of towns between 1200 until 1650 in: *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Ein dynastisch topographisches Handbuch*, ed. Werner Paravicini, assembled by Jan Hirschbiegel and Jörg Wettlaufer, 1: *Dynastien und Höfe*. 2: *Residenzen*. Residenzenforschung, 15, I, 1–2 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003), especially vol. 2.
- <sup>10</sup> See the cities within the “Reichsmatrikel” (Imperial Register), e.g., of 1521, numbering 85: “Übersicht über die Reichsstände: I. Die Reichsstände nach der Matrikel von 1521 mit vergleichenden Angaben nach der Matrikel von 1755,” ed. Gerhard Oestreich and E. Holzer. *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Herbert Grundmann (orig. ed. by Gebhardt), vol. 2: *Von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Absolutismus*, bearbeitet von Max Braubach, Walther Peter Fuchs, Gerhard Oestreich, Walter Schlesinger, Wilhelm Treue, Friedrich Uhlhorn, and Ernst Walter Zeeden, 9th, newly arranged edition (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1970), 769–84; *Quellen zum Verfassungsorganismus des Heiligen römischen Reiches deutscher Nation: 1495–1815*, ed. Hanns Hubert Hofmann. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte der Neuzeit, 13 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976), for the Imperial Estates, see XVIII–XXII and 40–51: “Die

being considered the paradigm for the medieval and early modern city.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, researchers on courts and residences of the Ancien Régime have certainly examined urban structures around royal or princely residences—notably those scholars affiliated with the “Residenzen Kommission” of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences covered related topics.<sup>12</sup> But from that point of view towns were often interpreted mainly as the mere location of the formation of princely residences<sup>13</sup> as they emerged around 1500; or they were looked at as auxiliary

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‘allzeit neueste Matrikel’ von 1521.” The feasible scope of political action for imperial cities is described by Gerhard Fouquet, “Lübeck als Reichsstadt—die Zeit Friedrichs III.,” *Von Menschen, Ländern, Meeren: Festschrift für Thomas Riis zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet, Mareike Hansen, Carsten Jahnke, and Jan Schlürmann (Tönning: Der Andere Verlag, 2006), 277–305.

<sup>11</sup> Cf., for instance, Felicitas Schmieder, *Die mittelalterliche Stadt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005); notably 86–96, once more underestimating the small towns. Counterpoints—and splendid surveys of the subject—are given by Tom Scott, *Society and Economy in Germany 1300–1600*. European Studies Series (Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 32–37, 132–52 et passim; and Ulf Dirlmeier, Gerhard Fouquet, and Bernd Fuhrmann, *Europa im Spätmittelalter 1215–1378*. Oldenbourg Grundriss der Geschichte, 8 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003), in particular 68–77.

<sup>12</sup> See <http://resikom.adw.goettingen.gwdg.de/index.php> (last accessed on April 6th 2009). An outline of the research on the Court History of the Holy Roman Empire is offered by Jan Hirschbiegel, “Fürstliche Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Ein Projekt der Residenzen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,” *Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Berichtsjahr 2001*, ed. Arbeitsgemeinschaft außeruniversitärer historischer Forschungseinrichtungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2002), 15–23; Werner Paravicini, “Les Cours et les résidences du Moyen Âge tardif: Un Quart de siècle de recherches allemandes,” *Les Tendances actuelles de l’histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne: Actes des colloques de Sèvres (1997) et Göttingen (1998)*, ed. Jean Claude Schmitt and Otto Gerhard Oexle. Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 66 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), 327–50; Pierre Monnet, “Cours et résidences dans l’Empire et en Europe: une commission, des colloques, des publications,” *Bulletin d’information de la Mission Historique Française en Allemagne* 41 (2005): 167–73; Jan Hirschbiegel, *Die Residenzen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, <http://www.histosem.uni-kiel.de/Lehrstuehle/wirtschaft/VorstellungResiKom2006AKTUELL.pdf> [last accessed on April 6, 2009]. Even more recent and programmatic not only by title is Andreas Bihrer, “Curia non sufficit: Vergangene, aktuelle und zukünftige Wege der Erforschung von Höfen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 35 (2008): 237–72; Gerhard Fouquet, “Stadt und Residenz im 12.–16. Jahrhundert—ein Widerspruch?,” *Stadt, Handwerk, Armut: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit: Helmut Bräuer zum 70. Geburtstag zugeeignet*, ed. Katrin Keller, Gabriele Viertel, and Gerald Diesener (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2008), 164–85; Werner Paravicini, “Die Gesellschaft, der Ort, die Zeichen: Aus der Arbeit der Residenzen Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,” *Spätmittelalterliche Residenzbildung in geistlichen Territorien Mittel und Nordostdeutschlands*, ed. Klaus Neitmann and Heinz Dieter Heimann (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2009), 15–40.

<sup>13</sup> Hans Patze, “Die Bildung der landesherrlichen Residenzen im Reich während des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Stadt und Stadtherr im 14. Jahrhundert: Entwicklungen und Funktionen*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, 2 (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1972), 1–54. An excellent case study is presented, e.g., by Johannes Kolb, *Heidelberg: Die Entstehung einer landesherrlichen Residenz im 14. Jahrhundert*. Residenzen

institutions for appraising and supplying the adjacent court, not as social and political entities on their own.<sup>14</sup> It is this shift of the paradigm toward a more town oriented perspective that we would like to focus on by way of combining the research on Urban and Court History on an equal footing.<sup>15</sup> So far there seems to be no sustainable juncture of the two on an institutional level. Thus, the above mentioned supposed antagonisms of the two spheres appear to persist even in today's research—in spite of the claims to consider not only distinctive but also integrative aspects of city and court.<sup>16</sup> In the course of this paper the interchange between city and court will be demonstrated in an exemplary fashion. Festivities as highly condensed communicative events—with the respective historiographical tradition—are particularly useful for this purpose. By concentrating on the social implications of symbolic actions displayed during premodern festivals, one may still capture or at least sense some of the economic, political, religious, cultural and even legal aspects.<sup>17</sup> Festivals are determined by community, occasion, and appearance<sup>18</sup> as well as by their deliberate interruption of everyday life.<sup>19</sup> They

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forschung, 8 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1999).

