

Late Medieval German nobility as early precursors of tourism: leisure and pleasure on the journey

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Leisure and pleasure were integral parts of noble life in the Middle Ages. An impressive testimony to this is the decoration of Runkelstein Castle near Bolzano in South Tyrol. Runkelstein castle was founded in 1237. In 1385, the castle was purchased by a family of social climbers, the family Vintler. They renovated the castle. In 1388, it was painted throughout. A large part of the paintings has been preserved to this day, making it the most extensive cycle of secular wall paintings known from the Middle Ages. The frescoes of Runkelstein castle present a painted catalogue of noble leisure and pleasure. The first cycle is in the hall on the third floor of the western residential building (Grossmann 2018, 80-120).

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1 Lance tournament and round dances in the palace of Runkelstein Castle, late 14th century, Bolzano, Italy. Photo: Mark Mersiowsky.

Fashionably and festively dressed people, alternately woman and man, hold hands and form a round dance, accompanied by two musicians with plucked instruments: dance and music as elements of noble life (Grebe 2018, 259, 262-263).

On the other side of the door, two groups of equally festively dressed people of both sexes face each other under small trees; some of them are the same people as in the dance scene. The blonde woman in the white, gold-trimmed dress throws a green ball, the other group tries to catch it: ball game (Grebe 2018, 255, 258, 260-265). In the register above these frescoes, framed by a coat of arms frieze, we see a jousting tournament. The Archduke of Austria, easily recognisable by the red-silver-red shield and the peacock feathers as crest, is riding against the Count of Württemberg, whose coat of arms we do not recognise, but he can be identified by the horn as crest. Other groups of horsemen measure themselves against each other in the background. On the right we see a whole row of fascinated spectators on the castle, on towers and balconies, including a whole group of ladies in a prominent position. On the back of the wall, in the next room, the chamber (*Ibidem*, 259, 263, 265-266) is also a tournament scene, but this time a tournament with clubs.



2 Mace tournament in the palace of Runkelstein Castle, late 14th century, Bolzano, Italy. Photo: Mark Mersiowsky.

A large number of mounted men are fighting with each other, on the right edge are also mounted trumpeters or trombonists. On the left edge there is a mobile tribune for the spectators: a wagon scaffold which, when erected, offers space for several spectators (Grossmann 2018, 116-119).



3 Hunting scene in the palace of Runkelstein Castle, late 14th century, Bolzano, Italy. Photo: Mark Mersiowsky

Back in the first room, several forms of hunting are depicted in the lower register. A group of mounted nobles rides off on horseback to hunt, a hunting assistant on foot blows his horn and leads the pack of hounds, ready for high hunting. In another scene we see a number of hunters on rocky terrain. Dogs rush the prey, the hunters push chamois down the rock with large poles — the traditional form of hunting chamois in the mountains (Grebe 2018, 266-270).



4 Fishing scene in the palace of Runkelstein Castle, late 14th century, Bolzano, Italy.
Photo: Mark Mersiowsky.

Another fresco, unfortunately only fragmentarily preserved, shows a group of noblemen in front of a fish tank, the two ladies already known from the dance and ball scenes catching fish with landing nets. A nobleman has a fish on the line. Behind the group is a high bar with birds for falconry (Grebe 2018, 270-273). On the second floor are a number of noble ladies and gentlemen painted in pairs playing Quintaine, a popular pastime where one had to keep one's partner off balance while standing on one leg (*Ibidem*, 228-235). In another part of the building, the so-called summer house (Grossmann 2018, 124-137), another form of pastime is reflected in the frescoes. Here, it is not recreational pleasures that are depicted, but rather content from courtly literature. The nine heroes, giants and dwarfs are depicted on the outer wall of the upper floor (Grebe 2018, 302-309). while inside there are various cycles from courtly literature, depicted scene by scene, almost like a comic strip (*Ibidem*, 309-340).

