

**‘Bastard Urbanism’?
Past Forms of Cities in the Alpine Area of Tyrol-Trentino***

by

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In this paper, I would like to link a regional historical examination with several conceptual considerations that lead into the topic of the formation of cities in the High and Late Middle Ages. In this regard, the subject of the historical work is the city always also being a ‘product of a process of construction’, that is, not merely as a scene of the past, but rather likewise as a place of projections and aporia, of wandering paths of thinking and interpretation. Historians are supposed to always be conscious of the manifold attributions that have been discovered and the influence of their perspective – common images continue to inevitably be included in the working process as a ‘film of perception’.¹

As a methodical point of departure, first of all I would like to consider the very inconsistent state of the regional discussion, on the other hand forging a link to a lively, thoroughly uncompleted, and extremely exciting debate with regard to the manifestations of the development of European cities in the Middle Ages that were so varied, so polymorphous, and in many cases, so paradoxical.²

Secondly, my remarks will deal with matters of abstract concepts, and then thirdly, with some clarifications of the subjects which, out of necessity, must remain very cursory. In a fourth step, I will link these with the discussion of two central questions of research: the debates surrounding path dependency and those on public space. Finally, I will attempt to offer a thesis-type summary of the results.

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¹ Such narratological questions are discussed in detail, for example, in: *Across Cultural Borders. Historiography in Global Perspective*, ed. ECKHARDT FUCHS, BENEDIKT STUCHTEY. 2002 and *Geschichtsdarstellung: Medien – Methoden – Strategien*, ed. VITTORIA BORSÒ, CHRISTOPH KANN (*Europäische Geschichtsdarstellungen* 6) 2004.

² For the most recent state of research with regard to the medieval and early modern European city, see the comprehensive literature report by C. TOPALOV et. al., *Histoire urbaine*, in: *Annales HSS* 58 (2003) p. 137-210. For a new synthesis of the history of the city with a universalistic approach, see MALCOLM BARBER, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe 1050-1320*. 2004.

1.

I would like to begin with a brief sketch of the history of the research, which will also indicate some blind spots in the historical studies of regional cities and will thus draw attention to dimensions that are lacking.

Up until now, it has been rather difficult for historical research in the area of Tyrol-Trentino to provide a coherent concept for the High and Late Middle Ages development of urban or pre-urban complexes. There is more at fault than just a long-practiced overemphasis of regionalistic views: such attitudes are gladly represented by specialists in classification who only know 'their' deeds and written records and cling to their areas of expertise, and who thus excessively emphasize the peculiarity of their own sources and expressions and make broad generalizations based upon them. This hermeneutic circle is indeed easy to see through epistemologically, but in practice, it is impossible for it to be broken down so immediately.

However, the divergent historiographic traditions of Italy, Austria, and Germany, which overlap in the area of Tyrol and Trentino in a manner that is unusual and difficult to quantify, could not really be of assistance for the shaping of an independent and self-conscious research on the history of cities in these areas. The national traditions of concepts each reflect different backgrounds of cultural memory and diverging empirical anchorings.³

The Italian debate on communalism demonstrates a very distinct profile which continues to be oriented toward the 'Big Bang' of city-state-like communes of the Verona, Florence, or Milan sort.⁴ Against the background of this basic position that has been molded nearly into a leitmotif, one barely knows where to begin with the small urban forms on the outskirts of the Alps. It must be added that the Italian discussion was always strongly prodded ahead by researchers in the English, French, or German languages. Thanks, for instance, to the fundamental studies by a Chris Wickham, a Patrick Gilli, or the Münster circle around Hagen Keller, completely new issues in social history have been successfully established.⁵ These also include a renewed examination

³ In that regard, see: S. BERGER, Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe, in: *Debate. A Review of Contemporary German Affairs* 12 (2004) p. 73-96 as well as I. PORCIANI, Le storiografie nazionali nello spazio europeo, in: *Passato e presente* 63 (2004) p. 113-123.

⁴ P. MALANIMA, Urbanisation and the Italian Economy during the Last Millennium, in: *European Review of Economic History* 9 (2005) p. 97-122. For an overarching result of the Italian research, see: MARINO BERENGO, *L'Europa delle città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra Medioevo ed Età moderna*. 2000.

⁵ For the state of research in Italian communalism, see: CHRISTOPH DARTMANN, Schrift im Ritual. Der Amtseid des Podestà auf den geschlossenen Statutencodex der italienischen Stadtkommune, in: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004) S. 169-204, as well as: PATRICK GILLI, *Villes et so-*

of the *campagna* with regard to the cities, if we think, for instance, about the outstanding monograph by François Menant on medieval Lombardy – which, incidentally, was criticized with the very informative argument that Menant approached the Italian situation as if he were working on France, that is, that he had carried out a sort of scholarly unfaithfulness (which once again reveals the inertial force of national stereotypes as a background for evaluation).⁶

Austrian research on the Middle Ages, on the other hand, continued the tradition of Otto Brunner in a thoroughly productive manner, at least in its main threads, and for that reason traditionally remained more strongly oriented toward the study of territories, of court structures (that were frequently castle-centered), and of manorial orientation.⁷ This established repertoire has only been opened up more intensely since the 1990s and linked with new questions that initiated a phase of innovation in the history of cities.⁸

The remaining German-language research landscape – which I likewise brutally reduce here and which, for a moment, I would like to virtually reduce to its Swiss elements – has, with the concept of communalism as outlined by Peter Blickle in the 1970s and 1980s, an extraordinarily shining and influential paradigm. With this, Blickle hoped to characterize the development of medieval settlement communities as basic 'republican' events and, against this common background, blur the dividing lines between the rural and urban spheres.⁹ Within this social-romantic conception, the ideal types of city and country communities are traced back to a common basis of legitimation, an autogenous Western European matrix above all in the thirteenth century.

ciétés urbaines en Italie, milieu XII^e-milieu XIV^e siècle (Regards sur l'histoire, Lassay-les-Châteaux) 2005, each with numerous references.

⁶ FRANÇOIS MENANT, *Campagnes lombardes du Moyen Âge*. 1993; with regard to its reception, see: CHRIS WICKHAM, *Alto medioevo e identità nazionale*, in: *Storica* 9 (2003) p. 7-26, at p. 11-13.

⁷ How highly advanced these traditions are is shown by the volume on the Middle Ages in the handbook series "Österreichische Geschichte" from the pen of ALOIS NIEDERSTÄTTER, *Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter*. 2001. Tellingly enough, what is not taken into consideration therein is the deconstructive study that is critical of Brunner and in many cases related to Austria by GADI ALGAZI, *Herrengewalt und Gewalt der Herren im späten Mittelalter. Herrschaft, Gegenseitigkeit und Sprachgebrauch* (Historische Studien 17) 1996.

⁸ With regard to Austrian research on the history of cities, see the critical remarks by A. MÜLLER, *Über vergangene und zukünftige Probleme der österreichischen Stadtgeschichte*, in: *Stadtgeschichtsforschung. Aspekte, Tendenzen, Perspektiven*, ed. FRITZ MAYRHOFER (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 12) 1993, p. 143-172.