- <sup>14</sup> Accordingly Bihrer, "Curia non sufficit," 271, who is urging to consider the external contexts and references of the premodern courts more intensely: "Die Konzentration der Forschung allein auf den Hof [. . .] sollte der Vergangenheit angehören, [. . .] das Forschungsfeld muß eine Ausweitung erfahren [um die] Kontakte und Bezüge der Höfe nach außen. Die [. . .] Erforschung von Höfen muß kontextualisiert werden. [. . .] Es gilt, die Höfe in einem Spannungsfeld mit ihren äußeren Bezügen zu sehen." Yet, Werner Paravicini, "Vom sozialen zum realen Raum: Hof und Residenz in Alteuropa. Vortrag der öffentlichen Sitzung am 12. Dezember 2003," *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 2003* (2004): 128–45, has observed—once more looking from the court to the town—an aristocratic alignment of the urban space that is both interfering with and going beyond the town walls ("in die Stadt eingreifende und über sie hinausgreifende Ordnung des realen Raumes," 139). Fouquet, "Stadt und Residenz," emphasizes the importance of small towns with princely residences both for urban history and court history.
- <sup>15</sup> See the preliminary steps in that direction by Peter Johaneck, "Residenzbildung und Stadt bei geistlichen und weltlichen Fürsten im Nordwesten Deutschlands," *Historia Urbana* 5 (1997, publ. 2000): 91–108; and the volumes: *Ein zweigeteilter Ort? Hof und Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Susanne C. Pils and Jan Paul Niederkorn. Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte, 44 (Innsbruck, Vienna, and Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2005); and *Der Hof und die Stadt. Konfrontation, Koexistenz und Integration in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Paravicini and Jörg Wettlaufer. Residenzenforschung, 20 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006).
- <sup>16</sup> Compare the preceding notes and Ulrich Rosseaux, "Das Vogelschießen und die Vogelwiese in Dresden: Ständetranszendenz und gesellschaftliche Integration in einer frühneuzeitlichen Residenzstadt," *Stadtgemeinde und Ständegesellschaft: Formen der Integration und Distinktion in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. Patrick Schmidt and Horst Carl. Geschichte, Forschung und Wissenschaft, 2 (Berlin, Münster: LIT, 2007), 56–71; especially 58.
- <sup>17</sup> For fifteenth century court festivals, see Gabriel Zeilinger, *Die Uracher Hochzeit 1474: Form und Funktion eines höfischen Festes im 15. Jahrhundert*. Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe E: Beiträge zur Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 2 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2003).
- <sup>18</sup> Lars Deile, "Feste—eine Definition," *Das Fest: Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik*, ed. Michael Maurer (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 1–17; here 9. For an outline on the research

offer a rhythmic structure within time by their very occurrence and/or by their festive structure.<sup>20</sup> This applies also to medieval festivals that were specifically organized to provide identity and a forum for integration—at least for the participants<sup>21</sup>—and which were characterized by a (partially) public dimension<sup>22</sup> offering an example of symbolic communication.<sup>23</sup> In recent times medievalists have intensely worked on the subject of festivals in history<sup>24</sup> and in particular on court festivals.<sup>25</sup> Yet Gert Melville's statement of 1997 still holds true that a fundamental analysis of late medieval court festivals is a desideratum,<sup>26</sup> although various studies have been presented.<sup>27</sup> The same observation can be made for civic

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tradition, see Michael Maurer, "Feste und Feiern als historischer Forschungsgegenstand," *Historische Zeitschrift* 253 (1991): 101–30.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Maurer, "Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des Festes," *Das Fest*, ed. Maurer, 19–54; here 23–26.

<sup>20</sup> Maurer, "Prolegomena," 26–31.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Peter Johaneck, "Fest und Integration," *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, ed. Detlef Altenburg, Jörg Jarnut, and Hans Hugo Steinhoff (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 525–40.

<sup>22</sup> On the problem of the 'public' in the Middle Ages, see Peter von Moos, 'Öffentlich' und 'privat' im Mittelalter: Zu einem Problem historischer Begriffsbildung, *vorgetragen am 22.6.1996* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2004). Cf. Alfred Haverkamp, "... an die große Glocke hängen: Über Öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Kollegs* 1995 (1996): 71–112.

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe—Forschungsperspektiven—Thesen," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004): 489–527; and earlier William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 452–76. Cf. André Krischer, *Reichsstädte in der Fürstengesellschaft: Politischer Zeichengebrauch in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Studien zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), substantiating that the adaptation of the semiotic and symbolic conduct of emperors and princes by the urban elites of the imperial cities was the basis for their cultural and political participation.

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, and Jacques Heers, *Vom Mummenschanz zum Machttheater: Europäische Festkultur im Mittelalter*. Transl. by Grete Osterwald (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1986); Christian Rohr, *Festkultur des Mittelalters* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Gerhard Fouquet, Harm von Seggern, Gabriel Zeilinger, "Höfische Feste im Spätmittelalter: Eine Einleitung," *Höfische Feste im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet, Harm von Seggern, and Gabriel Zeilinger. Mitteilungen der Residenzen Kommission. Sonderheft 6 (Kiel: Vervielfältigungsstelle der Christian Albrechts Universität zu Kiel, 2003), 9–18, including a detailed research review.

<sup>26</sup> Gert Melville, "Rituelle Ostentation und pragmatische Inquisition: Zur Institutionalität des Ordens vom Goldenen Vließ," *Im Spannungsfeld von Recht und Ritual: Soziale Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Gert Melville (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 215–71; here 238, note 78. Cf. Jörg Jochen Berns, "Die Festkultur der deutschen Höfe zwischen 1580 und 1730: Eine Problemskizze in typologischer Ansicht," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 34 (1984): 295–311; here 295. He also observes this deficiency in research.

<sup>27</sup> See note 25 and recently Michail A. Bojcov, "Höfische Feste und ihr Schrifttum: Ordnungen, Berichte, Korrespondenzen," *Höfe und Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Hof und Schrift*, ed. Werner Paravicini, assembled by Jan Hirschbiegel and Jörg Wettlaufer. *Residenzenforschung*, 15,



festivals of that period,<sup>28</sup> while many case studies have been produced on that matter as well.<sup>29</sup> Bridging those thematic fields are the works on monarchs' meetings,<sup>30</sup> and coronations within cities.<sup>31</sup>

The prospects of the outlined integrative analysis of the two spheres of city and court, of commune and lordship in the Late Middle Ages will be demonstrated in the following focusing on one of the mega events of fifteenth century Europe: the Council of Constance, 1414–1418. By looking closely at the proceedings of the festive royal entry into the city—according to contemporary tradition—we want to observe the convergence of the courtly and the civic spheres in the urban space<sup>32</sup> of a city that was in some ways both an episcopal residence and an imperial city.<sup>33</sup>

When King Sigismund entered Constance on Christmas Eve in 1414, it happened indeed within a festive frame culminating in a holy mass at the cathedral. The report by the local chronicler Ulrich Richental is not the only one, but certainly the

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III (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007), 179–84, especially the bibliography 183–84.