Runkelstein castle is the most important monument of leisure and pleasure paintings, but by no means the only one. Parallels are known from the castle Lichtenberg and the eagle tower in Trento (Andergassen 2012, 93-98). In 1999, to everyone's astonishment, frescoes from the first half of the 15th century were discovered in a room on the first floor of the Massauer/Perkheim manor house in Eppan, South Tyrol, Italy, depicting hunting scenes, stag hunts and falconry, then tournament scenes with lances and sword fights, and finally dance scenes. Who had this cycle painted is completely unknown (Stampfer 2008, 208-212). While in Lichtenberg it was noblemen, the Vintlers at Runkelstein Castle and at the Niederhaus manor in Bolzano, as social climbers, had a noble cosmos painted (Vavra 2000; Wetzel 2000; Torggler and Hofer 2018, 23-25; Grebe 2018, 361-369).

The South Tyrolean fresco cycles provide an instructive insight into the different forms of leisure and pleasure in the German-speaking nobility of the late Middle Ages.

Against the backdrop of the great importance of leisure and pleasure in aristocratic life, it is exciting to take another look at these findings for the special situation of travel. The CHAM's call for a chronologically broad and comparative examination of this field within the framework of the Leisure, Travel and Tourism conference provided the opportunity to do so. Of course, previous research has also repeatedly referred to such phenomena but has not dealt with the question in depth and systematically. Especially in the case of cross-epoch and cross-curricular conferences, it makes sense to start from concrete groups of sources. An important group of main sources to analyse leisure and pleasure during the travel are account books (Paravicini 1989, 16-20, 289-309; Dirlmeier and Fouquet 1992). Accounts are written statements of income and/or expenditure resulting from the relationship between the accounting party and the recipient of the invoice on which the settlement is based, for the purpose of accountability (Mersiowsky 2000, 39; Mersiowsky 2007, 531). Since the account books were initially superfluous after the process of accounting, they were not kept for a long time; instead, the results were recorded in documents. Their chances of being handed down were slim; for the oldest pieces, mere coincidence was consistently responsible. Thus, the transmission is shattered and fragmented (Mersiowsky 2000, 251-269). I published a cursory overview of the surviving territorial accounts for the German sovereignties and nobility up to 1400 and a detailed survey based on intensive archival research for northwestern Germany until 1450 in 2000 (*Ibidem*, 43-74, 135-251). Account books offer a specific view of leisure and pleasure. They are not overlaid with

cultural games, literary exaggeration or theological speculation, not owed to the fantasies of an author, but are quite banal lists of payments with a brief indication of the reason for them, since the accountant had to answer for them. In the late 1990s, I published an article on medieval account as sources of noble life about 1400. I compared the accounts of four noble families from Westphalia and Rhineland (Mersiowsky 1995).¹ For Dietrich of Volmarstein, his rentmaster kept records from 1380 to 1389 (Krumbholtz 1917, 498-569). The accounts of the rentmaster Gerd van Else at Anholt Castle for Hermann of Gemen date from the years 1388-1389 and 1389-1390.² For Johann of Arenberg, the dean and pastor Heinrich of Rohr kept accounts in 1395-1397 and the rentmaster Winand in 1395 in the dominions of Kommern and Arenberg.³ Several booklets for the castle count Godart von Drachenfels from 1395 to 1398 have been preserved (Korth 1892). The accounts under consideration did not allow for an overall view. They were always the accounts of specific officials vis-à-vis their masters. The area of responsibility of the official determines and limits the section of noble life that we can capture in the accounts. The documents examined show characteristic differences. The Volmarstein accountant is of particular importance to his lord. He finances a good part of the — locally distant — activities, which are thus reflected in the source. The view of the local landlord on Anholt Castle is much more locally bound. In his records, Hermann von Gemen appears when he is on site or in the immediate vicinity and makes payments there. The same applies to the Drachenfels administrator and — in particular — to the clergyman who kept the Arenberg accounts. As dense as the itineraries drawn from the accounts may seem in part, they are neither complete nor necessarily representative. This observation made when looking at the itineraries must be applied to all the information contained in the accounts. Due to the partial information recorded by local representatives from a limited perspective, it is not possible to draw an undistorted overall picture. It is important to remain aware of this danger during the evaluation. This is a serious restriction for the methodical approach to the problem of everyday life in the aristocracy. The diversity of the accounts does not permit any quantitative comparison, since we have before us completely different sections and sectors of the aristocratic household. For lack of information, large parts of