⁹ These approaches are summarized in: PETER BLICKLE, *Kommunalismus. Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform*. 2 vols. 2000. The concept of a municipal republicanism deviates from this principle of communalism that crosses between city and countryside which is supported by Blickle – see: HEINZ SCHILLING, *Die Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit* (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 24) 2nd 2004.

The research landscape in Germany is too complex to concisely arrive at its heart here, added to which this has already been accomplished with complete clarity in the paper by Wilhelm Ehbrecht.¹⁰ I will only refer here to the enormous synthesis work of the recently published monumental three-volume work by Monika Escher and Frank G. Hirschmann on the urban centers of the High and Late Middle Ages in the western part of the empire and in Eastern France.¹¹ This absolute milestone of research in urbanization programmatically goes beyond national borders and develops a fascinating narrative thread in which the history of regions appears comprehended as the history of cities. Under the attentive, thorough declension of the criteria of centrality, the French-German cathedral cities – and, in a sort of densification process, gradually their existing satellites, as well – are granted in it a central function for the total societal development of Central European landscapes on the Rhine, Mosel, Maas, and Marne.

For our area, to come back to the initial question, such widely varied options and lines of questioning that for the most part continue to remain unconscious have proven to be not especially favorable with the perception of fields of research that are contrary to positions of cultural expectations, and from time to time, to basic political positions, thus causing the necessary societal 'fit' to be missed. Making things more difficult, as it were, is also the fact that the concepts 'country', 'territory', and 'rural world' in Tyrolean research left their mark over a long period of time as the dominant images of the social perception – for illuminating references to this obstinate basic cultural orientation, we are thankful in particular to Hans Heiss, whose program of broad-ranging research on the middle class frankly calls for more in-depth research.¹²

Thus, it cannot be by chance that the three large cities in this region – Trent, Bozen/Bolzano, and Innsbruck – do not demonstrate an urban history that satisfies modern claims, nor do they have available source editions (with the limitation that for Bozen, at least the latter deficit could recently be partially remedied).¹³ The exhibitions

¹⁰ See: WILHELM EHBRECHT, *Minderstädte – Kümmerformen – Gefreite Dörfer*, ed. HERBERT KNITTLER. 2006.

¹¹ MONIKA ESCHER, FRANK G. HIRSCHMANN, *Die urbanen Zentren des hohen und späteren Mittelalters. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Städten und Städtelandschaften im Westen des Reiches und in Ostfrankreich (Trierer historische Forschungen 50)* 3 vols. 2005.

¹² In that regard, see, for instance, the programmatic remarks in: HANS HEISS, H. MOCK, *Kulturelle Orientierungen des Südtiroler Bürgertums 1890 bis 1930*, in: *Durch Arbeit, Besitz, Wissen und Gerechtigkeit*, ed. H. STEKL et al. (*Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 2*) 1992, p. 141-159, as well as the broad reaching reasoning in: HANS HEISS, *Gärten der Bürgerlichkeit? Kleinstädte im Westen Österreichs 1850 bis 1914*, in: *Publikationen des Stadtarchivs Dornbirn*. 2006; publication underway – I wish to thank Hans Heiss for his kind permission to view the manuscript.

¹³ I take the liberty of making reference to the first volume of the edition of civic documents: HANNES OBERMAIR, *Bozen Süd – Bolzano Nord. Schriftlichkeit und urkundliche Überlieferung der Stadt*

to date within the entire province of Tyrol, including Trentino, are an indication of the thesis of a systematic discrimination against urban questions that are virtually not brought into view: the topics that have been covered thus far had a presentation that was as striking as it was style-setting in 1995 (which at the same time signified the primary ignition of an entire cycle) with Count Meinhard II of Tyrol as the imperially transfigured founder of the province and the monumental state-builder of the central region of the Alps. The large-scale exhibition in 2000 was dedicated to the period of change in 1500, the central topic of 2005 was the definitely exciting topic of the future of nature, while in the not too distant 2009, the Tyrolean bicentennial of 1809, it is indeed inevitable that it will be the turn of Andreas Hofer – there is therefore a justified hope for a change in topics in 2015.

It can therefore be emphasized as an initial finding that the city, the urban, but likewise the topics of city and countryside, city and village, and the relationship between rural and urbanized worlds do not belong to the narratives, to the familiar manner of recounting and patterns of portrayal of the writing of Tyrolean history. It consists of one aspect of the past which unwaveringly remains in a sort of pupation and, with regards to the policy of remembering, does not at all wish to finally come into existence.

There are admittedly prominent exceptions. They crisscross the dominant currents of forgetting, they oppose to a certain extent an unfavorable direction of travel, but through their exceptional position, they also reconfirm the prevailing deficits in perception. I would like to single out four examples which, in my eyes, are especially worthy of attention:

1. Klaus Brandstätter's monograph on the city of Hall with its succinct title that already reveals a program.¹⁴ This postdoctoral thesis offers the supreme representation of class positions in a production city of the primary and secondary sector which was virtually an engine and a laboratory of the Late Middle Ages-Early Modern Era economic development of the area of Tyrol.

2. I would then like to highlight the first volume of the new municipal book of Brixen/Bressanone.¹⁵ The book impressively outlines Brixen's special status as a royal seat and location of the bishop's palace. The exceedingly demanding complex of portrayals expounds upon the excitement-filled dynamics of (religious) rule and urban economy and social development. The entire work is extremely readable and success-

Bozen bis 1500/Scritturalità e documentazione archivistica della città di Bolzano, in: *Regesten der kommunalen Bestände 1210-1400*. 2005.

¹⁴ KLAUS BRANDSTÄTTER, *Ratsfamilien und Tagelöhner. Die Bewohner von Hall in Tirol im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Tiroler Wirtschaftsstudien 54) 2002.

¹⁵ Brixen, in: *Die Geschichte*, ed. B. FUCHS, HANS HEISS et al. 2004.

fully connects the description of that which is prototypical in Brixen with the narrative components of the elucidation of details and of the depiction of the small-city milieu.

3. The Trentino Statutes, the *Corpus statutario delle Venezie*, a series of editions that has been running since the 1990s on the Veneto with the inclusion of Trentino with the historical-critical edition of the municipal legal source literature (including on Riva del Garda, Rovereto, and Pergine).¹⁶ The editions are provided with sound introductions in each situation, out of which the contributions by Marco Bellabarba and Gian Maria Varanini are to be particularly emphasized because of the quality of their argumentation. The series has a centering that is completely typical of the class of text and is grounded in a special field of action and thus is also capable of connecting with the long-running issue of Italian statute literature. On the whole, it therefore consists of a successfully imported work of research that is to be traced back to Venice and its terra firma expressions.¹⁷

4. As the last but not least example, I would like to mention the histories of women in the cities of Bozen/Bolzano, Innsbruck, and Brixen/Bressanone – the first two in inconspicuous pocketbook format, the latter thoroughly comprehensive, two of them in bilingual German-Italian editions.¹⁸ They are written, though one must actually in general say only made visible, by Siglinde Clementi, Martha Verdorfer, Ellinor Forster, and other innovative female historians. They are three diachronically arranged studies that pursue sex-specific or gender questions throughout the ages and in their lengthy duration from medieval beginnings up to the immediate present. The women once again pass ahead of the men through intentional historical multitasking, including in the anti-idyllic view of urban worlds which were deeply characterized by forms of gender and social inequality.