<sup>28</sup> Rohr, *Festkultur*, 62–63, covers only those two pages on cities and festival. An overview is offered by Ludwig Schmugge, "Feste feiern wie sie fallen—Das Fest als Lebensrhythmus im Mittelalter," *Stadt und Fest: Zu Geschichte und Gegenwart europäischer Festkultur: Festschrift der Philosophischen Fakultät I der Universität Zürich zum 2000 Jahr Jubiläum der Stadt Zürich*, ed. Paul Hugger in collaboration with Walter Burkert and Ernst Lichtenhahn (Unterägeri: W & H Verlag, 1987), 61–87. Cf. for the early modern history, see Ruth E. Mohrmann, "Fest und Alltag in der Frühen Neuzeit—Rituale als Ordnungs- und Handlungsmuster," *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 72 (2000): 1–10; here 6.

<sup>29</sup> For a selection, see Juliane Kümmel, "Alltag und Festtag spätmittelalterlicher Handwerker," *Mentalität und Alltag im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Cord Meckseper and Elisabeth Schraut. Kleine Vandenhoeck Reihe, 1511 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 76–96; Klaus Tenfelde, "Die fürstliche Einholung als städtisches Fest," *Stadt und Fest*, 45–87; Thomas Zotz, "Die Stadtgesellschaft und ihre Feste," *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, 201–13; Gerhard Fouquet, "Das Festmahl in den oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Zu Form, Funktion und Bedeutung des öffentlichen Konsums," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74 (1992): 83–123; *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson. Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Gerald Schwedler, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters: Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen*. Mittelalter Forschungen, 21 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen—Geschichte und Mythos*. Ausstellungskatalog, ed. Mario Kramp, 2 vols. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> Here in a broader sense of "spatial turn," cf., among others, Doris Bachmann Medick, "Spatial Turn," Doris Bachmann Medick, *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften*, 2nd ed. (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2006), 284–328; Christian Hochmuth, Susanne Rau, "Stadt—Macht—Räume: Eine Einführung," *Machträume der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. Christian Hochmuth and Susanne Rau. Konflikte und Kultur—Historische Perspektiven, 13 (Constance: UKV Verlagsgesellschaft, 2006), 13–40; Martina Löw, *Raumsoziologie* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2001).

<sup>33</sup> The central political places of the late medieval Holy Roman Empire are outlined by Gerhard Fouquet, "Hauptorte—Metropolen—Haupt- und Residenzstädte im Reich (13. beginnendes 17. Jh.)," *Ein dynastisch topographisches Handbuch*, here vol. 1: 1–15.

most renowned one.<sup>34</sup> According to his account, the king and Queen Barbara, accompanied by noblemen and servants, arrived from Überlingen two hours after mid night. First the group went to the chambers of the city council to warm up for about an hour. From there they went to the cathedral to attend the mass—sheltered by pieces of cloth that were kept around and above the nobility (Figure 1).

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<sup>34</sup> Ulrich Richental, *Das Konzil zu Konstanz MCDXIV–MCDXVIII. 1: Faksimileausgabe. 2: Kommentar und Text*, ed. Otto Feger (Starnberg, Sigmaringen: Keller, Thorbecke, 1964); here vol. 2: 149–278, the following on 169–71. Cf. *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik des Constanzer Concils 1414 bis 1418*, ed. Michael Richard Buck. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 158 (1882; Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 35–36. For the written sources of that event, see Hermann Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst auf den Konzilen von Konstanz und Basel,” *Tradition als historische Kraft: Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters: Karl Hauck zum 21.12.1981 gewidmet*, ed. Norbert Kamp and Joachim Wollasch, with contributions by Manfred Balzer, Karl Heinrich Krüger, and Lutz von Padberg (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982), 388–411; here 390, and notes 11–20.



Figure 1: King Sigismund on the way to the cathedral of Constance,  
December 1414

Richental, *Konzil*, 1: *Faksimileausgabe*, fol. 19v

The cathedral was supposedly decorated with so many lit candles that Richental thought it looked like a burning house. Pope John XXIII, who had been in town for some time, was dressed in precious garments and had a golden crown although apparently not wearing it. After the singing of “Dominus dixit ad me,” it was time for the Gospel to be read, so the king ascended the pulpit and delivered the “Exiit edictum.”<sup>35</sup> During that lecture the Duke of Saxony is reported having raised a sword above the king—its tip pointing right toward the king’s head.<sup>36</sup> The scepter and the crown were held by Hungarian noblemen instead of the designated Elector Palatine and the Margrave of Brandenburg who had not arrived yet:

“Und man sang ‘Dominus dixit ad me’ Und do es kam zû dem ewangeli, do gieng der Romsch kûng mit vil brinenden kertzen uff die kanzel und sang das ewangelium ‘Exiit edictum’ Und die will er das sang, stûnd der hertzog von Saxen ob im und hat ain bloß schwert in der hand, und hub das hoch uff und stackt den spitz gen des kaisers hopt; und hûb im das zepter vor ain her von Unger an stat des pfaltzgraven, und die kron och ainer von Unger anstat des margrafen von Brandenburg, wann die dennoch nit kommen waren” (Figure 2).<sup>37</sup>

[For a paraphrase in English, see above]

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<sup>35</sup> For this ceremonial aspect, see Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” and Hermann Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst im späteren Mittelalter,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 39 (1983): 131–206; for this incident particularly 169–73; Hermann Heimpel, “Königliche Evangeliumslesung bei königlicher Krönung,” *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf zu seinem fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag und fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum*, ed. Hubert Mordek (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1983), 447–59.

<sup>36</sup> On the phenomenon of the “sword in the crown,” see Werner Paravicini, “Das Schwert in der Krone,” *Festschrift Gert Melville* (2009) [in preparation].

<sup>37</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169–171.



Figure 2: King Sigismund in the cathedral of Constance Christmas 1414  
Richental, *Konzil*, 1: *Faksimileausgabe*, fol. 20r<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> According to the editorial note the king—dressed in a deacon's robe—is reading the Christmas Gospel [*lectio septima*, Luke 2,1, Richental, *Konzil*, 2: *Kommentar und Text*, 170, its note 2 referring to §48], while two Hungarian knights stand on both sides of the pulpit with the imperial insignia,

After the mass the “Laudes” were sung until daybreak. The following prayers lasted until eleven o’clock. At the end of those ceremonies the Pope gave his blessing and everyone went to his home or his hostel.<sup>39</sup>

So, at first glance, the royal *introitus* into the city appears to have been dominated largely by the courtly sphere. But this labeling demands a closer look: Having received notice of the king’s approach, the city council had sent ships and staff to Überlingen to carry and escort the royal entourage over that stretch of Lake Constance (Figure 3).<sup>40</sup>

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behind the king the Duke of Saxony with the raised sword, behind him two clerical dignitaries and then secular candle bearers (seen from right to left), Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 170, and Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” 399.

