

# THE ROLE OF THE CIVIC COMMUNITY IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT DURING THE 12th-15th CENTURIES

*By Heinz Stoob*

The lack of source material makes it impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the extent and significance of the investment of resources by the civic community in buildings for communal and cultural use in medieval towns; at best, its approximate size can be estimated. There are no records of any of the regional administrations which came into being at the time and therefore there are no sources such as tax returns or records of available labour forces which might enable one to record the extent of building for a group of cities within one region over a period of time. Individual towns do possess appropriate records but it is very difficult to use them in systematic comparative studies as they take many different forms, are frequently incomplete and were not compiled on any uniform principle. In the Middle Ages the division between "public" and "private" affairs was not clear-cut; civic communities had not yet been institutionalized; communal and individual initiatives tended to merge. Moreover there is a fundamental difference between the medieval and the modern concept of "culture"; the Latin root of the word tells us that we are dealing with a spiritual, legal and economic world dominated by religious belief.

Accordingly, when formulating our questions we must remain constantly aware that we have neither statistics, nor trade-cycle curves which relate to more than one town, nor reliable source material concerning communal investment in cultural objectives and institutions planned by groups of citizens. If we still wish to pursue our investigations we shall have to proceed by indirect methods. We shall have to estimate for a limited period, with the help of distribution maps and diagrams, the effects of extraordinary processes of

medieval urban development; and make use of town plans published in the German and in the Westphalian town atlases.

The circumstances which thus limit our research may also be turned to advantage. In the Middle Ages all works designed to serve the practice, propagation and protection of religious faith may be considered "cultural efforts" in the widest sense of the word; religion permeated all communal affairs of medieval citizens, and this applied to all classes of the "Christian order" in this world of social stratification. Life in towns offered the qualified majority of its inhabitants a higher form of existence than the surrounding countryside (and this was the overwhelming attraction exercised by the towns during their early growth). Therefore, the civic buildings of the town, i.e. their number, their increase, protection and supply of energy are just as much part of urban culture as matters of church, state, law, health and welfare, care of the aged and, finally, urban traditions of hospitality and guild festivals; they were the centres of communal life within the core of the town.

This list shows a certain logical sequence from form to content, touching religious and spiritual roots. Our findings will therefore cover the following points:

- (1) Expansion and protection of total building stock.
- (2) Development and protection of the sources of energy and the means of access.
- (3) Regulation and development of church matters.
- (4) Development of law and constitution.
- (5) Public health and social services.
- (6) Public supply and development of trade.
- (7) Education, hospitality, customs and feasts.

The extent of urban development during the twelfth to fifteenth century can be seen in the series of maps in the new edition of the "Grundkarte Mitteleuropa für den deutschen Städteatlas". These maps provided the material for research into the history of 70 specific towns for which additional maps will be included in the forthcoming *Atlas of European Towns* to be published by the International Commission for Urban History. Within western Europe, from Bruges in the west to Brest-Litovsk in the east, from Hadersleben in the

north to Trient in the south, about 7,500 towns have been recorded including those which became extinct at a later date or reached only minor town status, but excluding those which never really started, moved to a different place or were known under two names. About 5,000 of these towns can be traced back to medieval times.

By about 1110 there were already five times as many towns in the westernmost area, roughly west of a line running from Alkmaar to Verdun, as in the entire remaining area east of that line. By 1150 the number had increased and there were 100 towns on either side, making 200 altogether. The eastern extent of this earliest generation of towns is marked by a line running through Schleswig - Lübeck - Brunswick - Magdeburg - Halle - Meissen - Zwickau - Bamberg - Nuremberg - Regensburg - Passau - Vienna. The density of towns west of Verdun was still several times higher than that east of the line where there were, by about 1150, roughly 25 West Slavian ducal residences. In their terminology, topography, constitutional and social order they would correspond to western places like Haithabu, Alt-Emden, Dorestadt, Domburg/Walcheren, Quentovic/Canche. They should not be confused with the civic communities in the fully developed towns of the High Middle Ages, but correspond rather to the emporia and the Ottonian-Salian markets in the West. There was a burst of development for a century during the Hohenstaufen period up to 1250, and in central Europe east of Verdun the number of towns increased tenfold. In some areas the network of civic communities was particularly dense, e.g. in Switzerland, the Neckar Valley, on the Lower Rhine, in Hesse and Thuringia, Silesia and Lower Austria, spreading eastwards to Elbing in Prussia, Sandomir on the Vistula river, Leutschau in the county of Zips in Slovakia, Satmar and Grosswardein on the edge of Siebenbürgen, and Pettau in the Slovenian part of lower Styria.