1 In addition to studies on Westphalia and the Rhineland, I have also presented studies on Tyrol (Mersiowsky 2019).

2 Fürstlich Salm-Salm'sches Archiv Anholt, Herrschaft Anholt, Handschriften XL.

3 Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 19 C Nr. 1.

the total household remain unknown to us. It is hardly possible to decide what role the sector, which was accidentally acquired, played within the framework of the entire household. It would require a comprehensive analysis to consider whether and to what extent the available resources are even tangible in the respective accounts. The comparison of budget structure, percentage distribution and development of certain expenditure groups is only meaningful if it is recognisable what significance the transactions made from this fund had for the overall budget. However, as long as we only have a fragment in our hands and are not even able to estimate how it related to the former whole, the relevance of the quantitative findings remains uncertain (Mersiowsky 1995, 275-276).

Before we turn to the actual topic of the essay, however, we must take a look at the term “journey”. When we think of travel today, it is usually long-distance travel. The history of such long-distance travel in the late Middle Ages has been extensively researched in recent decades (Labarge 1982; Ohler 1986; Verdon 1998; Reichert 2001; Mazzi 2018; García Barrios, Ozcáriz Gil & Rodríguez Cerezo 2018). It was even suitable as a theme for large exhibitions (Verdon 2014; Medioevo 2015). There were different types of noble journeys (Paravicini 2017). Long-distance pilgrimages such as Rome, Santiago and Jerusalem, domestic pilgrimages to local shrines, heathen warfare (Hungary, Spain with Granada, Portugal with Ceuta, until 1410 Lithuania) (Paravicini 1987; Paravicini 1995). But also journey in order to participate or watch tournaments, there are social visits, bathing trips (Studt 2006, 101-104) and court journeys. Pilgrimages were of great importance to people in the Middle Ages, as they offered wide circles the opportunity to embark on major journeys. For the nobility, they offered the possibility of honour gain in a special way (Reichert 2014).

Like today long-distance travel were means of social distinction. This is why medieval nobles liked to have insignia of their pilgrimages depicted on their tombstones. As an example, we can look at the tombstone of Reinhard von Neuneck (ca. 1475-1551), who was buried in the parish church of Glatt. He is depicted in full armour, holding the broken



5 Gravestone of Reinhard von Neuneck, 16th century, parish church, Glatt, Germany. Photo: Mark Mersiowsky.

spear, for with him his line died out in the male tribe, and below him the pilgrim's sign of Santiago de Compostella (Ottmar 2005). One of the oldest surviving autobiographies of a late medieval nobleman is the *Journey to knight-hood* of Georg von Ehingen. He describes his court journeys, pilgrimages and knightly battles against Muslim warriors and wanted to create a lasting family memory of these honourable and honour-creating journeys. For this purpose, he wrote down his memories and had them decorated with magnificent miniatures of the lords he had met (Paravicini 2017, 257-288). In contrast to the spectacular great journeys, the everyday, smaller-scale mobility is much more difficult to grasp due to the lack of tradition and has therefore hardly been dealt with in the literature. According to the itineraries I recovered from the accounts, the nobles were constantly on the move. At most, there were only a few places where they stayed. For Hermann von Gemen, these were the castles of Anholt and Roen. However, the evidence of the accounts shows that the life of the nobility was by no means confined to their fortified residences. There is evidence that towns played an important role. The nobility took up quarters there, celebrated festivities there, did business of various kinds there. If one maps the itineraries, one notices the unsteady, small-scale movement — mostly without a clear direction. If one examines the scattering of the records of stay, regional concentrations become apparent. Despite all reservations due to the difficult source situation, a field of action between his ancestral castle and Düsseldorf on both sides of the Lower Rhine can be marked out for Godart von Drachenfels. Hermann von Gemen, Lord of Anholt, was geared towards the Gelders area. Dietrich of Volmarstein, finally, was active in the area of Mark and the south of Münster. The Lower Rhenish-Westphalian nobility thus had a limited spatial reach, a regional field of activity. Of course, they transgressed these boundaries, but activities of greater scope always had special occasions, stood out from the ordinary. When Dietrich von Volmarstein travelled to Kreuznach, Prussia and France, and Hermann von Gemen to Brabant and Prussia, it was to participate in special events of their sovereigns or to travel in accordance with their status (Mersiowsky 1995, 268-283).