<sup>39</sup> For the proceedings, see Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” 391–96. Cf. Walter Brandmüller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414–1418*, 1: *Bis zur Abreise Sigismunds nach Narbonne*. Konziliengeschichte. Reihe A: Darstellungen (Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, Zurich: Schöningh, 1991), 178–79; Alois Niederstätter, *Ante Portas: Herrscherbesuche am Bodensee 839–1507* (Konstanz: Universitäts Verlag Konstanz, 1993), 126–31 (and the respective notes 203 and 204); Achim Thomas Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst Kaiser Treffen*. Forschungen zur Kaiser und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer. Regesta Imperii, 18 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1999), 563–69; Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit, 1368–1437* (Munich: Beck, 1996), 194–96. For a comprehensive analysis, see Gerrit Jasper Schenk, “Sehen und gesehen werden: Der Einzug König Sigismunds zum Konstanzer Konzil 1414 im Wandel von Wahrnehmung und Überlieferung (am Beispiel von Handschriften und frühen Augsburger Drucken der Richental Chronik),” *Medien und Weltbilder im Wandel der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Franz Mauelshagen and Bendikt Mauer. Documenta Augustana, 4 (Augsburg: Wißner, 2000), 71–106.

<sup>40</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169, cf. Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” 391. For the “adventus” by ship cf. Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik: Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich: Forschungen zur Kaiser und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer. Regesta Imperii, 21 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2003), 276.

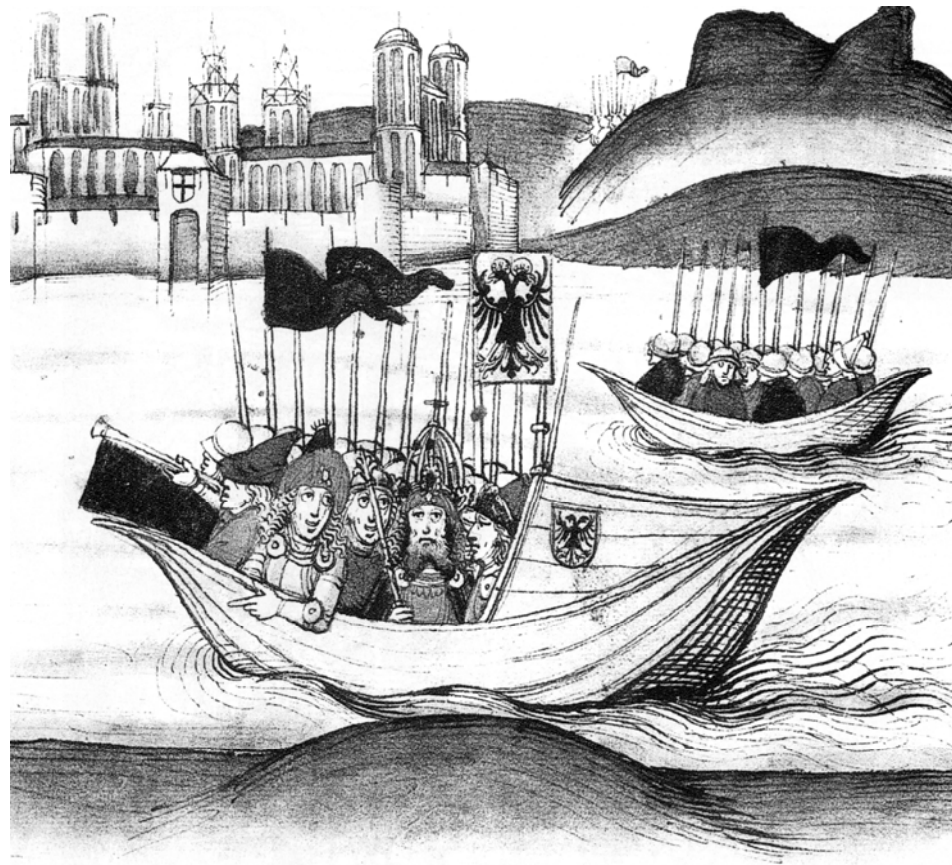


Figure 3: King Sigismund is escorted over Lake Constance, here in January 1417  
*Die Schweiz im Mittelalter in Diebold Schillings Spiezer Bilderchronik*, ed. Hans  
Haeberli and Christoph von Steiger. Studienausg. zur Faks. Ed. der Hs. Mss.  
hist. helv. I. 16 d. Burgerbibliothek Bern (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1991), 392,  
based on the Spiezer Bilderchronik, 609  
(as in Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, Figure 13)

In the well prepared and warm chambers of the city hall<sup>41</sup> the royal guests met with several representatives of the citizenry, who offered Sigismund and Barbara a drink of malmsey and bestowed two pieces of gilded cloth on them.<sup>42</sup> Eight distinguished citizens of Constance—*noted by name in Richental's chronicle*<sup>43</sup>—then carried the canopies, while representatives of the city's guilds were bearing candles—a visualization of the civic order (see Figure 1).<sup>44</sup> Again in the cathedral, with pope and king present, civic, secular courtly and clerical courtly groups met in a religious ceremony that was part of a royal entry into a city.<sup>45</sup> The general public ("Volk") of Richental's report may have been to some degree excluded from active participation,<sup>46</sup> but played a role at least as audience for the staging of festive splendor. The social elite of Constance, on the other hand, was not limited to a passive part in the ceremonies; the urban aristocracy had the semiotic and communicative knowledge to interact with the landed nobility and the high clergy.<sup>47</sup> Thus, not only were city and court facing each other on that occasion, but the partially congruent circles of the city's council, citizenry, and other city dwellers also present an embodiment of its social ensemble.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169: [...] und hieß man die ratstuben wol wermen, wenn sy kamen, das sy sich warnten, als och beschach.

<sup>42</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 170; cf. Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst," 391.

<sup>43</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 170.

<sup>44</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 170: Und giengen also in das Münster mit allen zunftkerten und sust mit vil kerten [...], cf. Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst," 395.

<sup>45</sup> For an essential analysis on this form of festival, see Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, see also Gerrit Jasper Schenk, "(Reichsstädtische) Einzugsordnungen und Einzugsberichte," *Hof und Schrift*, 161–77; and Michail A. Bojcov, "Einzug," *Hof und Schrift*, 232–41.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 339–40.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Richard Alewyn and Karl Sälzle, *Das große Welttheater: Die Epoche der höfischen Feste in Dokument und Deutung*. Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie, 92 (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1959), 23–26 [2nd, expanded ed. (Munich: Beck, 1985), 28–31]; Vera Jung, *Körperlust und Disziplin: Studien zur Fest und Tanzkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), here specifically 217–22; Werner Paravicini, *Die ritterlich höfische Kultur des Mittelalters*. Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 32 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 50–53, already questioning a genuinely civic form of life within the urban elites; for Lübeck, see recently Fouquet, "Lübeck als Reichsstadt."