A look at the succeeding pages of the atlas and relevant diagrams showing the extent of urban growth up to 1450 reveals the fact that about 300 new towns came into existence in each decade between 1240 and 1300, i.e. almost 2,000 in sixty years. After 1330 the increase slowed to 100 per decade, falling still further after 1400. Between 1460-1470 only 25 new towns were founded, bringing the peak period of growth

of medieval towns to an end. Several hundred sank back once more to the level of villages or disappeared completely after a brief existence of a few generations, sometimes of only one generation. The 1,000 successful towns, i.e. about one-fifth of the total number, had either doubled their size by then or made even greater growth by incorporating new suburbs. Their sizes ranged from many minute towns of less than 500 inhabitants, a large number of small towns of up to 2,000, and a varied range of medium-sized towns of up to 10,000, this last group accounting for about one-eighth of the total number. Above this group there were the developing truly metropolitan towns of the Middle Ages, amounting to roughly one in fifty.

The essential and, in this connection, determining phenomenon of this truly revolutionary process is the building phase between 1150–1350, which is shown so impressively on the graph accompanying the maps. An unprecedented expenditure of labour and capital was required at that time to make civic life possible, to protect it, regulate it and extend its functions. This effort was sustained by the rapidly increasing population of the developing communities, swelled by constant immigration. These communities themselves took an ever increasing share in this process. They took over building projects which had been started by the local rulers and in which they had frequently been involved from the outset, and took the main share in further development.

Building in stone became the hallmark of the townscape in Central Europe during this period; it created a distinction between the west and the east European town where men continued to build in wattle and daub. The increasing and outwardly visible distinction between towns and the open country affected even the smallest and least significant of civic communities. Rulers were yet to attain the degree of power of later periods; even the minute towns therefore eagerly sought and gained a modest but unmistakable share in the general prestige of urban life. This is reflected in the change of terminology (the use of "civitas" in relation to western towns, from "gorod" to "mesta" in Eastern Central Europe) as well as in the development of urban buildings, an urban way of life, the organization of urban welfare and trade, urban guild festivals, and civic and religious traditions.



It accounts for that civic self-appreciation which remained alive, in spite of all the obstacles, throughout the entire Middle Ages and was given direction by the guilds. The statistical record of this epoch-making period of growth, as represented by maps and diagrams, gives us indirectly the scale of our investigations. Citizens simply had to form themselves into a community in order to accomplish the task of *expanding and protecting the stock of buildings* which made up their town. The circle of fortifications, around the urban nucleus, was usually the result of co-operation between the local ruler and the guilds. The constitutional importance of these walls was recognized by François Ganshof and Edith Ennen: Ganshof says (1943, p. 45): "... la première enceinte urbaine réunissait ... des éléments quelquefois disparates ... , ils formèrent désormais, dans une large mesure, un tout". It was also underlined by Pirenne (1939, p. 99): "qu'il faut chercher dans la nécessité de fortifier la ville le point de départ de l'administration urbaine. Par là la bourgeoisie s'est vue obligée d'établir un système d'impôts". This remains valid in spite of, and because of, the rivalry between the civic community and the local ruler or his representative.

John of Bohemia-Luxemburg grants "potestatem" to the "officiatus" of the small town of Dudeldorf in the district of Trier (which later disappeared) "pecuniam ad structuram muri et munitionis oppidi ... pertinentem inter omnes et singulos infra ipsum murum commorantes ... distribuendi, colligendi et ipsos ad ... solutionem compellendi" (Bertholet, *Hist. de Lux.*, VI, p. 66, 20 December 1345) King Conrad IV granted the town of Murten in Switzerland exemption from imperial taxes for four years in order that "cives civitatem predictam munire debeant firmo muro, qui sub terra habeat in longitudine sex pedes, et super terram ad mesuram duodecim pedum extendatur, in spissitudine quoque quatuor pedum". The citizens in their turn appointed twenty-four jurors who "inter eos pensator noster ... duxerit eligendos" (Houillard-Bréholles V, 1176 Reg. Imp. V, 4393). The first attempt to create these outer defences resulted much more frequently, and for much longer than generally supposed, in earthworks surmounted by palisades. As late as 1235 the Imperial peace treaty of Mainz differentiates between "civitas murata" and "civitas muro carens", though this

difference does not appear to be reflected in the valuation of these towns. Many a small town lived for a long period, or even permanently, behind trenches, earth walls and palisades; many decades passed after the first great effort of erecting wooden fortifications until sufficient time, money and labour were once more available to replace them with a stone wall, often of greater circumference.