The mobility of the nobility in the late Middle Ages is also shown by the accounts of Heinrich von Mörsberg from 1431⁴. First, he received an order from his lord to capture Churchspurg Castle, i.e. the Castello di Monreale near Faedo in Trentino. He left Innsbruck with two companions and consumed 3

4 They have survived as part of TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4311 together with an account from Ifan. Cf. Mersiowsky 2019: 133-135.

pounds in Sterzing. In Bolzano, he stayed from Tuesday to Thursday and consumed 12 pounds with four horses and three *ze fussen*, two pedestrians. With seven people, he then also stayed from Thursday to Sunday in Sankt Michael an der Etsch, but had to go to Bolzano to hand over a sum of money to the *Thunnernn*. A further return journey (*ain again auffhin reiten*) led him via Bolzano to Sterzing.⁵ A second “official journey” was to have gone even further: “Item hie ist vermerchkt, was ich Hainr(ich) von Morspeg hab verczert alz ich ain nachsten von Iffann aus rait und sollt gein franchkreich sein geryten mit sechs pherden am nachsten Samstag nach sant Ulreichs tag in anno etc. 31”. So, the plan was to travel to France, but this did not come about. The journey went via Sankt Michael an der Etsch, Neumarkt, Bozen, Klausen, Sterzing, Mattrei to Innsbruck, where he first lay for three and a half weeks. However, the departure for France was delayed. “Item darnach herlaubt mir meines herren gnad wider haim gen Yffann ze reyten und ze stund her wieder ze chomen doch gen Franchkreich ze reyten, da verczert am haim reyten am lug 4 gr”. The journey home was thus via the old customs station below the Brenner, via Sterzing, Kolmann, Bozen, Sankt Michael an der Etsch and Trento, the return journey from Ifan (Ivano) via Neumarkt, Bozen, Meran, *Lampertar in Passeyr*, Sterzing, Matrei to Innsbruck, where he lay again for three weeks and two days, only to receive a new order: “Item da schichkt mich meins herren gnad an die Etsch mänichleichen auf ze pringen zu ziechen in daz felt fur Furstenburchk”⁶. He was to raise troops in the Adige valley on behalf of the Habsburgs and move into the field in front of the Fürstenburg below the Marienberg monastery. Again, the journey goes via Matrei, Sterzing, Klausen, Bozen, where he left five horses behind, then with only two horses via Sankt Michael an der Etsch and Trient to Ifan. The purpose of the journey was to mobilise military resources for the siege of the Fürstenburg near Burgeis in the Vintschgau, today close to the Swiss border: “Item da rait ich wider aus von Yffann daz volk ze pringen in daz felt”. The journey continues via Sankt Michael an der Etsch, Neumarkt, Meran, Naturns, Schlanders to the field in front of the Fürstenburg, where he lay for five weeks.⁷ After an accounting season in the field at Zams, he travelled via Mils near Imst, Silz. Zirl to Innsbruck, where he again spent a long time. Finally, his lord allowed him to return to his own castle: “Item do erlaubt mir meins herren gnad haim gen Iffann ze reyten [...]”. As usual the way back runs

5 TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4311, f. 3, followed by his expenses at Königspurg, *ibid.* fl. 3v.

6 All references TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4311, fl. 4.

7 All references TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4311, fl. 4.

via Matrei, Sterzing, Klausen, Bozen, Sankt Michael an der Etsch and Persen.⁸ Also in Tyrol being on the move for official purposes, mercenary and military service was normal, men as well as women were normally on the move (Mersiowsky 2019, 135-136).