<sup>48</sup> Membership in Constance's confraternal society "Zur Katz" was open to remarkably many social groups in town, which contributed to a lessening of social tensions, see Christoph Heiermann: *Die Gesellschaft "Zur Katz" in Konstanz: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschlechtergesellschaften in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*. Konstanzer Geschichts und Rechtsquellen, 37 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 1999); cf. *Geschlechtergesellschaften, Zunft Trinkstuben und Bruderschaften in spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet, Matthias Steinbrink, and Gabriel Zeilinger. Stadt in der Geschichte, 30 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003).



Richental is not very specific about the lower ranks of the court society present, but is all the more loquacious on the high aristocracy—not just in the context of the mass. The respective corteges are listed in numbers, as he reports on the arrivals of various princes: there were many clerical and secular lords,<sup>49</sup> many knights and squires,<sup>50</sup> along with, for one instance, 60 horses and as many people,<sup>51</sup> and so forth. The names of the city's elite appear repeatedly as hosts of specified noble guests—as Richental had been himself.<sup>52</sup> The Council of Constance as a great medieval festival offered numerous opportunities for encounters between city and court(s).

Constance itself was—as pointed out before—an episcopal see in spite of considerable setbacks in the bishop's dominion over the city in the centuries before the council. At the same time, the citizens' turning to the king as overlord and subsequent royal grants had made Constance at least a semi imperial city. The convergence or even clash of civic and courtly life forms was therefore also an everyday experience within and around the city walls—often enough in conflicting ways, as Andreas Bihrer has shown for fourteenth century Constance,<sup>53</sup> and as other authors have for different times and places.<sup>54</sup> But was the Council of Constance then a distinctively urban event at all? Helmut Maurer has affirmed that concept maintaining that its publicly conspicuous rituals embraced the entire population of the city as a “Sakralgemeinschaft” (sacred community)—including the cathedral chapter. Thereby, rituals and ceremonies during the Council were embedded into the city's habitual custom. He claims that only in such a place—the city of a bishop and a chapter—could a chronicler like Richental, with links both to the commune and to the clergy, form the notion of the Council as a highly

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<sup>49</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 168 (accompanying four cardinals).

<sup>50</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 180 (in the cortege of Duke Ludwig of Bavaria).

<sup>51</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 178 (in the company of the bishop of Passau).

<sup>52</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, pass. The problem of accommodations in a midsize imperial city is now described by Ansgar Frenken, “Wohnraumbewirtschaftung und Versorgungsdeckung beim Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418): Zur logistischen Bewältigung eines Großereignisses im Spätmittelalter,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 156 (2008): 109–46; cf. Albrecht Classen's introduction to this volume for Oswald von Wolkenstein's literary account on the situation in Constance during the Council, 74–76.

<sup>53</sup> Andreas Bihrer, *Der Konstanzer Bischofshof im 14. Jahrhundert: Herrschaftliche, soziale und kommunikative Aspekte*. *Residenzenforschung*, 18 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005); notably 80–96, and the chapter on “Feste und Rituale,” 451–61. Cf. Kurt Andermann, “Das schwierige Verhältnis zur Kathedralstadt: Ausweichresidenzen südwestdeutscher Bischöfe im späten Mittelalter,” *Spätmittelalterliche Residenzbildung*, 113–31; Kolb, *Heidelberg*; Meinhardt, *Dresden im Wandel*.

<sup>54</sup> See, e.g., Michael Scholz, *Residenz, Hof und Verwaltung der Erzbischöfe von Halle in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. *Residenzenforschung*, 7 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998). Cf. also the preliminary overview by Jörg Wettlaufer, “Zwischen Konflikt und Symbiose: Überregionale Aspekte der spannungsreichen Beziehung zwischen Fürstenhof und Stadt im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit,” *Der Hof und die Stadt*, 19–33.

integrative urban event.<sup>55</sup> With all social groups in town purportedly participating, the concept of a local identity was even more impressive at a time when the parties struggling for dominance in the city were forced to withdraw from that internal fight for the moment—although redeploying after the end of the Council.<sup>56</sup> In the example<sup>57</sup> considered here, we have shown within an urban space the integration of differing social spheres; we will next analyze the reported occurrences around Christmas Eve in 1414 and discuss their individual participants.<sup>58</sup>

Ulrich Richental,<sup>59</sup> born around the middle of the fourteenth century, deceased in 1436/1437, was the son of the citizen and city clerk of Constance, Johannes Richental, and thus a contemporary witness of the Council. His chronicle was probably written without official assignment<sup>60</sup> around 1420. It discloses many

<sup>55</sup> Helmut Maurer, "Das Konstanzer Konzil als städtisches Ereignis," *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institutionen und Personen*, ed. Heribert Müller and Johannes Helmuth. Vorträge und Forschungen, 67 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007), 149–72; here 172.

<sup>56</sup> Klaus D. Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft und Patriziat: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Stadt Konstanz im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen, 26 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1981), 133.

<sup>57</sup> For a research report, see Remigius Bäumer, "Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils," *Das Konstanzer Konzil*, ed. Remigius Bäumer. Wege der Forschung, 415 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgemeinschaft, 1977), 3–34, as well as Ansgar Frenken, *Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren*. Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, 25,1–2 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1993). The variation of results in examining court and city is demonstrated, e.g., by Gerhard Fouquet, "'Geschichts Bilder' in einer Reichs- und Hansestadt —Christian von Geren und seine Chronik der Lübecker Bergenfahrer (ca. 1425–1486)," *Das Gedächtnis der Hansestadt Lübeck: Festschrift für Antjekathrin Graßmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rolf Hammel Kiesow and Michael Hundt (Lübeck: Schmidt Römhild, 2005), 113–25.

<sup>58</sup> For an outline of the sources, see Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst"; cf. Bojcov, "Höfische Feste," summarizing on 226–27 the account by Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169–71.

<sup>59</sup> For his biography, see *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik*, ed. Buck, 9–12; Eduard Heyck, "Richental, Ulrich von," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* XXVIII, 1889, 433–35; Konrad Beyerle, "Ulrich von Richental," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* NF 14 (1899): 13–27; Otto Feger, "Zur Konzilchronik des Ulrich von Richental," Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 21–36; here especially 22–25; Dieter Mertens, "Ulrich Richental," *Verfasserlexikon* VIII, 1992, 55–60; Wilhelm Matthiessen, "U. (v.) Richental," *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VIII, 1997, 1201–02.