In Limburg/Lahn, which gained town status in the late twelfth century, the first town wall was only completed in the years 1225–1232. Schirmacher (p. 343) was able to work out that this required moving about 50,000 cubic metres of earth and erecting about 12,000 cubic metres of masonry (including ten turrets and gate towers). Assuming a work force of 150 men each working 1,700 hours annually, this would mean a total of about 980,000 working hours or four years building time. In the process Limburg grew to an area of about 15 ha within the walls with, at the most, 2,000 inhabitants (Schirmacher estimates 3,500). This spotlights the astonishing investment of labour, material and capital which the walling of a medieval town represents. Moreover, the fortifications had to keep pace with developments in the technique of warfare. By seeing how a town succeeded in this adaptation, one may draw conclusions about the number of inhabitants, and changes in the economic state. Whenever fortifications were extended it was sought to incorporate either existing or newly erected stone buildings as bastions, especially the town houses of religious orders. Thus the Dominicans of Nimburg in Bohemia were ordered to “*domos lapideas construere quae tamen sic locabuntur, ut ibidem civitati sint pro munitione*” (Zycha, 1915, p. 124). Simple walls were improved by the addition of round towers, giving flanking fire, then by extending the defences with double walls and towers with double and triple gates. Finally, in the fifteenth century, the outworks were defended by bulwarks and barbicans. At the end of the Middle Ages, when walls could no longer withstand the more powerful firearms, there was a return to earthworks with bastions and trenches. Town plans show examples of all these stages of development. In Herford there were two stages of the wood-and-earth fortifications surrounding the tenth century Abbey, and several successive stages of wooden fortifications protecting the old

city and the trading quarter near the Royal residence on the opposite bank of the river Aa during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Early in the thirteenth century planned new suburbs were laid out and about 1250 all parts of the town were united and surrounded by the first massive stone wall which also bridged the various streams. A further development was the addition of double gateways, towers and sections of double walls. In the fifteenth century strong bulwarks and barbican towers were added in front of the walls and trenches.

In Fritzlar several religious houses were incorporated in the eastern section of the wall, which was strengthened on the western side by the very high "grey tower" and the "new cannon", both typical for fortifications of the late Middle Ages. At the end of the thirteenth century the small town of Buxtehude had strong defences combining extensive areas of water with a turretted wall; strong bulwarks were added at a later date. Warburg has a varied skyline, dominated by the lofty castle, the low-lying old town surmounted by the new town set on the opposite height. The two towns had different administrations and were divided by a wall with only one connecting gate, that near the town hall which served both areas. Rheda had only wood-and-earth fortifications until it was destroyed in 1375. The very much reduced area was then surrounded by a wall. The extent of a town's fortifications and the degree of their modernization depended therefore on the rise or decline of the civic community and gives an indication of its manual and material capacity. The same is true of the *Development and Protection of the Sources of Energy and Means of Access*. Good use was made of water in the defence of Buxtehude. A considerable amount of earth was moved in order to create a broad belt of ponds, providing power for two mills, one of which belonged to the official residence of the ruling archbishop, the other to the town. Water therefore provided both protection and the means of livelihood for this small Hanseatic town. Water remained the most important source of energy for medieval towns. It found uses in the preparation of oils, dyes, in the manufacture of leather, later of paper, in textiles and, finally, in metal-working. To a more limited degree wind and fire were also sources of energy, the latter mainly in the mining industry. It

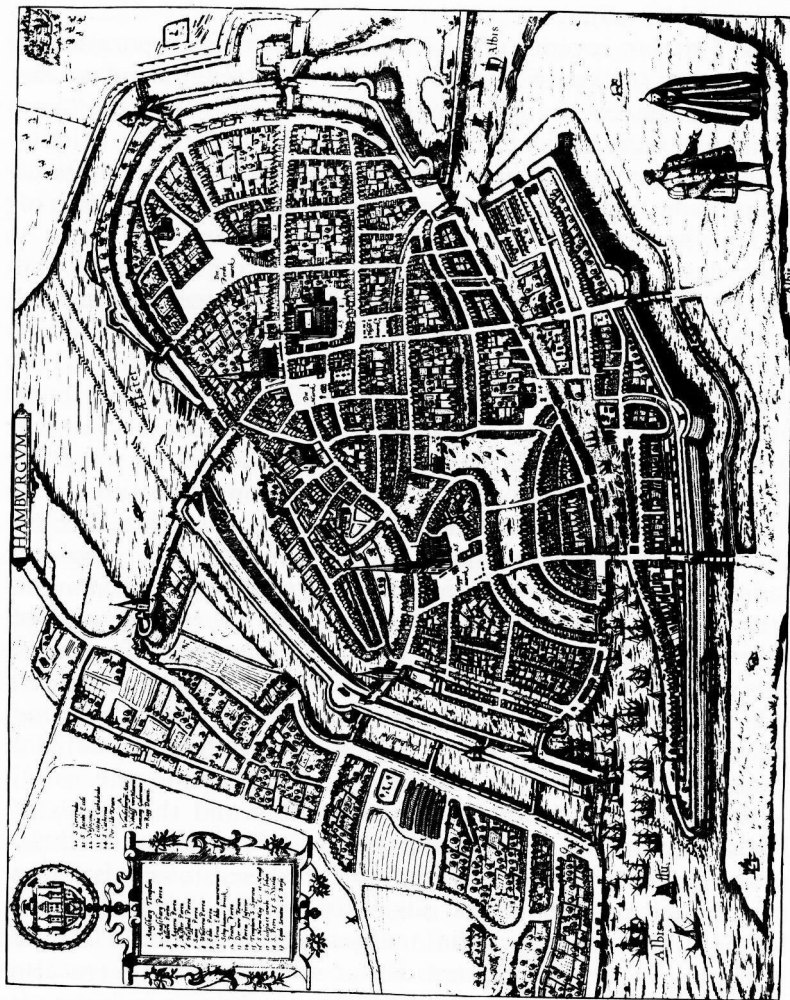


Fig. 1. Ground plan of Hamburg. After Braun-Hogenberg, volume IV, sheet 36.