Mobility was a typical trait of everyday life in the nobility. If leisure and pleasure were necessary components of noble existence, they naturally had to play an essential role on journeys as well. In my research on aspects of aristocratic life, a separate chapter was devoted to the topic of conviviality and festivity (Mersiowsky, 1995, 290-296). Dietrich von Volmarstein met with different people on different occasions and in different places. His paymaster succinctly noted: “Und alle tyt und alle weghe hadde myn here grote gesterie in siner herberge [...]” — And all the time and all the way my lord exercised great hospitality in his inn (Krumboltz 1917, 501). On their return from a tournament in Duisburg in 1382, Dietrich von Volmerstein, Bernd and Friedrich von Hörde and Wilhelm von Büren stayed overnight with their journeymen and consumed wine, stockfish, almonds, figs, spices and fine bread for a total of 25 fl (*Ibidem*, 518). Often there are expenses for minstrels, trumpeters and pipers, who probably played for the merry journeymen (*Ibidem*, 499). Another entry reports: “und bleven drey nacht to Heyrdeke und dansseden und tereden in den clostere” — and they stayed for 3 nights in Herdecke and they danced and dined in the monastery (*Ibidem*, 520). After the meeting they went to hunt (*Ibidem*, 519-520). We also find several hints on gambling. For instance: In 1380, Dietrich won 8 shillings at the dice game at Drensteinfurt (*Ibidem*, 499) whereas in Ruhrort, he lost 8 fl; it was half of the loan he had just taken out to finance a march to Duisburg and Ruhrort (*Ibidem*, 534). Convivial evenings are encountered again and again in the accounts, both in the travel accounts and in those that received travellers. Hospitality was an imperative of noble existence; travellers passing through were invited and entertained. The following entry can be found in the Starkenberg accounts from Tyrol: “Item do mein herr schancht ainem grafen der was chomen über mer amm Meran, do chawft ich von dem schützen amm meran 26 trinchén wein, die trueg man im hin ab zuo den sekger [...]”:⁹ When my lord poured a count, who had come from the Holy Land to Meran, I bought from Schütze to Meran 26 trinchén of wine, which were brought to him to Sekger. A count was on his way back from a pilgrimage

8 All references TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4311, fl. 4.

9 TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 165, fl. 23.

to the Holy Land and was presented with wine in the town of Meran, which the Starkenberger had sent to him.

That demonstrative consumption is part of the aristocratic habitus has been a consensus not only since Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu (Dirlmeier and Fouquet 1992; Van Uytven and Raymond 1999, 120-124). The accounts reflect this accurately. The presence of the lord in one of his castles led to clear changes in consumption, higher quality and more luxurious products were consumed (Mersiowsky 2019, 136-137; Blickle 1988). Thus, the account of Michel Nuessner kept in Caldenazzo/Caldonatsch in 1472 records: "Item dem Batista umb 1 star schon kesten dem herren g 5. und gelihen g 4. Item als mein her hie ist hie gewesen umb ayr g 4. Item umb 9 h. smalcz g 16. Item umb ain par huener g 5. Item umb gestüp und saffran h 2. Item umb ain puech papir g 2 f 2, but fur ain puch papir g 2".¹⁰ Beautiful chestnuts, eggs, lard, special spices and paper were not part of the everyday purchases. In normal life the personal on the castle did not consume high quality wheat, but mainly rye; the lord, on the other hand, ate finer bread. His horses and dogs also made an impact: "Item fur dy hunt habern st. 3. Item den pherten habern st. 8".¹¹ Luxury products such as saffron were purchased. During the lord's presence, even a specialist, a female cook, was employed and remained at the castle.¹² These receipts show the consumption of higher quality and luxurious products. Investments in food worthy of the status quo are consistently encountered in travel accounts. As with today's tourists, food on the trip was not only a necessity but part of the fun. The rich selection of dishes, different kinds of meat from chicken, beef, veal and pork to venison and other game, sausages and roast sausages, fish such as carp, crayfish, fruits such as pears, berries, apples, peaches, which Anna von Weinsberg treated herself to during her stay in Bad Wildbad in 1436, is impressive (Boger 1879, 253). Conviviality was an essential element of the bathing trips of the late Middle Ages (Studt 2006, 103-104). Outside of the luxurious meals, we learn little about the leisure activities. Two small bookings are an important exception: "Further 7 1/2 ß for 2 shirts Contz Schrimpfen and the dwarf and 15 Pf. to the dwarf for 2 shoes" (Boger 1879, 253). In the Middle Ages, dwarves designated people of small stature who, as court dwarves, were living curiosities at the courts (Adelson 2005, 9-17).

10 TLA Innsbruck, Hs. 4023, fl. 48.

11 *Ibidem*, fl. 54.

12 *Ibidem*, fl. 50.