In all of these studies, a clear tendency can be sensed to sound out the respective time-specific structures which in any case were not always changed into the programmatic and the fundamental. It would be necessary to get over the internal relationships of the

¹⁶ See for instance Statuti di Ala e di Avio del secolo XV, ed. BRUNO ANDREOLLI (*Corpus statutario delle Venezie* 7) 1990; Statuti di Rovereto del 1425, con le aggiunte dal 1434 al 1538, ed. FEDERICA PARCIANELLO (*Corpus etc.* 9) 1991; Statuti di Pergine del 1516, con la traduzione del 1548, ed. GIANI GENTILINI (*Corpus etc.* 11) 1994, and Statuti di Riva del Garda del 1451 con le aggiunte fino a 1637, ed. EMIDIO ORLANDO (*Corpus etc.* 12) 1994.

¹⁷ The topic of Venice has produced its own historiographic tradition; as a monumental synthesis, see only DIETER GIRGENSOHN, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung in der Republik Venedig zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 118) 2 vols. 1996.

¹⁸ SIGLINDE CLEMENTI, *Frauen – Stadt – Geschichte(n): Bozen/Bolzano vom Mittelalter bis heute*. 2000; *Frauenleben in Innsbruck. Ein historisches Stadt- und Reisebuch*, ed. ELLINOR FORSTER. 2003; *Der andere Weg. Beiträge zur Frauengeschichte der Stadt Brixen vom Spätmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. SIGLINDE CLEMENTI. 2005.

respective ensembles of molding – whether dealing with the cathedral-episcopal residence city (of the Brixen type), the producer city (Hall), or the community imbued with statutes (Rovereto) – and thus go beyond the corresponding vocabularies in order to ascertain the urban *reseaus*, the communal patterns, and the networks which also had their effect upon the interior of the Alps over the centuries in a pattern-forming and structure-forming manner.

2.

This is based upon the question of conceptualization. How we linguistically imagine something is essentially decided by the perception and the memory of the things that we discuss. Thus, in my opinion, the discussion of “Minderstädte, petites villes”, small towns, etc. arises in the end from a sort of negative theory of cities – the terms are also an expression of an awkward situation in which they more describe a shortcoming than open up positive description criteria for their objects.¹⁹ Oriented toward the model of a fully developed, as it were concretized city and thus committed to a teleological, goal-oriented perspective, such an attempt at order remains a reference to that which is less, which is diminished, which is lacking; it designates that which is obviously restricted and that which is apparently undeveloped. There is thus no view of, or at least little attention paid to, the possible increase, the mixture, and that which changes in the field of terminology of urban versus rural.²⁰

Separate linguistics are thus also required in order to gain new perspectives on such an indistinct phenomenology of the urban or the protourban. The semantic field on the characterization of the urban transformation of the High and Late Middle Ages would indeed be virtually infinite if the relevant research literature is skimmed through:²¹ in it, the discussion is of take-offs, changes, dynamics, expansions, acculturation and early capitalism, consolidation, and emergence. As uniform as the basic tenor is of these conceptual efforts and strategies for use, there is little terminological consensus in that which is fundamental. It would of course be presumptuous to strive for it here.

¹⁹ The ‘research into small towns’ is prominently opened up in *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe*, ed. PETER CLARK. 1995; essential for the German-language discussion is: *Kleine Städte im neuzeitlichen Europa*, ed. HOLGER TOMAS GRÄF (Innovationen 6) 1997.

²⁰ For new views on this relationship, see: *Dorf und Stadt im Mittelalter. Ihre Beziehungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. CLEMENS ZIMMERMANN. 2001.

²¹ From the literature that can hardly still be overlooked, emphasis should be placed on: DAVID NICHOLAS, *Urban Europe, 1100-1700*. 2003, with research overview and references to literature.

For that reason, I would like to limit myself to conjectures when I bring the term *bastard urbanism* into the discussion, in order to indicate a middle state of matter of the Late Middle Ages regional urban setting and thus the second and third levels of restricted, primarily market-oriented urbanism. As can easily be recognized, the term (or taboo phrase, it all depends) is modeled after the term *bastard feudalism*. This is owed thanks by the paradoxical metaphor – the image of a polluted, dirty, as it were contaminated phenomenon – of the feudalism debate which, at least among historians, does not wish to draw to an end and which has been and continues to be subjected to nearly endless reformulations, not unlike the term 'urbanization'. Like all basic concepts of the modern age, the word 'feudalism' as a word that is emotive of the politics of knowledge also belongs, as Ludolf Kuchenbuch recently demonstrated so beautifully, to the constantly politicizable, culturally continued orientation of the present.²² In a programmatic essay from the distant year of 1945, the English medieval historian Kenneth B. McFarlane, who died in 1966, provided this debate – with all of its classic approaches from Norbert Elias through Marc Bloch, from František Graus to Chris Wickham, of course not to forget the classic Otto Hintze and Max Weber with their historical-sociological approaches at integration – with a downright long-running issue with the succinct wording of a *bastard feudalism*.²³

In a history of research outline that appeared a few years ago, Peter Coss impressively portrayed how stimulating McFarlane's approach turned out to be for both English and international medieval studies, even if it is not cited so often.²⁴ He broke open a static, nearly nominalistic use of terminology and thus opened up the integration of new fields of knowledge, such as the relationship between a monetary economy and organization under feudal law.

Without going over the facets of this interesting debate, I would only like to refer to how it has helped to vanquish the 'tyranny of a concept'. This concept of a turning point was shaped by the American historian Elizabeth Brown in a much-followed essay from 1974, with which she, to a certain extent, passed the ball to Susan Reynolds's

²² See the striking comments by LUDOLF KUCHENBUCH, 'Feudalismus'. Versuch über die Gebrauchsstrategien eines wissenspolitischen Reizwortes', in: *Die Gegenwart des Feudalismus – The Presence of Feudalism*, ed. NATALIE FRYDE et al. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 173) 2002, p. 293-323.

²³ K.B. MCFARLANE, 'Bastard Feudalism', in: *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 20 (1945) p. 161-180; reprinted England in the Fifteenth Century: *Collected Essays of K.B. McFarlane*, ed. G.L. HARRISS. 1981.