is obvious that any far-sighted civic community would have to regulate the construction, protection and running of mills through the guild organizations even if they were usually managed by tenants or lessees. Wherever possible mills were incorporated into the defence system which was frequently extended in order to encompass them. This may already have happened in Hamburg in the eleventh century (fig. 1). The archbishop was ruler of the old town, but the most important ford over the river Alster belonged to the Duke of Saxony. In 1060 the Duke built "novum quoddam praesidium" (Adam Brem. III, 27) in a bend of the river, surrounded by earthworks. This offered an opportunity to build a pond with dam and bridge, serving a mill. From these constructions developed about 1190 the new town of St. Nicholas which remained under the rule of the successors to the Duke. However, further upstream, near the old town of St. Petri, the citizens built a much larger dam of about 1500 m length, which became the Jungfernstieg of to-day. Thus they gained several powerful mills and a lake which rendered the north-western approaches to the town impregnable. The citizens of Hamburg may have been spurred on by actions taken only a short time before in the neighbouring town of Lübeck. A report of about 1160 tells of a priest who lived in "domus vicina ponti, qui transmittit flumen Wochenice" (Helmold c. 87), also of a long artificial diversion of the upper Trave river into the Wakenitz. This increased the flow of the current substantially, driving a mill near the bridge which was also the main highway for long distance travellers. The priest could therefore avert any sudden attacks by "pontem catena levavit". A further dam was built shortly before 1230 and a third one later on. The river therefore served three mills and the ponds provided protection for the town (fig. 2).

In Gelnhausen both arms of the river Kinzig were dammed by weirs; a succession of mills were driven by natural streams, and by leats which had been constructed with considerable effort. Several bridges and gates were also incorporated into the system. The guilds, the religious orders in the area or the castle garrisons were instrumental in carrying out all these multi-purpose constructions; protecting the town, safeguarding the means of access and energy



Fig. 2. Ground plan of Lübeck. After H. L. Behrens, 1824.



supply. The bridges were in their turn protected by chapels, as were the town gates.

The inhabitants of the linen town of Isny in Upper Swabia depended to a large extent on water power for their livelihood. Both local streams were formed into a series of ponds, their banks used for bleaching. The Krumbach stream served the town mill and the mint, both protected by the town wall, and further downstream it also drove the "Bremen" mill. The other stream served a series of five mills. At Herford, three streams formed several ponds, and operated several mills. All the bridges which spanned them were heavily fortified.

Chapels on bridges and gates are a clear expression of medieval thought, and lead to the third topic of investigation: *Regulation and Development of Church Matters*. The curious cross-connection between defence and religion was already evident in the use of churches and convents as bastions in town walls. It may well be that these early European civic communities, whose self-appreciation has already been noted, thought of these ecclesiastic buildings as the "inner fortress" of the worldly defence system. Parish churches in the centres of towns also had their defensive functions. Some of them, like the fortified churches of Transylvania have fortress-like cores of great strength. Some churches originally at the edge of a town, like the Frankenberg church at Goslar with its mighty defence tower, were incorporated into the town wall. These towers became important observations posts giving warning of an approaching enemy, or of fire. As the area of the town grew their heights were frequently increased so that they retained the necessary field of vision. In towns with several parishes or with bishops resident, church towers became expressions of rivalry between parishes, or between the ecclesiastical and civic administrations.

The volume of church building in towns of all sizes in relation to the available resources of manpower and material was astonishing. The burden was shared between the guilds, the nobility, the ruling houses, and the clergy who raised funds through the sale of indulgences earmarked for specific building projects. Church building was sometimes financed by extremely rich individuals who on occasions even took over the entire projects. Documentary evidence of such instances

exists relating to many areas. Paul Johansen drew attention to the foundation and administration of churches belonging to merchant adventurers' guilds, especially in the Baltic. Our special concern is with the growing influence of the civic community in major church building projects of the old and important towns. Jakob Twinger of Königshofen reports in 1263: "The Strasbourg Council also took control of the work of Our Lady, namely the cathedral and they appointed custodians, stewards and officials for it, and they also wished that it would always be under the control of the citizens and not under that of the bishop as was formerly the case" (*Chronicle of German Towns, Strasbourg, 2/1871, p. 663*).\*

In this instance one can trace the origins of civic involvement in church building back to 1224–1228. In Lübeck the council's share in the administration of the church fabric was fixed by contract in 1256. In Cologne the gigantic project of building the cathedral came to a halt when town and bishop fell out at the end of the thirteenth century. St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna was a purely civic project, the cathedral builders being represented on the council after 1336. The cathedral of Bremen was also in fact administered by the council. While the citizens were at least indirectly involved in the construction of these cathedrals and minsters, they dominated completely in the building of parish churches, not to mention chapels of all kinds. Even in ecclesiastic liberties, exempt from civic jurisdiction, urban guilds made financial contributions and exercised considerable influence unless patronage had been established from the beginning and a municipal supervisor had been appointed.