Participation in tournaments usually did not happen on a trip but was usually the actual reason for the tour. The tournament was a central element of chivalric-courtly life and offered the nobility the opportunity to participate, and they took advantage of it. In February 1382, Dietrich of Volmarstein went to great lengths to take part in the court festival in Duisburg. This festival was held to celebrate the homecoming of the new wife of the ruler and was held as a festival and tournament in the narrower sense. An entrustment was sent to Cologne in order to purchase standard tournament equipment there: shoes, three pairs of knight's spurs, small helmets, i.e. heraldic helmet decorations, plus green trousers. Dietrich also bought himself a new pair of trousers (Krumboltz 1917, 518). The participation in the Düsseldorf festival at the end of April 1396 triggered similar activities for Godart von Drachenfels. The harness chest was repaired and provided with a lock, skirt with coat of arms was ordered and the equipping of the steed was completed. Master Engelbrecht, the spear maker, received 7 mark. The shopping list also included a black hat for the gentleman, another surcoat, straps, a tassel and three dyed feathers (Korth 1892, 27-28).

It is not only noblemen of secular rank who can be found in the accounts spending on leisure and pleasure. It also applies to nobles of the clergy (Dirlmeier and Fouquet 1992). Herford Abbey was not only one of the most important and oldest foundations in Westphalia, dating back at least to the 9th century, it also has a number of very early accounts which are now in the state archives in Münster. One of these is a travel account of a journey from 9 to 23 september 1413 over a distance of 234 km, which we will take a closer look at (Berghaus 1948). The Herford abbess Mathilde von Waldeck travelled in 1413 in company, we hear of nine, on the return journey of ten horses. She was accompanied by several collegiate ladies, called Maid Lise, Maid Hille and Maid Mettelchin, all from noble families. She travelled via Bielefeld, Stromberg, Beckum, Hamm, Westhofen, Gräfrath, Cologne and Welldorf to Aachen and returned to Herford via Königsdorf near Cologne, Cologne, Rheindorf, Benrath, Wenninghausen, Holzwickede, Hamm, Freckenhorst and Bielefeld. The great Aachener Heiltumsfahrt (pilgrimage to the shrine of Aachen), which recurred every seven years, was one of the great supra-regional pilgrimages of the late Middle Ages and had a large catchment area from Denmark and Sweden, Königsberg and Krakow to Maribor, Villach and Basel, Strasbourg, Nancy and the coasts of Flanders. The abbess was not the only one who made the pilgrimage to Aachen Dietrich von Volmarstein set out in 1384: "do red myn here sine bedevart to Aeken". In keeping with the occasion, he bought himself a grey cloak and a corresponding hood.

The Herford account offers us instructive insights into the travel practices and pleasures of the abbey ladies. It began on September 9, 1413:

On Saturday, my lady rode out for the Aachen journey, there I gave the poor people in Bielefeld 1 Peiner (penny from Peine) and we consumed 1 guilder there and gave a hermit just outside of Bielefeld 1 Peiner, and at Stromberg I gave my lady 2 Peiners as an offering and our virgins 2 Peiners, and overnight we were in Beckum, there Sir Johann, priest of my Lord of Münster, sent my lady a bottle of wine and fish. To the servant I gave 2 Cologne white pennies and paid 3 1/2 shillings for the meal and beer. And gave 2 pennies and 3 shillings for oats and hay, and gave 3 pennies for beer and nuts, and gave 8 pennies in the house to the servants, which is Markish money (Berghaus 1948, 71).¹³

The invoice records donations, ferry costs, expenses and accurately records the itinerary. Not all expenses are mentioned in the account, because during the stay in houses owned by the abbey, the local tenants were responsible for the supply, the scribe only paid for extraordinary uses. We are of course interested in the expenses that are to be allocated to the area of leisure. The gifts of wine and fish by a local cleric are a special feature. On Monday, September 11 they came to Gräfrath, gifts to the relics of St. Catharina and to the image of the Holy Virgin are recorded (Berghaus 1948, 72).¹⁴ These are not necessarily leisure expenses, after all, one could expect clerical ladies to be interested in relics and to be generous. Over a few stages, it went to Cologne. As princess the abbess had a white horse, which she left in Cologne when she went further to Aachen (*Ibidem*, 73).¹⁵ In Cologne, she stayed from Tuesday to