²⁴ PETER R. COSS, 'From Feudalism to Bastard Feudalism', in: *Gegenwart des Feudalismus* (see note 22) p. 79-107, with additional reference, including especially the anthology *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Later Medieval Politics and Society*, ed. RICHARD H. BRITNELL, ANTHONY JAMES POLLARD. 1995.

well-known deconstruction of the feudal-vassal system as a work of organization and invention of High Middle Ages legal scholars.²⁵

I would expect a similar breakup of monolithic ideas for the debate on the history of cities. If we take seriously the heuristic precautionary measures of the more recent feudalism discussion, we can gain something for the knowledge of the overall picture of the history of cities. On one hand, it could be concerned with going beyond the (thoroughly helpful) pragmatic formula as is offered, for example, by the terminological triad of this conference. For me, though, it is more about the awareness of a problem than the solution of that problem, if I may plead for calling into question somewhat further the leading ideas of 'city' and 'country'. Certainly, if the reversion to an organizational binary structure, to the city-country opposition of concepts gives our ideas safety and security, even if we believe anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, then such an antagonistic pair of terms always also consists of a tremendous historiographic metafiction.²⁶

It has never been the case in historical reality that two firmly delimited or delimitable units stood opposite to each other as if in an either-or, which could be defined precisely, that is, with exclusiveness. A structure of concepts, such as was made clear by Werner Bätzing in his fundamental monograph on the Alps, arises from a deeply positivistic idea that operates with non-historical constants.²⁷ With this, an open, dialectic approach is to be preferred which pays greater attention to the specific quality of a relationship between two opposites. If one starts out with such a relationship between spaces that are functionally interwoven with each other, then it also becomes obvious that apparent opposites such as city and countryside, outskirts and downtown, rulers and subjects, and monetary economy and barter economy are in no way certain from the very beginning, but rather they can only be constituted and defined by their relational character.

Such an overlap then has a stronger fractal character, and a crossover term such as *bastard urbanism* attempts to intentionally avoid viewing the genesis of the medieval re-

²⁵ E.A.R. BROWN, The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe, in: The American Historical Review 79 (1974) p. 1063-1088; SUSAN REYNOLDS, Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted. 1996. For a critique of Reynolds's feudalism concept from the constitutional history point of view, see KARL KROESCHELL, Lehnrecht und Verfassung im deutschen Hochmittelalter, in: Forum historiae juris (article from April 27, 1998: <http://www.rewi.hu-berlin.de/FHI/zitat/9804kroeschell.htm>).

²⁶ Lévi-Strauss demonstrated this by means of his well-known differentiation between 'cold' and 'warm' societies; in that regard, see the relevant remarks in: CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS, Structural Anthropology. 1977, 2: p. 40-43.

²⁷ See: WERNER BÄTZING, Die Alpen. Geschichte und Zukunft einer europäischen Kulturlandschaft. 2003, p. 400-401.

gional landscape of cities from the very outset as events that are practically natural and coherent in and of themselves. The term is thus to be understood as a corrective which attempts to help describe phenomena of a lack of social clarity and certainty.

3.

In order to newly discuss such delimitations, the area of Tyrol-Trentino offers a good example. The rise and fall of the city metaphor – in the sense of an almost biological idea of coming into existence and ceasing to exist – can be observed very well here.

The central region of the Alps is regarded as a zone of urban awkwardness and discontinuity. The landscape of cities along the Brenner axis is essentially characterized by cities founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁸ In spite of their modest size, they are lastingly molded, as can be noticeably experienced to this day by one who strolls through them, by the force of the founding act, the amalgamation of *polis* and *nomos* in a single location. This network typology – that is, the same thing at different places that remains functionally connected – is typical for the emergence of a post-antiquity settlement. A centrality-forming function was striven for through this formation of markets and cities and the structural change associated with it – whether this concerns Innsbruck or Meran, Rovereto or Schwaz, Bruneck or Bozen/Bolzano – and it was institutionalized through the concentration of population and resources.

Within that context, lasting old continuities and ancient pre-molding are actually shown even in the Roman *Municipium Tridentum*, and so there really was not an Early Middle Ages deurbanization of the Tyrolean region of the Alps all the way to Trent.²⁹ As a result of these lengthy discontinuities, the fundamental process of transformation of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must have been more of an enormous social drama here than elsewhere, one which contemporaries comprehended in an up and down of regional booms and crises and which caused them to slip into a better or worse condition in ways that were completely different and nearly impossible to plan.

²⁸ For a current assessment from the medieval studies point of view, see: HANNES OBERMAIR, Una regione di passaggio premoderna? Il panorama urbano nell'area tra Trento e Bolzano nei secoli XII-XIV, in: Studi trentini di scienze storiche 84 (2005) p. 149-162. Of great help are also the research history explanations by OLIVER AUGÉ, Stadtwerdung in Tirol. Ansätze, Erkenntnisse und Perspektiven vergleichender Stadtgeschichtsforschung, in: König, Kirche, Adel. Herrschaftsstrukturen im mittleren Alpenraum und angrenzenden Gebieten, ed. RAINER LOOSE, SÖNKE LORENZ. 1999, p. 307-364.

²⁹ For Trent's special role, see the articles in Storia del Trentino 1: L'età romana, ed. EZIO BUCHI. 2000.

To cite the example of Bozen/Bolzano and thus to argue from the 'bottom up' perspective: the quantity of municipal deed documents for Bozen which are somehow written recognitions and index fossils of the social development, corresponds in a conspicuous manner with the Central European city founding curves that Heinz Stoob has worked out.³⁰ I would like to abbreviate Stoob's lucid train of thought here to the edge of the tenable. This empirical observation of the fluctuation, indeed of the temporary setback in the process of documentation that binds a city, clearly contradicts the idea of a constant, upwardly-oriented motion. The coming into being of the urban was characterized just as much by symbolic and material gains as it was by the toppling of an ever-precarious social balance into being at risk. This antilinearity and counterlinearity in the motion should also always remain conscious to us as a contrapuntal position of prudence.

For the regional aspect, I consider the comparison of two contrary points of view to be important. These come to us thanks to extremely prominent historians: the great Fernand Braudel on one hand and a no less important historian of the present day, Jon Mathieu, on the other. Both have developed influential models of the history of Alpine urbanization which are actually mutually exclusive but through which it becomes clear how dependent upon interpretation lines of questioning are and how, at the same time, these also successfully carry popularized views.

In his "Agrargeschichte der inneren Alpen", Jon Mathieu provocatively postulated a 'history in spite of the mountains', and thus contradicted Fernand Braudel's just as provocatively formulated older thesis of an Alpine non-existence of history.³¹ Braudel regarded the Alps as a location for 'human production for someone else's use.' He understood the mountain region as a purely spatial variable that was independent of migration and considered it – from the perspective of his monumental Mediterranean trilogy – as nothing separate, as a historical non-location, as it were.³² More recent demographic historiography has established the shortcomings of the Braudelian undervaluation of the Alpine society and, on the contrary, emphasized the considerable vitality of

³⁰ The numbers of written municipal records are given in OBERMAIR, *Bozen Süd – Bolzano Nord* (see note 13) p. 14; for the levels of city formation in Central Europe see HEINZ STOOB, *Forschungen zum Städtewesen in Europa*, in: *Räume, Formen und Schichten der mitteleuropäischen Städte. Eine Aufsatzfolge*. 1970, p. 21. For an acknowledgement of Stoob's achievements, see PETER JOHANEK, *Nachruf auf Heinz Stoob*, in: *Westfälische Forschungen* 48 (1998) p. 627-637.

³¹ JON MATHIEU, *Eine Agrargeschichte der inneren Alpen. Graubünden, Tessin, Wallis 1500-1800*. 1992, p. 307-309.