Civic churches of all kinds appear on the Town plans; in Bielefeld the town council were patrons of the parish church in the old town while the local ruler was patron of St. Mary's convent in the new town. In Warburg the ruling bishop appropriated St. Mary's church, which was situated in his vineyard and had served as parish church of the old town, in order to build a Dominican monastery on the site. An embittered quarrel ensued until the bishop sold his "curia inferior" below the castle to the citizens so that they might

\* Passage in medieval German (Translator's note).

build a new parish church; to this new church the citizens then transferred the contents of the old church.





The extent of church building, whether initiated by individuals or by the community, tells us as much about the economic rise or decline of any given town as the state of the defences, possibly even more, as the readiness to sacrifice time, money and labour might vary from one generation to the next. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries new constructions or extensions dominate church building. Often an astonishing effort is involved when plans are changed, as happened several times with St. Mary's in Lübeck. In the fifteenth century the stress was on upkeep, embellishment and rebuildings after destruction by fire.

While it is difficult to apportion the respective shares of the community and individuals in church building programmes there can be no doubt of the growing involvement of the community in financing and administering these building projects. Ecclesiastic matters are part of the *Development of Law and Constitution* and certain parallels and contrasts can be noted. The central concerns of medieval government were the administration of justice, and keeping the peace. These were also the focal points in the conflicts between the developing communities and the local rulers which had been fought out in open warfare, or contractually negotiated compromises, or intentionally provoked arguments since the eleventh century. It was of the utmost importance for the community that they should gain control over the temporal and the spiritual defences, i.e. the town wall and the church, as well as the means of access and sources of energy. In the same way they sought to take over the urban jurisdiction from the local ruler as autonomously as possible. In central Europe they succeeded to a very large measure, even in small towns. Some achieved complete, some partial, success, some achieved it more quickly than others, some by straight methods, others by more devious means. In many places the situation remained complex; there was overlapping of administrative areas; disagreement as to which authority was competent to deal with which matters, and friction between different authorities. All this was reflected in the manifold and constantly varying civic buildings for judicial purposes. The earliest of these had to be taken over from the local ruler,




# Stadtplan FRITZLAR

Aus H. Bloch, Fritzlar Stadtverzeichniss als Spiegel seiner mittelalterlichen Geschichte in Fritzlar im Mittelalter, Festschrift zur 1250-Jahrfeier, 1874.

Erläuterungen zur Karte

-  Kirche a) benutzt, b) wieder benutzt
-  Kirchen- u) zerstört, b) in Ruinen erhalten, c) Grundriß gerichtet
-  Gassen (Bürgerenschaft, Herrschaft, Klausen, Juden)
-  sonstige Gebäude

Vorstellung

-  Thyr umschlossen / Thüring sicher / Thüring erschlossen
-  Mauer Befestigung, Begrenzung einer Wachstumpphase
-  frühmittelalterliche Wegspur

Quellennachweis: Fritzlar von 1250/09 im Stadtverzeichniss, Fritzlar

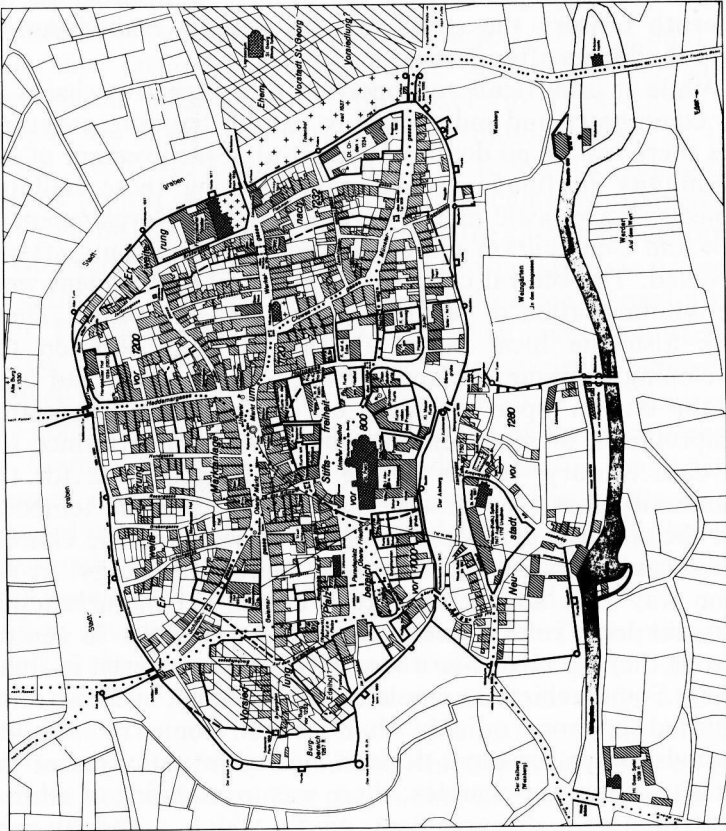


Fig. 3. Plan of Fritzlar.