<sup>60</sup> For a contrastive viewpoint, see Maurer, "Das Konstanzer Konzil als städtisches Ereignis," 160. As to the chronicle itself, see Feger, "Konzilchronik"; Stefan Weinfurter, "Zum Gestaltungsprinzip der Chronik des Ulrich Richental," *Freiburger Diözesan Archiv* 94 (1974): 517–31; Wilhelm Matthiessen, "Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils: Studien zur Behandlung eines universalen Großereignisses durch die bürgerliche Chronistik," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 17 (1985): 71–192, 323–455. Cf. Gisela Wacker, "Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils und ihre Funktionalisierung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," Ph.D. diss. University of Tübingen, 2001, vol. 1: [http://w210.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/dbt/volltexte/2002/520/pdf/Band\\_1.pdf](http://w210.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/dbt/volltexte/2002/520/pdf/Band_1.pdf); vol. 2: [http://w210.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/volltexte/2002/520/pdf/Band\\_2\\_low.pdf](http://w210.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/volltexte/2002/520/pdf/Band_2_low.pdf) (last accessed on April 6, 2009). Schenk argues convincingly for the illustrations as being close to reality, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds;" cf. Lilli Fischel, "Kunstgeschichtliche Bemerkungen zu Ulrich Richentals Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 68 (1959): 321–37; Lilli Fischel, "Die Bilderfolge der Richental Chronik, besonders der Konstanzer Handschrift,"

aspects of the time and the region of its origin, but definitely contains a specific urban civic point of view toward the events as they evolved in front of his eyes—or “Wirklichkeitssicht,”<sup>61</sup> as Wilhelm Matthiessen has termed it. It does not belong to the specific type of conciliar chronicles but rather represents urban historiography.<sup>62</sup> Ulrich refers to himself in the beginning of his work: “das alles ich Uolrich Richental zesammenbracht hab, und es eigentlich von hus ze hus erfahren hab, wann ich burger und seßhaft ze Costentz was, (. . .) erkannt was, das mir gaistlich und och weltlich herren saiten, wes ich se dann ye frauget”<sup>63</sup> (as a citizen and resident of Constance, I, Ulrich Richenthal, have assembled all of this. I have either directly witnessed or have been told of the reported events by clergy and by laymen).

Consequently, his narrative cannot simply be categorized as historiography, but in addition shows elements of what has been called an ego document,<sup>64</sup> expressing a subjectively true reality that can be tested for plausibility solely by comparison with corresponding sources.<sup>65</sup> Richental names the participants in the royal entry either by name or by their respective social group: The following of King Sigismund and Queen Barbara consisted of the queen’s sister queen Anna of Bosnia, the elector Rudolf III. of Saxony (Sachsen Wittenberg), and Sigismund’s niece, the countess Elisabeth of Württemberg; furthermore two high ranking Turkish prisoners of war, “quorum unus erat rex et alius dux” (one of them was a king, the other one a duke),<sup>66</sup> and the accompanying servants.<sup>67</sup> The citizens of Constance had made the preparations mentioned above, sent out ships and heated

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Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 37–55.

<sup>61</sup> Matthiessen, “U. (v.) Richental,” 1202. Schenk, “Der Einzug König Sigismunds,” 96, writes of it as a class specific perception (“schichtspezifischen Wahrnehmung”).

<sup>62</sup> See Maurer, “Das Konstanzer Konzil als städtisches Ereignis,” 152–53; Cf. in general *Städtische Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Johanek. Städteforschung, Reihe A: Darstellungen, 47 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000).

<sup>63</sup> *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik*, ed. Buck, 13.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Benigna von Krusenstjern, “Was sind Selbstzeugnisse? Begriffskritische und quellenkundliche Überlegungen anhand von Beispielen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert,” *Historische Anthropologie* 2 (1994): 462–71; *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf Dekker. Publicaties van de Faculteit der Historische en Kunstwetenschappen, 38 (Hilversum: Verloren 2002).

<sup>65</sup> For the problem of objectivity—merely understood as verifiable, even if conveyed information—see, e.g., Detlef Junker, “Objektivität/Parteilichkeit,” *Lexikon Geschichts wissenschaft*. Hundert Grundbegriffe, ed. Stefan Jordan (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2003), 227–31.

<sup>66</sup> *Der Liber gestorum des Jacobus Cerretanus*, ed. *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke, vol. 2: *Konzilstagebücher, Sermones, Reform und Verfassungsakten*, ed. Heinrich Finke in cooperation with Johannes Hollnsteiner (Münster: Regensberg, 1923), 171–348; here 200.

<sup>67</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169–70; cf. Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” 391; Niederstätter, *Ante portas*, 128; Hack, *Empfangszeremoniell*, 564–55; Schenk, “Der Einzug König Sigismunds,” 79.

the council chambers in the city hall,<sup>68</sup> which would doubtless be welcome after a lake passage by night in cargo vessels in late December. It may have been three o'clock in the morning when the royal passengers reached the harbor and were guided to the city hall.<sup>69</sup>

By Richental's lists of names and by the heraldic information on the bearers of the canopy in the chronicle's illustration, one can partially identify the townsmen escorting the king and his entourage from the St. Konradsbrücke<sup>70</sup> to the city hall on the fish market<sup>71</sup> via the Konradstor or Fischbrucktor<sup>72</sup> and later on to the cathedral through the Blattengasse<sup>73</sup>: "Hainrich von Ulm, Hainrich Schiltar, Hanns Hagen, Hainrich Ehinger" were the bearers of the royal canopy; "Conrat Mangolt, Conrad in der Bünd, Caspar Gumpost," and "Hainrich von Tettikoven" held the canopy for the two queens.<sup>74</sup> It is more than likely that the city's former mayor, "Hanns Swartzach,"<sup>75</sup> who had just completed his term,<sup>76</sup> was also present on the way as well as his successor in office, Heinrich von Ulm.<sup>77</sup> Gerrit Jasper Schenk assumes that three fourths of the canopy bearers were patricians, among them the reeve and other office holders.<sup>78</sup>

This social group was at that time allotted only one third of the posts in the municipal government, but nevertheless could argue two cases on that occasion—in front of the city public and in front of the king's eyes<sup>79</sup>: their outstanding position as urban elite<sup>80</sup> and the presentation of the commune's civic order, which was to be manifested in the entering ceremony.<sup>81</sup> "Hainrich von Ulm,

<sup>68</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169; cf. Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst," 391; Hack, *Empfangszeremoniell*, 565, argues conclusively that a delegation of the Constance city council went out to Überlingen to greet the king and returned with him.

<sup>69</sup> Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst," 392–93.

<sup>70</sup> Heimpel, "Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst," 392 with note 25; Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 80; cf. Helmut Maurer, *Konstanz im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. Geschichte der Stadt Konstanz, 2; Konstanz im Mittelalter, 2 (Constance: Stadler, 1989); here vol. 2, 18 and 36–37.

<sup>71</sup> Hack, *Empfangszeremoniell*, 565.

<sup>72</sup> Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 80.