³² See FERNAND BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*. 2 vols. 1995, 1: p. 33-35, p. 293-296; as well as JON MATHIEU, *Geschichte der Alpen 1500-1900: Umwelt, Entwicklung, Gesellschaft*. 1998, p. 17.

the Alpine region in the Old European period.³³ The traditional image of a world that was predominantly closed, economically self-referential, and standing at the edge of modernity was fundamentally revised in the studies by Mathieu, but also by Pier Paolo Viazzo and Laurence Fontaine.³⁴

No automatic connection therefore existed between the poverty of the Alpine environment and the poverty of its inhabitants. Within the framework of an unquestionably meager agriculture that was certainly less capable of producing high yields (which also should not, however, be underestimated) and of village-like, less developed cities, the ascertainable large streams of migration represented less a symptom of crisis than rather a considerable source of income. This held true all the more so for a region like Tyrol which, while indubitably an inner-Alpine area, was nevertheless lastingly shaped by intense relationships of contact with nearby Germany and Italy.³⁵

4.

There was no unified premodern landscape of cities in the areas of Tyrol and Trentino, although structurally-similar preconditions existed that led to moldings and shapings of the market and city system that were similar in outcome. I would like to deal with two concepts that seem to me to be helpful in the discussion of the question regarding the specific characteristics of the local development.

Up until now, little attention has been paid to the question of the possible path dependencies of the logic of urban development and, to the extent that paths could be determined, the question of differences in a change that somehow proceeded linearly. Path dependency is increasingly being applied in the social sciences and economics as a

³³ See only the excellent outline by LUIGI LORENZETTI, *Die Ökonomie der Wanderung in den italienischen Alpen 1500-1900*, in: *Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie* 53 (2005) p. 99-102 (with numerous references).

³⁴ See: PIER P. VIAZZO, *Upland Communities: Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 8) 1989 and LAURENCE FONTAINE, *Pouvoir, identités et migrations dans les hautes vallées des Alpes occidentales, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle*. 2003. Essential within this context for the area of South Tyrol or Bozen/Bolzano is the diachronically arranged study by ANDREA BONOLDI, *La fiera e il dazio. Economia e politica commerciale nel Tirolo del secondo Settecento*. 1999; also see: ANDREA BONOLDI, *Fiere e mercati in area alpina tra funzioni locali e intermediazione*, in: *Regioni alpine e sviluppo economico: dualismi e processi di integrazione* (secc. XVIII-XX), ed. FAUSTO PIOLA CASELLI. 2003, pp. 105-126.

³⁵ See the detailed results of research by: KLAUS BRANDSTÄTTER, *Alpenstadt – Annäherung an einen Begriff*, in: *Tiroler Heimat* 167 (2003) p. 261-287; for a broad approach at definition, see: *Die 'alpine Stadt' zwischen lokaler Verankerung und globaler Vernetzung. Beiträge zur regionalen Stadtforschung im Alpenraum*, ed. AXEL BORSODORF, MICHAELA PAAL. 2000.

concept of institutional theories.³⁶ The basic idea of this theory strand is that in a sequence of events and steps of development, the later ones are not completely independent of their predecessors. At its core, this is an evolutionary theory approach which helps to explain historical transformation. Within this context, this process of the structuring of the future by the past is less oriented toward rather random 'tracks' that spontaneously come into being through the repeated use of a path (one can think, for example, of the analogous development of the Gothic cathedral both in Northern and Central France and in the Rhine region.) The concept is rather oriented toward the 'crossroads' at which one of a plurality of possible paths is consciously chosen.

The dynamic properties of such a diffusion and development path are clearly readable in the logic of urban genesis in the areas of Trent and Bozen/Bolzano. I am therefore picking out this case study in short form, whereby it also seems to me to be suitable to be understood as a subregional entity that was successfully settled below the regional or macroregional large-scale plane and thus takes the place of similar agglomerations.³⁷

The role of the 'metropolis' of Trent can well be described as the motor, as the driving torque of pre-urban and early urban development. From the twelfth century, the episcopal seat as a provider of political, economic, and cultural impulses formed a market or city network which had a central location structure in the sense of the definition approach by Monika Escher.³⁸ Within that context, it is admittedly difficult to answer the question of when the critical mass for urban functions was reached. This separate, thus far unrecognized family of Trent town charters consists of Trent with its suburbs: the suburban Trent *burgus* San Martino (today, a district of the city with the same name) can be regarded as the prototype of the late twelfth century which, in its initial phase, imparted a lasting *tridentine* influence on the particular founding of Neumarkt and Bozen/Bolzano. These Barbarossa-era founding locations with the will to be a city were regulated through market relations and through centrality functions of the first or

³⁶ For a current view, see BERNHARD EBBINGHAUS, Can Path Dependence Explain Institutional Change? Two Approaches Applied to Welfare State Reform (Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung. Discussion paper 2) 2005 (http://www.mpi-fg-koeln.mpg.de/pu/mpifg_dp/dp05-2.pdf). Also see the systematic explanations of P.A. DAVID, Path-dependence and Predictability in Dynamic Systems with Local Network Externalities: A Paradigm for Historical Economics, in: Technology and the Wealth of Nations: The Dynamics of Constructed Advantage, ed. DOMINIQUE FORAY, CHRISTOPHER FREEMAN (1993), p. 208-231.

³⁷ For these preliminary considerations, also see OBERMAIR, Regione di passaggio (see note 28). For sensible theoretical terms of reference, see the discussions in: Regional Development and Commercial Infrastructure in the Alps. Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries, ed. ULRICH PFISTER. 2002.

³⁸ With regard to this concept, see the introduction in: Städtelandschaft – Städtetz – zentralörtliches Gefüge. Ansätze und Befunde zur Geschichte der Städte im hohen und späten Mittelalter, ed. MONIKA ESCHER (Trierer historische Forschungen 43) 2000.

second order and were legally organized through laws of real property (*ius et consuetudo domus mercatorum Tridenti* and similar laws). This imprinting worked its way into the rural communities and was adopted, for example, in Tramin in Bozen's Lowlands, which in turn is typical for the phenomenon of a divergent local communalization.³⁹ The passing on and application of the Trent law of real property is documented in 1302 for Tisens-Nals, that is, in the middle of the Tyrolean principality's Burgraviate, which speaks to the high level of the power of transmission. At that point, this Trent prototype (matriarchy) was dressed up as the Bozen *consuetudo* habit; one speaks of a *locatio perpetua*, a granting of building rights according to *consuetudo terre Bozani/Bozanensis quod vulgariter dicitur marchtrecht*.⁴⁰

The new findings around the late twelfth-early thirteenth centuries along the Trent-Bozen axis brought along with them changes in the conception of the area and found lasting 'resonance' in the societal bases of knowledge and in the linguistic usages of the sources: *burgus – forum – civitas* are leading terms of the available deed records that begin in the late twelfth century and reach their highpoint in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.⁴¹ Such leaps can be described as cognitive revolutions and can be understood under the term 'epigenetic' in order to describe the process of 'the coming into existence of the new'.⁴²

Without going into detail on the city-countryside relationships and the problem areas of existing or (in many cases) lacking statutes and of holders of rights, three decisive phases are to be recognized: after the development initiated by Trent from the middle of the twelfth century, there followed a Trentino-Tyrol condominium development beginning in the period around 1200 which, in turn, was superseded by the Hapsburg territorialization of the fourteenth century. Within that context, Trent's endeavors at communalization acted directly in proportion to the power crisis of the bishop. As a result of the Tyrolean-Hapsburg regionalization of provincial power, they were doomed to failure in the long term, since the cathedral city of Trent could not form a *contado*. The new trading centers in the north of Trent lay precisely at the intersection of the most important transportation routes and quickly gained partial leads as production and consumption centers, including thanks to the policies of the provincial princi-

³⁹ For a significant reference from Tramin from 1297, see: Die Urkunden des Dekanatsarchives Neumarkt (Südtirol) 1297-1841, ed. HANNES OBERMAIR (Schlern-Schriften 289) 1993, p. 53, doc. 1 (lending law *secundum usum et consuetudinem domus mercatorum Tridenti*).