to be wrested from him. The old town hall of Gelnhausen, already in existence in 1180, was originally "praetorium" (an official building) of the local ruler, in this case the imperial "villicus" (mayor), and was therefore a court of law, like the one in Dortmund, but unlike the "domus pacis" in Cambrai in 1165. Many town halls, e.g. at Lüneburg and Lübeck, had very involved building histories which resulted in a collection of individual buildings serving many different functions. They reflect the long road towards autonomous control over the jurisdiction. Further functions of the community arise from this and are closely connected: the mint and the common beam are just as much concerns of the law as belfry and archive. From communal supervision of markets and trades in the lower courts arose the foundations of Cloth Hall and Wool Exchange. In Fritzlar the "praetorium" was already in existence in 1109, a stone building between the sanctuary and the market place (fig. 3). It was first the office of the local ruler, the archepiscopal governor, but after 1240 that of the Council. Market stalls for the sale of bread, meat, fish, leather were gradually transformed into permanent buildings in Fritzlar until they covered the entire southern side of the market place and they, too, came under direct control of the council. In this instance the investment bore fruit immediately in the form of shop rents. In 1207 there were stored "bona infra Friteslar in areis domorum et macellorum sita"; beginning "in ecclesia astantibus clero et populo", but then following "coram iudicibus laicis in foro ... iuxta consuetudinem oppidi" (Demandt, 1936, No. 8).

Symbols of justice like the stocks, the cross of justice, the images of justice like statues of Roland or the King were just as much under the supervision of the community as public pumps, public baths and streams. In Fritzlar, after working several mills, the water was led through a rising main to the fourteenth-century pumps of the old town. The original construction had been undertaken by the religious orders but it soon came under communal management. Plans show two public baths at the foot of the steep slope and within the area of the new town, one belonging to the ecclesiastical authorities, the other to the civic authorities. Mint and market hall faced each other on the narrow side of the market square, both using the artificially diverted stream, as

did the municipal brewhouse and the townhouse of the convent Haina. At a later date the municipality bought the townhouse of the convent and erected a magnificent banqueting hall on the site, called "The Weddinghouse".

In Gelnhausen the mint is also on the bank of the most powerful stream running through the town. Originally under the direction of the Imperial "monetarii" it was in practice taken over by the municipality at the end of the thirteenth century. A market hall was erected on the old market to serve the textile trade, the economic backbone of the town. The market hall on the new market, built in 1330, later became the council chamber. The stream worked a number of pumps, providing the supply for the upper public bath, and the Jews' bath lower down the slope in the Jewish quarter, which also had a synagogue and a Jews' College. In Warburg, too, water power was skilfully exploited in the fourteenth century. A rising main led the supply up to the new town where a cistern is constructed; later a fire station and a water tower were added. Another fire station adjoined the pump on the old market, the water supply here being shared by the mint and the slaughter house.

The mighty town hall on the old market place in Magdeburg had a double nave of eleven bays. Balls were held on the upper floor in the time of Charles IV. In front of the building an equestrian statue of Otto the Great served as a symbol of justice. Several public buildings surround the square which were the work of the various trade guilds (grocers, tailors, silk merchants, shoe makers, tanners). The tanners were probably the owners of the leather and fur warehouse, an imposing building on the north-eastern corner. It originally had two naves but was later enlarged to four. Next to it were the meat market and a chapel. Archaeological investigations have dated the cobble stones at about 1100. This points to early town planning schemes necessitated by lack of space. According to the Augsburg Stadtrecht (civic laws) of 1276 "no builder may build on the street or on the common, or over the street, or toward his neighbours or at any of the city walls unless the city's administrators and the Council of the master builders allows it".\*

\* Passage in medieval German (Translator's note).



All newly-built jettied rooms needed the permission of the town governor, except privies jettied above the canals of the Lech river, which were exempt (Meyer, 1872, p. 132 ...). In Gelnhausen in 1424 there was a prohibition on "any building that is higher than the existing buildings and rooms which are near to it ... unless it is built with the council's approval and permission"\* (Fuhs 1960, p. 10).