13 Item des sonavendes reyd myn frowe ut to akenwerd, da gaf ich den armen luden vor Bilvelde 1 Peygenschen und vorterden darsulves 1 gulden, und gaf deme kluser off gensid Bilevelde 1 Peygenschen, und to Stromberge dede ich myner frowin 2 Peygenschen to offer und unsen Junffrowin 2 Peygensche, und de nacht were wy to Bekkem, dar sande Her Johan myns heren pape van monster myner frowin 1 vlesschen wyns und vissche. Dem knechte gaf ich 2 kollensche witte und gelt dar 3 1/2 sol. vor de maityd und vor ber. Und gaf 2 d und 3 sol. vor haveren und hoig, und gaf 3 d vor beren und note und gaf in dem Huß deme gesynde 8 d, dit is merkesch gelt.

14 It. des mandages qweme wi to greverode, dar dede ich myner frowin 6 witte van 11 verlingen und den Junffrowin 2 witte. Dar offerden se Sunte Katherinen. Und dede myner frowin 12 merkesche d und den Junffrowin 2 hanoversche. Dit offerden se unser leven frowin bilde.

15 Und gaff 6 kollensche vor haveren und hoig unsem schymmelegghen pagen, de bleff dar stande, de vile wi to aken weren.

Thursday, she once dined with a total of 10, then 9, then 11 persons. Compared to the previous travel costs, completely new expenses occur in Cologne, which show that the abbess and her companions took advantage of the opportunities offered by the big city for shopping. 4 guilders were given in Cologne to a female embroiderer Erneghin who did something for the abbess. 2 pairs of shoes for the abbess and virgin Lyse were bought, also spores, strings or cords. A bitter drink is mentioned. In addition to these pleasures, the abbess and her ladies visited the shrine of the three holy kings in Cologne Cathedral and offered sacrifices there (*Ibidem*, 72).¹⁶ There was also a visit to a bathhouse (*Ibidem*, 73).¹⁷ The journey continued via Welldorf to Aachen, which was only visited on Friday; here, too, sacrifices were made. Back in Cologne on Saturday and Sunday a second shopping took place: the accountant paid a bell bag for the abbess, 10 belts, another bag, a goldsmith worked for the abbess. This time the abbess visited the church and the Golden chamber of St. Ursula in Cologne, where St Ursula and her 11.000 virgins were buried. She also visited an unnamed image and she received the dean of the cathedral of Cologne (*Ibidem*, 73).¹⁸ Then, they went home.

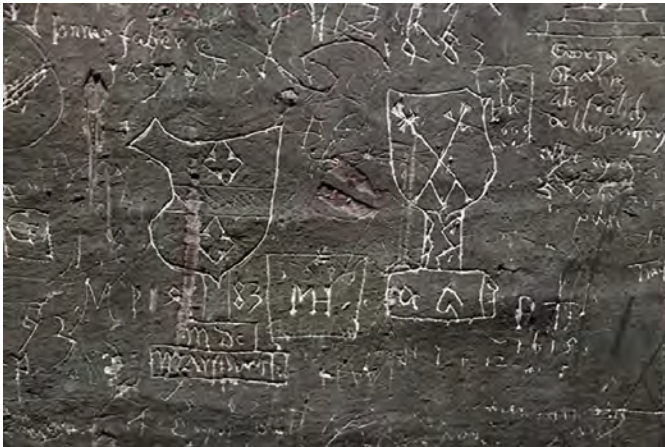
The purpose of the trip was the pilgrimage to the nappies of Christ in Aachen, the bones and miraculous fluid of St. Catharina in Gräfrath, the Holy three Kings in Cologne, St. Ursula and her 11.000 virgins in Cologne. In the context of this trip, personal meetings, social eating and drinking, shopping trips took place. The purpose of the trip was typically medieval, but had tourist side effects. Thus, visiting the various saints and relics can certainly also

16 Und gaf Erneghin der-Stickerschen 4 gulden. De hadde myner frowin wat gemaket. Und gaf 6 kollensche vor 2 par scho myner frowin und Junffrow lisen. Und gaf 3 kollensche vor 1 par sporen und gaf enen knechte 2 kollensche. De brachte myner frowin bitterdranck, den sande er de Rostorp. Und dede myn frowin 21 1/2 kollenschen to offer vor den hilgen dren konynghen, und dede unse junffrowin 4 hanoversche to offer dar selves.