⁴⁰ Quoted in SIBYLLE Busetti, Die Urkunden des Pfarrarchivs Tisens von 1270 bis 1303. Unpublished University of Innsbruck M.Phil thesis 2002, p. 98-101, doc. 28.

⁴¹ For the period up to the middle of the thirteenth century, see only the numerous references in the subject index in: Tiroler Urkundenbuch 1, ed. FRANZ Huter, 3 vols. 1937-1957.

⁴² K.H. MÜLLER, Knowledge, Dynamics, Society. Unraveling the Mysteries of Co-Evolution. 1999, p. 125.

pality, with respect to the location of the episcopal residence that had been critical up until the fifteenth century.⁴³ Trent can thus be considered to be the conclusive model and mediating authority of the latecomer Tyrol.

The basic tendency toward simple, noncomplex urbanization remained irreversible: with small population sizes – around 1300, Trent is reckoned to have had around 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, while at the same time, Bozen/Bolzano had around 1,500 to 2,000⁴⁴ – these locations fulfilled high functions of centrality. In spite of scant resources, these 'small towns' (Peter Clark) had a relatively high economic productivity. Structural data such as numbers of inhabitants and area concentration therefore still do not sufficiently define this premodern form of urbanity.⁴⁵

On the whole, the Trentino-Tyrol type demonstrated a restricted communalization with a low level of self-administration with the predominance of territorial organizational forms. One special role of Trent as a result of the existence of consular institutions there was brought about by the proximity to the Northern Italian, anti-Staufer-oriented *Lega Lombarda*, the early civic oath pointed to a *conjurato* constitution, even if incomplete, at the episcopal seat.⁴⁶

As a result of the unfavorable dynamics of the policies of rule in the thirteenth century, the *tridentine* urban system could only develop incompletely. It did, however, create a basis for lasting acculturation forms in the course of a process with which techniques of culture and ruling knowledge flowed from the administration of the bishopric or from the overall organization of the archdiocese into new, market-formed, early-urban concentrations such as San Martino, Neumarkt, or Bozen.

⁴³ For the transportation functions of the interior Alpine cities, see: KLAUS BRANDSTÄTTER, Städtische Maßnahmen zur Verkehrsorganisation im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit: Der Anteil der Städte an der Erschließung der Alpenübergänge, in: Stadt: Strom – Straße – Schiene. Die Bedeutung des Verkehrs für die Genese der mitteleuropäischen Städtelandschaft, ed. ALOIS NIEDERSTÄTTER (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas 16) 2001, p. 183-216; also see: JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERGIER, Le trafic à travers les Alpes et les liaisons transalpines du haut moyen âge au XVII siècle, in: Le Alpi e l'Europa 3: Economia e transiti. 1975, p. 1-72.

⁴⁴ See: GIAN MARIA VARANINI, Città alpine del tardo medioevo, in: Il Gotico nelle Alpi 1350-1450. Catalogo, ed. ENRICO CASTELNUOVO, FRANCESCA DE GRAMATICA. 2002, p. 35-51, at p. 38-39.

⁴⁵ For research on centrality, see the helpful essay by: ROLF KIESSLING, Die Zentralitätstheorie und andere Modelle zum Stadt-Land-Verhältnis, in: Zentren. Ausstrahlung, Einzugsbereich und Anziehungskraft von Städten und Siedlungen zwischen Rhein und Alpen, ed. HANS-JÖRG GILOMEN, MARTINA STERCKEN. 2001, p. 17-40; also see: MICHAEL MITTERAUER, Städte als Zentren im mittelalterlichen Europa, in: Die vormoderne Stadt. Asien und Europa im Vergleich, ed. PETER FELDBAUER et al. (Querschnitte 10) 2002, p. 60-78.

⁴⁶ See: FERDINAND OPLL, Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert, 1125-1190 (Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmers Regesta Imperii 6) 1986, p. 157-160.

Similar to Champagne and its communal belt, although at the microregional level and in microscopic form, the Trent-Bozen axis represents a premodern innovation space. For this, two elements, two key functions of socialization were important:

- the developed office of the notary or a written record in its particular shaping in the nature of the notary: on one hand, the substantial practice of recording in writing in the thirteenth century – as is to be observed, for example, in Bozen – is the 'institutional trace of the secular transition from oral to text-provided communication. However, it also represented a central precondition for the professionalization of the communal and territorial forms of administration;⁴⁷
- the early monetary economy: clear indications of this 'paradigm shift' of monetarization are provided by the Bozen written records, *Imbreviaturae*, and *Urbare* of the thirteenth century as well as the existence of early pawnbroking banks in the urban centers of Riva, Trent, Bozen/Bolzano, Meran, Innsbruck, and Hall.⁴⁸

If we examine the phenomenon of written recording in the Trent-Bozen area as a whole, then we may observe a form of 'glocalization' which caused local special developments in the supraregional, global context to be effective. Decisive for this as a main determinant was an intense south-north transfer which caused techniques of culture and ruling knowledge from the advanced Northern Italian-Mediterranean region to flow over the Brenner axis to the North which was oriented toward the continental-Atlantic. As the southern branch of this axis, the Trent-Bozen area was a special part of the Central European progress zone in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries when the greater Mediterranean fulfilled its status as a classic European trade area. Its prime occurred before 1350, but afterwards it experienced a long-lasting loss in significance with respect to the Atlantic sphere. In this early phase, the Trent-Bozen zone is also part of the communal corridor, of that condensed landscape of cities which ranged in a crescent shape from the Po plain to the English Channel along the streams of goods that went from Genoa, Milan, and Venice over the Alps as far as the Rhine and then down to Bruges, Antwerp, and Utrecht.⁴⁹ If we wish to understand this belt economically for the purposes of definition, then it is also the line of a significant cultural de-

⁴⁷ For a regional outline, see: HANNES OBERMAIR, *Macht, Herrschaft, Kultur im Tiroler Alpenraum des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Romanische Wandmalerei im Alpenraum. Wissenschaftliche Tagung, 16. bis 20. Okt. 2001, Bildungshaus Schloss Goldrain*, ed. HELMUT STAMPFER (Veröffentlichungen des Südtiroler Kulturinstitutes 4) 2004, p. 11-24.

⁴⁸ Still fundamental for this topic is: HANS VON VOLTELINI, *Die ältesten Pfandleihbanken und Lombarden-Privilegien Tirols*, in: *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Tirols*. 1904, p. 1-69. Also see the relevant sections in: JOSEF RIEDMANN, *Die Beziehungen der Grafen und Landesfürsten von Tirol zu Italien bis zum Jahre 1335* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Sitzungsberichte 307) 1977.