These rulings may be seen as an indication of a trend towards more authoritative government by the council, vis-a-vis the citizens. It is against this background that the struggles within late-medieval communities took place beyond the realm of legal and constitutional decisions, and working either through the council or through ad hoc organizations composed of part or all the community, the citizens dealt with matters of *Public Health and Social Services*. It did so much earlier than the rulers, who were entirely taken up with the struggle for greater power, could have done. Once more the initial impulse came from ecclesiastical and supra-regional powers rather than from the citizens themselves. The rise of hostels for pilgrims will be discussed under the heading of hospitality, now we will deal with the foundation of hospitals in connection with the crusades and with the Order of the Holy Ghost founded by Pope Innocent III. In 1190 at Acre the sails of German traders on crusade provided the first temporary shelter for the hospital of the newly founded Order of Teutonic Knights. Subsequently many hospitals were founded, especially in areas under the rule of the Hohenstaufens. Once again the citizens provided funds and gained control over the management and administration, often with the help of the apothecaries.

In Lübeck the hospital of the Holy Ghost was first built on the Klingenberg (Chronicle of the Upper Town, No. 133, 1257). After an extensive fire in 1276, which led the council to ban the building of all except stone houses, the civic donors succeeded in buying a number of plots on the Koberg near St. Jacobi. The new hospital arose about 1280-1285, a large building representing a considerable investment of resources. Initially the bishop refused to supply a resident priest,

\* Passage in medieval German (Translator's note).

possibly because he had lost some influence after the removal and the enlargement of the hospital, which was now managed by apothecaries appointed by the community. In return for their investment the citizens had therefore gained control for the benefit of the community. In Herford the hospital of the Holy Ghost formed the bastion of the eastern gateway into the city. Outside the wall a leper colony and chapel was dedicated to the "Three Magi"; on the highway to Minden there was another hospital-poorhouse within the liberty of the convent. The monastery of St. Francis for poor brethren, the almshouses provided by the Order of St. John, the foundation for friars founded in 1428 in the new town, all these provided schools, workshops, and nursing facilities, and formed part of the civic social services. In Fritzlar there was probably a hospital in existence before 1150, which was enlarged and rebuilt outside the gates in 1308. To the east was the leper colony of St. George; the Beguins ran a home for the poor and aged near the south gate of the Minster under the auspices of the Teutonic Knights.

The exact situation of the leper colony in Warburg is not known, but it was probably to the east of the town; St. Peter's hospital was in the west; within the town walls there was the hospital of St. Cyriac, the hospital of St. George was in the new town. Homes for poor and aged people behind the homes of very wealthy citizens are usually of post-medieval origin, e.g. the so-called "Füchting" house in Lübeck and the Fugger-Foundation in Augsburg.

Even more important than the social services was the planning of essential supplies. The safeguarding of adequate food in times of shortages or during sieges, the storage of goods to satisfy market demands, the creation of favourable economic conditions, all these were necessary to assure the availability of capital which could then be invested in the projects discussed so far. It therefore follows that *Public Supply and the Development of Trade* must also be discussed briefly. The mills and ponds (used also as fish ponds) helped to assure the food supply in times of need as already discussed, and not only the churches of the merchants' adventurer's Guilds but also ordinary churches and chapels often had roomy lofts into which goods could be hoisted for storage, such as St. Nicholas in Herford, St. Peter's in

Buxtehude, and St. John's in Magdeburg. As mentioned market halls developed from temporary booths; examples were given in Magdeburg and Fritzlär. Isny should also be mentioned in this context. At Isny on the main market there were butchers' stalls ("Metzig") a common beam, a cloth hall, the Trumpeters' tower of the town watch ("Blaserturm" = a common belfry) and a town hall. A large hospital comprising a chapel and a dispensary were additions of the early modern period. A mighty granary was built on the corn market, a barn for the storage of salt adjoined the eastern town wall. In early modern times an arsenal was added which stood on the market square and housed the arms and ammunition of the citizens. Furthermore, in Buxtehude, and Magdeburg the extensive dock installations with their wharves and cranes (mostly constructed as treadmills in the late Middle Ages) were managed by the community.

By 1016 the "optimi civitatis" of Magdeburg were obliged to employ "custodes noctes vigilantes" (nightwatchmen) to watch over the goods stored in the "ecclesia mercatorum". Frequently the citizens performed such safety measures by rota. The guilds became increasingly strict in the trade regulations which they imposed. Thus it was decreed in Munich in 1489 "that in the entire town of Munich all goods must be sold inside the shops and not outside them". Medieval city fathers had to be thrifty and to use the tax revenue as decided by the council. Administrative expenses were hardly known; any heavy or unexpected expenditure had to be raised by an appeal to the citizens, whose free co-operation had to be sought. So it was in the last point to be discussed: *Education, Hospitality, Customs and Feasts*. As the convent schools declined at the end of the High Middle Ages, the civic communities were obliged to take on fresh duties. To some extent itinerant friars had performed some teaching duties, but this had to be supplemented by town schools under the control of the community. Two of our towns, Fritzlär and Herford, had old established convent schools of high repute. The boarding side existed for the training of young priests, whilst the more recently founded day-schools were used to an increasing extent by the inhabitants. It is not clear why this trend towards the establishment of civic parish schools, usually a development

of the early reformation period, was evident in these towns at such an early date. Archduke Albert decreed in Vienna in 1296 "that the schoolmaster of the parish church of St. Stephen will be appointed by the council ... beneath which are established ... all the schools which are in the town"\* (Keutgen Nr. 166, Art. 10, p. 214).