17 Und dede Junffrow Mette1chin 9 kollensche wltte, der hadde de koster ut gedan in der stoven On the functions of the urban bathhouses for women Studt 2006, 96-98.

18 ... und bleven de nacht to Colne. Dar gaf ich 3 1/2 kollensche vor 2 vlasschen wyns vor deme eten, und gaf 4 kollensche vor wyn den avend, alz myn here de Domprovest qwam. Und gaff viiff kollensche vor 1 klokkenbudel myner frowin, und gaff 16 kollensche vor 10 gardele, und gaf 2 kollensche vor 2 budele unsen meyerschen. und gaf deme mester 1 kollenschen, dar myn frowe de bilde besuch. ... Und gaf deme goltsmede 10 kollensche, de dede ich kopen, de hadde myner frowin wat gemaket. Und dede- myner frowin 3 kollensche to offer to den 11 dusent megeden, 2 in der gulden kameren, und 1 dar buten op dat altar, und unsen Junffrowin 2 honoversche.

be considered a form of siteseeing. Incidentally, the Golden Chamber of Sant Ursula, the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne and St. Mary's Church in Aachen are still tourist destinations of the first order. Sometimes one can find purchases of pilgrimage signs from prominent and less prominent places of pilgrimage in travellers' accounts, which were taken as souvenirs (Kühne 2013), but unfortunately not in this case.



6 Sgraffiti on the back of the altar of Castle Tyrol, 15th-17th centuries, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Austria. Photo: Mark Mersiowsky.

The phenomena noted in the analysis of this account, which we can compare with modern leisure behaviour, are by no means limited to this individual case, but can be observed many times in comparable sources. Other parallels can be drawn between modern tourists and the medieval nobles. We can see that medieval tourists were in the castle of the dukes of Tirol and left their marks in an unusual place. The altar of Tyrol Castle is the oldest completely preserved winged altar in the Alpine region and was probably painted by a Viennese court painter influenced by Bohemian court art on behalf of the Habsburg brothers Duke Albrecht III and Leopold III. After the transfer of Tyrol to the Habsburgs in 1363 and the death of Margarete Maultasch in 1370, they undertook a joint homage journey to Tyrol in 1373 and donated the altar for the chapel of Tyrol Castle, the ancestral seat of the Counts and Dukes of Tyrol. The back of the altar is covered with a multitude of scratch inscriptions that could be hastily dismissed as evidence of vandalism. From a modern point of view, these many inscriptions are ego testimonies and tell of the role

of the individual as well as the history of tourism (Hörmann-Thurn und Taxis, Meighörner & Mersiowsky 2011; Wozniak 2021, 371-373). The backs of altars were particularly often covered with graffiti (Wozniak 2021, 366-367). Some of the noblemen who immortalised themselves on the back of the altar even carved their coats of arms and helmets. If you search for graffiti, you will find it surprisingly often (*Ibidem*, 362-366). For example, Hans Rehwein immortalised himself in 1494 with his coat of arms on the gallery of the Runkelstein summer house (Grebe 2018, 207-208).

Closing remarks

Medieval accounts are excellent source material for the history of travel. Unfortunately, they lost their significance when they were settled and were rarely preserved. Therefore, the transmission is only fragmentary. Nevertheless, if accounts are preserved, they give us a lot of possibilities. But there are limits. In each case only the costs incurred for the responsible accountant, they give no overall picture. If accounts are preserved, they offer insights into many details that historiography never records. In our framework, of course, only a small section of the rich information in the accounts was of interest. They show very different manifestations of leisure and pleasure during the journey. Since specific forms of pastime were an indispensable element of aristocratic life, they were also practised when travelling. Phenomena that we associate with modern tourism are quite visible. Preliminary forms of sightseeing and shopping are easy to recognise. And even the bad habit of immortalising oneself in a foreign country by carving one's name had its medieval antecedents — even if, understandably, these are not reflected in the accounts.

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