⁴⁹ BLICKLE, *Kommunalismus* (see note 9) p. 32-37.

velopment and communal tradition which since the High Middle Ages can show a successful test run over several centuries.⁵⁰

What is helpful in this context is the concept which was further developed above all by Gerd Schwerhoff of an Old European communal public.⁵¹ The city in and of itself constitutes its own delimitable, though in many cases fractured, area of communication which was thoroughly shaped by social inequality.⁵² In that regard, 'area' is a geographic location that is charged with significance through social processes of interaction and communication – it is not simple, but it is brought about through the people and their social roles.⁵³ Such an area-related public was established, for example, at court sessions, with council elections, in city processions, or in the church's Easter passion play culture. Within that context, social order was formed comprehensibly and in a nearly stage-like manner, and at the same time it was reinforced.⁵⁴

This does not represent a participatory, reasoning public of the modern type, but rather a form of public acting that to a large extent was representative, ritualized, and asymmetrical. This was also corresponded to by the urbanistic arrangements, the 'city psychodynamic' so to speak – in Bozen, for instance, the centrality of the seats of power can be recognized at the location of the episcopal city fortress at the Kornplatz; the axiality of the market street, the Lauben; and the centrally located city hall. In that regard, the city hall and its environs demonstrate a completely ambivalent multifunctionality as a meeting place for councils and committees, but also as an administrative

⁵⁰ For an initial though insufficiently regional orientation, see the handbook by FRANZ-HEINZ HYE, *Die Städte Tirols 2: Südtirol (Schlern-Schriften 313)* 2001.

⁵¹ GERD SCHWERHOFF, *Öffentliche Räume und politische Kultur in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt. Eine Skizze am Beispiel der Reichsstadt Köln*, in: *Interaktion und Herrschaft. Die Politik der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, ed. RUDOLF SCHLÖGL (*Historische Kulturwissenschaft* 5) 2004, p. 113-136; also see: GEORG MÖLICH, GERD SCHWERHOFF, *Die Stadt Köln in der Frühen Neuzeit. Kommunikationszentrum – Kommunikationsraum – politische Öffentlichkeit*, in: *Köln als Kommunikationszentrum. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte*. 2000, p. 11-38.

⁵² For the German-speaking area, see: ULF DIRLMEIER, BERND FUHRMANN, *Räumliche Aspekte sozialer Ungleichheit in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*, in: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 92 (2005) p. 424-439 (with additional literature).

⁵³ For the theoretical approach, see, for example: MARTINA LÖW, *Raumsoziologie*. 2001, p. 130-134 et p. 263-268, or: RUDOLF STICHWEH, *Raum und moderne Gesellschaft. Aspekte der sozialen Kontrolle des Raums*, in: *Die Gesellschaft und ihr Raum. Raum als Gegenstand der Soziologie*, ed. THOMAS KRÄMER-BADONI, KLAUS KUHM. 2003, p. 93-102.

⁵⁴ For the formation of such functions in Bozen, see: HANNES OBERMAIR, *The Social Stages of the City. Vigil Raber and Performance Direction in Bozen/Bolzano (Northern Italy) – a Socio-historical Outline*, in: *Concilium medii aevi* 7 (2004) p. 193-208 (also on the Internet at <http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/edoc/p/cma/7-04/obermair.pdf>).

and court location, privy archive, and commercial and trade center.⁵⁵ These were always also directions of a controlled public that was domesticated by the rulers.

The public area of the small cities in Tyrol and Trentino was not accessible without rules; it was a regulated area of associations – the Kornplatz in Bozen/Bolzano, for instance, was at the same time regulated in its access and in public possession. With its monopoly function of the scheduled regulated commerce and the supervised measuring and weighing, the central market place embodied the direction of order in the area. With the attempt to adequately comprehend this premodern area situation from today's point of view, one actually becomes conscious of how insufficient our systematic classification turns out to be. In that regard, it once again becomes clear, completely in the sense of the well-known thesis of Jürgen Habermas, just how much the concept of a 'public space' is a post-medieval, bourgeois invention.⁵⁶

5.

Finally, I would like to present ten main theses with a generalizing intent, although foreshortened by necessity:

1. The results of the prosperous twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the Tyrol-Trentino type of cities – with reference to the numbers of inhabitants, the parish church organization, and the court organization (and thus the administrative and fiscal organization) – can be transferred to the end of the fourteenth century with only slight limitations as the cycle that constantly weakened in that century once again gained momentum.
2. We can make out dispersion models in the development of cities on the Inn, Isarco, and Adige that compete with each other but, at the same time, are supplementary and overlapping. They were each borne by central powers of either the prince-bishop or the sovereign which, however, on the whole proceeded toward the same structural concepts and which created or built up on the river sites monopoly points and concentrations of economy, power, and religion.
3. In the fourteenth century, one must begin with a strongly differentiated course in the development of the cities, city-like market settlements, and countryside communities which, in contrast to the preceding centuries, do not allow us to recognize any unified

⁵⁵ For the iconographic shaping of these overlappings, see: LEO ANDERGASSEN, *Zum Werk des Bamberger Malers Georg Müller (um 1550-1633)*, in: *Am Anfang war das Auge. Kunsthistorische Tagung anlässlich des 100jährigen Bestehens des Diözesanmuseums Hofburg Brixen*. 2004, p. 149-178.

⁵⁶ In addition, see the articles in: *Geschichte der Planung des öffentlichen Raums*, ed. CHRISTOPH BERNHARDT (*Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung* 122) 2005.

development tendency.⁵⁷ In that regard, the social and historical effects of the plague and the so-called 'agricultural crisis' of the fourteenth century may not be overestimated. In spite of the undisputed complete crisis situation of both the urban and rural *trecento*, the continuity of the intracity administrations remained to a large extent intact.

4. The break that was formed by the power of the change to Hapsburg rule in 1363 seems to have had a lasting effect. It initiated and promoted something like a new, post-Meinhard gentrification of the urban and rural centers of rule. With this, I mean a process of social restructuring which was accompanied by a process of segregation and the creation of a new intracity and also intravillage milieu. Associated with this – in addition to the increased social mobility of the elite, who had to reorganize themselves, in particular to have to cope with the onslaught of the Hapsburg entourage (with which they also grew, however), the reinforcement of social topographies in the city, the peripheralization of poverty, and the increased centrality of the dwelling of the upper classes – were also a Burckhardian juxtaposition and cooperation of the nobility and the commercially oriented *cives*. Rainer Loose has assigned a date for this social-topographic event for Bozen/Bolzano of 1350.⁵⁸ I would describe this process as containerization in the sense of a process of a contradictory production of coherence. It was the nobility in particular who had to adapt themselves to the cooperative horizon of standards of the municipality. They did, however, also exercise power outside of the narrow city limits which led to the hybrid adaptation of landed gentry ways of life. Along these lines is the formalized specification of inhabitant and civil rights. These became visible in the fourteenth century in the vocabularies of the deeds (through the introduction of the indications *habitans* and *civis*) and were formalized in the fifteenth century. Viewed in sociological terms, this was a strategy of the de-anonymization of

⁵⁷ For the Austrian region of the Alps, see: MICHAEL MITTERAUER, Typen und räumliche Verteilung der mittelalterlichen Städte und Märkte in den österreichischen Ländern, in: Erzeugung, Verkehr und Handel in der Geschichte der Alpenländer, ed. FRANZ HUTER, GEORG ZWANOWETZ (Tiroler Wirtschaftsstudien 33) 1977, p. 259-282; for the interdependence of the origins of markets and European states, see: STEPHAN R. EPSTEIN, Freedom and Growth: The Rise of States and Markets in Europe, 1300-1750. 2000.