<sup>73</sup> Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 80.

<sup>74</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 170.

<sup>75</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 169.

<sup>76</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 167.

<sup>77</sup> Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 86 with note 64.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 467 with note 1130, and Matthiessen, "Ulrich Richentals Chronik," 146–48, 186–88; Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 86, 89.

<sup>79</sup> For the problem of the public sphere in this case, see Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 72–73.

<sup>80</sup> Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 223, note 694.

<sup>81</sup> Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 223. Schenk, "Der Einzug König Sigismunds," 82, follows Weinfurter, "Gestaltungsprinzip," in pointing out that Richental may have used his chronicle to

Hainrich Schiltar, Conrat Mangolt,” and “Hainrich von Tettikoven” were among the wealthiest citizens according to the tax roll of 1425, as was a member of the In der Bünd family.<sup>82</sup> Konrad Mangold—covered exemplarily by Klaus D. Bechtold in his study on the social history of Constance—was mayor, deputy mayor, and member of the city council,<sup>83</sup> besides being married to Barbara, the sister of Konrad In der Bünd.<sup>84</sup> Bechtold has analyzed an abundance of connections within the citizenry of Constance: Heinrich Schilter and Heinrich von Ulm, e.g., were members of a faction of 23 persons, who had to pay taxes for movable values of more than 5000 lb hl in the year 1418.<sup>85</sup> Members of the Ehinger family held the offices of mayor, deputy mayor, and others frequently; Heinrich was sheriff at the time of Sigismund’s entry.<sup>86</sup> Heinrich Tettikoven was mayor in 1413, Caspar Gumpost was presiding mayor in 1418, following mayor 1423, and sat in the city council in the meantime;<sup>87</sup> Hans Hagen was reeve in 1414.<sup>88</sup>

Other personnel are also depicted in the illustrations of the Richental chronicle—not the least clerics: Another source emphasizes, viewing it from a papal background, the attendance of the local bishop<sup>89</sup> and clergy<sup>90</sup> in certain ceremonies. The clearly visible law enforcement staff hints at the actual presence of the masses, which were welcome as a cheering crowd but had to be contained from shoving and bothering the processions.<sup>91</sup> Certainly, male servants and maidservants were needed in great numbers to guarantee the convenience of the dignitaries—even if they were not considered dignified enough to appear in the illustration.

Surely, a festive entry was no singularity in late medieval Constance; it was an element of the ceremonial repertoire of the city.<sup>92</sup> However, in this case, among

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portray his own idea of public order.

<sup>82</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 29–30.

<sup>83</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 32–33 with note 31.

<sup>84</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 33.

<sup>85</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 86.

<sup>86</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 142.

<sup>87</sup> Bechtold, *Zunftbürgerschaft*, 137, note 231.

<sup>88</sup> Schenk, “Der Einzug König Sigismunds,” 86. For the above mentioned person, cf. *Die Konstanzer Ratslisten des Mittelalters*, ed. Konrad Beyerle (Heidelberg: Winter, 1898).

<sup>89</sup> At that time Otto III, Margrave of Hachberg Rötteln, cf. “Otto von Hachberg,” *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches: ein biographisches Lexikon*, ed. Erwin Gatz and Clemens Brodkorb (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 298. For an overview on the bishop’s court, see Andreas Bihrer, “Konstanz, Bf.e von,” *Ein dynastisch topographisches Handbuch*, here vol. 1: 548–51.

<sup>90</sup> This is according to Hack, *Empfangszeremoniell*, 566 and note 89. He refers to the above mentioned *Liber gestorum* of the curial Jacobus Cerretanus as in note 65; here 199–200.

<sup>91</sup> Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 343. These guards may even symbolize the dividing line between urban elite and urban underclass implying also a cultural barrier.

<sup>92</sup> Hack, *Empfangszeremoniell*, 565.

other things, the travelling speed of the approaching king was quite unusual. After his coronation in Aachen in November Sigismund rushed south not merely to reach the recently opened council, whose patron he was. He obviously wanted to fill his prominent role in the liturgy of the mass on Christmas Eve, which his father had helped to establish for the Holy Roman kings and emperors.<sup>93</sup> As things were, that agenda made a nocturnal entry necessary.<sup>94</sup> And the very combination of royal entry and royal lecture on the Gospel on Christmas Eve was another exceptional incident, even though no coincidence.<sup>95</sup> At this point, we leave the much observed setting of Christmas Eve in 1414 and turn to another aspect of social spatiality during the Council.

The lodging of the high nobility and the courtiers generated at least a spatial closeness of the social spheres. Richental reports in detail about the accommodations of the high ranking guests in his city: “Glich nachdem do zoch unser her der künig mit der küniginen und mit der von Wirtemberg zu der Laiter vor sant Steffan, das dozem l was Conrats in der Bünd genant Rüll, und belibent darin dry tag und nacht”<sup>96</sup> (Immediately thereafter the king and the queen and the lord of Württemberg moved to the house known as “Zur Leiter” belonging to Konrad In der Bünd and stayed there for three days and nights). Afterwards the princes moved to the near by Petershausen Abbey. The Duke of Saxony, e.g., was housed in a priest’s home in the city center.<sup>97</sup> As was customary, the coats of arms of guests were transfixed on their hosts’ houses—rendering that building almost some sort of extraterritorial status<sup>98</sup> and at the same time leaving some of the hosts, we may assume, ambivalent about that occupancy given the high consumptive expectations of noblemen.

Even if there is no distinctly court based source reporting at great length about the happenings of the Council, it can be suggested that the festive entry of King Sigismund into Constance in 1414 was a multi media event, a cultural enactment, and a communicative process between monarch, pope, delegates of the Council, and citizens.<sup>99</sup> By looking closely at this communicative interactive process we come to the conclusion that the civic courtly encounters in the topographical as

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<sup>93</sup> In detail, Heimpel, “Königlicher Weihnachtsdienst,” specifically 395–96.

<sup>94</sup> Schenk points to the “adventus” by night as a rare exception, Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 218–19.

<sup>95</sup> Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 379; Schenk, “Der Einzug König Sigismunds,” 80–81.

<sup>96</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 171. For Konrad, see Elfriede Kleß, “Das Konstanzer Patriziergeschlecht in der Bünd,” *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung* 108 (1989): 13–67; here 40–42 and 57 Nr. A30. On the house “Zur Leiter,” see Fritz Hirsch, *Bauwesen und Häuserbau*. Konstanzer Häuserbuch, 1 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1906), 281.

<sup>97</sup> Richental, *Konzil, 2: Kommentar und Text*, 171.

<sup>98</sup> Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik*, 255 with its note 83.