In Lübeck the Council financed and managed the Latin School of St. James next to the convent school as early as 1262, with the agreement of the Abbot (LübUB I, 261, p. 240 ..., 11 May, 1262). In Buxtehude a school controlled by the Council had been in existence for some time by 1468; in Bielefeld a grammar school was added in the early modern period to the three existing late-medieval parish schools, the three other towns named also had grammar schools, at least during part of the time.

Protracted quarrels arose from the competition between these schools controlled by the Council and the convent schools which continued to exist and often regained their former excellence. The records of these lawsuits, which are kept in Avignon, give an interesting insight into the school system and the conditions of education during the period. Thus the church and civic community competed for a share in the burden of educating the young, and were joined in this struggle by generous families and individuals who wished to promote education and the dissemination of knowledge through foundations and legacies.

In the realm of traditional hospitality ever increasing demands were made upon the civic community. There was an increasing striving to cultivate the social side of communal life and to lend the banquets of the various guilds the appearance of those of an ecclesiastical brotherhood. Ever since the High Middle Ages it had been the custom of pilgrims to frequent hostels, as they were described at about 1250 in the itinerary of Albert von Stade. Towns like Provins in Champagne, famous for its fair, had a "Clos St. Jaques", but the town plan of Herford also shows a hostel of St. James on the main highway to Westphalia. Many of the town's religious houses offered temporary hospitality. If accommodation for long periods was required, as was the case for

\* Passage in medieval German (Translator's note).

commercial travellers or apprentices to Hanseatic business houses, it was provided by individual families on an exchange basis. Only in the market towns of Flanders, which had frequent fairs, the figure of the professional "hostelier" began to emerge, while in trading posts overseas, arrangements were made to offer accommodation to visiting compatriots by the guilds. Abbots and noble families who had their houses outside the towns, often had a pied-a terre or a place where payment and donations could be left within the town. They, the abbots and members of the nobility, were then integrated into the community in many different ways, varying from full citizenship, e.g. in Freiburg/Breisgau, to total exemption from all duties and privileges.

The market square offered public entertainment. There jugglers, singers, acrobats, buffoons, bear-leaders and trainers of monkeys set up their booths and there, incidentally, they could best be kept under public surveillance by the authorities. Pageants and processions extended beyond the market square and were usually part of church ritual. They therefore affected actively only specific local groups like guilds and brotherhoods and not the entire community. These guilds were able to build very luxurious halls; the small town of Isny had six livery or similar halls ranging from that of the "gentry" to that of the "weavers". In Warburg there were several large court houses belonging to the ruling bishop, the religious houses of the town, local dignitaries, also a bakers' hall. St. John's chapel lay on the processional route on a hill outside the town. Bielefeld, too, had several noble houses and a grocers' hall. In Dortmund the market square was ringed by a series of civic buildings: the cloth hall within the town hall of 1240 had an upper storey which was used for balls, receptions, banquets and other ceremonies, usually at the beginning and end of the civic year. A similar hall was added to the town hall of Lübeck in 1308. Frequently these halls are the largest single civic building in a town. In Dortmund there were, in addition, a market hall with common beam, a cloth hall, a vintners' hall on the Hellweg and a "Sechsgildenhau". The hospital complex was near the market and marked its extent in the tenth century. The law court was on the main cross road, nearby were the bread and meat markets, also a public pump ("Putt"), the stocks ("Kaak"),

the houses of the dignitaries like "Im Bock", "Zum Stern", "Zum Schwan", "Im Wald", "Zum Spiegel" and "Die Krone".

In Rheda there is a "guest house" which is really a home for old people and those suffering from mild illnesses. The "Comedy Theatre" was naturally one of the buildings within the castle complex which was added during the Early Modern period, when this small town was the seat of the local ruler. We would look in vain for a theatre or a concert hall in a medieval town; the ballroom and the council chamber had to satisfy the entertainment requirements of the inhabitants. Only the influence of the Italian Renaissance and the refinements of courtly life brought these institutions into towns.

The examples discussed give us some conception of the significance and extent of urban growth during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Whilst we are unable to establish figures or measurements concerning the volume of the investment of time, labour, finance and materials we have gained some insight into its considerable volume by looking at the whole. The civic community came into being through associations of equals; they observed the "orderly" procedure of their time and sought to gain autonomy through contractual agreements with the local rulers. Wherever they succeeded in dislodging him, they replaced him with their own representatives, who were then given a free hand. The underlying concept was one of a society where duties and privileges, burdens and responsibilities were widely distributed, and this outlook was maintained until the end of the Middle Ages. It was noticeable on many personal and local levels and resulted in a high degree of public spirit. This was made manifest in the involvement of the individual in communal projects and offered a counterweight to natural egotism, which, even seen from our own time, remains fully justified.

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