<sup>99</sup> This is the way how Schenk, “Der Einzug König Sigismunds,” 96, puts it.

well as in the socially relational spaces of the city<sup>100</sup> were vested with the ceremonial procedures described above. Yet, the intertwining of ceremonial prescriptions, of courtly and civic participation along with the claims of both social reference systems to occupy symbolically the urban space during the Council generated, because of the specifics of occasion and situation, a social space that included both spheres, both sets of values and both concepts of social order. This integrative dynamic may not be easily attributed strictly to one sphere or the other.

The possible ramifications of such a perception for the analysis of the social constitution of courts and cities needs to be studied far more intensely for socially, geographically, and chronologically varying situations. Such an analytical framework would be necessary to get from question to hypothesis and finally to substantiated thesis on whether there was at all a self contained urban civic culture and society in premodern Europe.

After all, the tremendous social change from the court centered societies of the Ancien Régime toward the civically dominated societies of modern times figuratively and factually ‘caught fire’ in the eighteenth century, but had its base and origin in the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries. The theoretical and methodological approach that we have proposed for future research on that topic still harbors a lot more research potential.

In closing we want to cast a few spotlights on other fields of research that are thematically adjacent to the panorama presented thus far: While the sources of information about the Council of Constance are primarily local, i.e., urban sources on the non canonical events, other fifteenth century court festivals are documented mainly from a courtly perspective. This is evident in three highly renowned princely weddings of the years 1474/1475 in Amberg, Urach, and Landshut, which were celebrated in indeed small territorial towns with palaces, but still could offer all the richness and refinement demanded of a contemporary court festival. Again, even on a much smaller scale, the townfolks were to provide supplies and lodge guests as well as to serve as audience and witnesses of the princely pomp.<sup>101</sup> Even there we see the formation of “Anwesenheitsgesell

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<sup>100</sup> See, e.g., Martina Löw, “Raum—topologische Dimensionen der Kultur,” *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften: Grundlagen und Schlüsselbegriffe*, vol. 1, ed. Friedrich Jäger and Burkhard Liebsch (Stuttgart and Weimar: Metzler, 2004); here vol. 1: 46–59; *Sozialstruktur und Sozialtopographie vorindustrieller Städte: Beiträge eines Workshops am Institut für Geschichte der Martin Luther Universität Halle Wittenberg am 27. und 28. Januar 2000*, ed. Matthias Meinhardt and Andreas Ranft. *Hallische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005).

<sup>101</sup> Zeilinger, *Uracher Hochzeit*; Karl Heinz Spieß, ““So sie gecleydet wird nach deutschen sitten, so wirt sie ein wolgeschicktes fuerstin”: Internationale Fürstenheiraten im Spätmittelalter,” *Universität und Staat—Autonomie oder Abhängigkeit: 42. Jahrestagung der Universitätskanzler Greifswald 1999*, ed. Jürgen Kohler. *Greifswalder Universitätsreden*. NF, 94 (Greifswald: Ernst

schaften,” or communities established by those living concretely together irrespective of the social class differences.<sup>102</sup> For Rudolf Schlögl those social spaces are crucial in the building of social orders and allow a junction of micro history with macro history.

If one takes that notion one step further from the singular—if not recurring—situation of festivals with their extraordinary tradition to an analysis of everyday experience of the encounter between city and court, it is essential, first, to acknowledge that festivals did not socially suspend everyday life, but rather exalted or transposed it.<sup>103</sup> Of course, we will always have to cope with the scarcity of sources regarding quotidian contexts, that is, the everyday life situation. Therefore, as many archaeological and historical sources as possible have to be considered to get in depth results. It is quite significant in this context that Martina Stercken has also examined coins and seals in the chapter of her remarkable monograph *Städte der Herrschaft*, dealing with “Visuelle Präsenz von Herrschaft im Alltag” (visual presence of governmental power in everyday life).<sup>104</sup> The relationship between commune and lordship can be described in much greater detail by including, for example, seigneurial as well as municipal account books and ordinances, corpora of correspondences in the data base—especially when it comes to (small) towns of the late Middle Ages and early modern times.<sup>105</sup> For the

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Moritz Arndt Universität, 2000), 30–42; Karl Heinz Spieß, “Fremdheit und Integration der ausländischen Ehefrau und ihres Gefolges bei internationalen Fürstenheiraten,” *Fürstenhöfe und ihre Außenwelt: Aspekte gesellschaftlicher und kultureller Identität im deutschen Spätmittelalter*, ed. Thomas Zotz. Identitäten und Alteritäten, 16 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004), 267–90. Karl Heinz Spieß, “Europa heiratet: Kommunikation und Kulturtransfer im Kontext europäischer Königsheiraten des Spätmittelalters,” *Europa im späten Mittelalter: Politik—Gesellschaft—Kultur*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges, Christian Hesse and Peter Moraw. Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft 40 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), 435–64.

<sup>102</sup> Rudolf Schlögl, *Der Raum als “Universalmedium” in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*: <http://www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/Philo/Geschichte/Schloegl/Schloegl/RaumalsUniversalmedium03.pdf>; alternatively: <http://74.125.113.132/search?q=cache:JTDIXjd57HgJ:www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/Philo/Geschichte/Schloegl/Schloegl/RaumalsUniversalmedium03.pdf+%22Der+Raum+als+%E2%80%9CUniversalmedium&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-a> (last accessed on April 6, 2009); cf. Rudolf Schlögl, “Kommunikation und Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden: Formen des Sozialen und ihre Transformation in der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 34.2 (2008): 155–224; cf. the assumption by Schlögl according to which the pre-modern public space was transferred from the court to the city, Rudolf Schlögl, “Politik beobachten: Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 35 (2008): 581–616.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Werner Paravicini, “Alltag bei Hofe,” *Alltag bei Hofe*, ed. Werner Paravicini. Residenzenforschung, 5 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 9–30; Zeilinger, *Uracher Hochzeit*, 18.

<sup>104</sup> Stercken, *Städte der Herrschaft*, 184–88. For the non-feudal, civic courtly relations between two eminent members of the Holy Roman Empire around 1500, the Elector of Saxony and the imperial city Nuremberg, see Sina Westphal, “Briefe und Macht: Die Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Kursachsen und das Reich um 1500,” Ph.D. diss. Kiel 2009.

<sup>105</sup> Christian Schneider, *Hovezuht: Literarische Hofkultur und höfisches Lebensideal um Herzog Albrecht III.*



early period of European urbanization in the Middle Ages, i.e., mainly the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it would be well worth the effort also to reevaluate the diplomatic and urban tradition from the perspective of an integrating focus on city and court.

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*von Österreich und Erzbischof Pilgrim II. von Salzburg (1365–1396)*. Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), examines the interaction of courtly and civic societies on the basis of courtly behavioral patterns according to literary tradition; see particularly the chapter on “Adelsgesellschaften und Bürgerschichten,” 50–58.