⁵⁸ RAINER LOOSE, Wohnen und Wirtschaften in der Laubengasse – Versuch einer Sozialtopographie der Altstadt Bozen um 1350, in: Bolzano fra i Tirolo e gli Asburgo / Bozen von den Grafen von Tirol bis zu den Habsburgern, ed. Stadtarchiv Bozen. 1999, p. 105-126. From the urban archeological view, also see: HANNES OBERMAIR, HELMUT STAMPFER, Urbane Wohnkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Bozen', in: Schloß Runkelstein. Die Bilderburg, ed. City of Bozen with the cooperation of the Südtiroler Kulturinstitut. 2000, p. 397-409.

the few and the lacking-in-form, an only negatively inferable re-anonymization of the many.⁵⁹

5. In the planning outline, that is, in the codex of the Tyrol-Trentino cities or city-like settlements or market settlements with the will to be a city, the street market type or long-row type dominated, that is, the purely linear single street model (basically a modification of the *wik* form). A strictly hierarchical conception of space thus predominated, a conception of social space that aimed at the creation of economic and social synergies. This readability of the urban structure – the nearly haptic, sensorially experienceable of the old urban, imbedded in its historical difference with today – ought to once again come into view and shape our reflections into the question, 'What did this form of the urban really mean for the people who lived in it?'⁶⁰

6. The genesis of the city of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the central Alpine region of Tyrol can be comprehended as a form of internal 'acquisition of land'. The line-up of prosperity of the historical phase of the High and Late Middle Ages, this second Middle Ages, forced a lasting condensing of that which was available, since the prerequisites of the Early Middle Ages were, so to speak, consumed. The traditional sectors of the inner Alpine economy – the subsistence forms that were oriented toward grain, wine, wood, livestock, and cheese – extended urban characters deep into the existing market settlements as a sort of feedback mechanism.⁶¹ The recruiting of people for the new market system presented itself to these as a new frontier. It made possible the transformation of the demographic boom into the dynamic division of labor, as is clearly demonstrated by the abundant notary sources of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries for Trent, Bozen, and Meran.⁶²

7. The existence of a formal municipal law (as well as the presence, absence, or disappearance of walls) is not a basic precondition for the economic prosperity of a place. Rather, the written record of statutory law only takes place beginning in the early fif-

⁵⁹ For the social historical background of early modern Bozen/Bolzano, see the substantial study by FRANZ HUTER, *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte Bozens im 16.-18. Jahrhundert*. 1948, p. 1-108.

⁶⁰ In that regard, see the still current remarks by KEVIN LYNCH, *The Image of the City* (Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies) 1960. The formative function of the Old European street system is emphasized by JOHN H. MUNRO, 'The 'New Institutional Economics' and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Textile Trade, Warfare, and Transaction Costs, in: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 88 (2001) p. 1-47.

⁶¹ For the impetus functions of the primary agricultural sector for interior Alpine urbanization, see: MATHIEU, *Geschichte der Alpen* (see note 32) esp. ch. 3, 5, and 6; for an extensive treatment, see ROBERT C. ALLEN, *Economic Structure and Agricultural Productivity in Europe*, in: *European Review of Economic History* 4 (2000) p. 1-25.

⁶² An evaluation of Bozen/Bolzano's relationships in the thirteenth century according to profession-specific differentiation and division of labor is undertaken in the sketch by JOSEF NÖSSING, *Bozen in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Bozen von den Anfängen bis zur Schleifung der Stadtmauern*. 1991, p. 327-337.

teenth century and specifically contemporaneously with the provincial rules of the court and *Weistum* records, which indicates similar functionalizations.⁶³ The Tyrol-Trentino close relationship of village to city in the Late Middle Ages is not a pure motive of backwardness. The slightly marked differentiation between city center and outskirts held rather avant-garde components that signify an anticipation of postmodern or post-urban social relationships.

8. What is less astonishing – against the background of a strongly territorial connection with power, communicatively and formally conveyed by means of the dominating provincial law – is the absence of a league of cities in the medieval Tyrolean area that is political or that even serves economic policy goals, while the tax policy of the city ruler, whether the prince of the province or the bishop, turned into a decisive element in the development of the city in the Late Middle Ages (the uniform 'model royal charters' of the Hapsburg Rudolf IV). Interesting typological parallels open up here, for instance, to the well-researched East Anglian landscape of cities on the eastern coast of England around Norwich, Ipswich, and Lynn, for which we are thankful to Bärbel Brodt for a case study that acts as a beacon.⁶⁴

9. As in East Anglia, in our research there is a strong interweaving of the village-rural market system of the surroundings with the city-like new settlements. One thinks of the microsystems of Bozen-Jenesien-Gries, Bruneck-Aufhofen-St. Lorenzen, Trent-Gardolo, or Innsbruck-Hötting-Thaur. These multidimensional small-scale networks guaranteed the stable integration of the near peripheries or semi-peripheries (Immanuel Wallerstein) in the new centers, and they provided traditional economic systems with those that were of a city or market form. They did not, however, consist of annexed fringe areas that were colonized by the urban areas, but rather of hinterland areas that were organized under the manorial system and produced yields.⁶⁵ This countryside in Tyrol and Trentino was not abandoned, but rather thoroughly structured through relationships of power and rule. It continued a close economic exchange, division of labor exchange, demographic exchange, and social exchange with the central locations and

⁶³ Still not evaluated in many cases is the large-scale edition of the provincial legal source literature of Tyrol, see: Die tirolischen Weistümer, ed. IGNAZ VINZENZ ZINGERLE et al. 7 vols. 1888-1994. For a legal-anthropological view of the problem area, see: JOHN W. COLE, ERIC R. WOLF, *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley*. 1999.

⁶⁴ BÄRBEL BRODT, *Städte ohne Mauern. Stadtentwicklung in East Anglia im 14. Jahrhundert* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London 44) 1997; for the subsequent development in the Early Modern Era, see: P.J. CORFIELD, *East Anglia*, in: *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* 2: 1540-1840, ed. PETER CLARK. 2000, p. 31-48.

⁶⁵ For the complementary dimension of the city and its hinterland, see the outline by T. SCOTT, *Economic Landscapes*, in: *Germany. A New Social and Economic History* 1: 1450-1630, ed. BOB SCRIBNER. 1996, p. 1-31.

furthermore thoroughly had an influence on the gross regional product or, to use a macroeconomic term, the total factor productivity that remained in the hands of the major manorial lords. Within that context, the extensive, territorially conceived court organization of the High and Late Middle Ages exercised important integrative functions.⁶⁶

10. In its consequences, the transformations of the High and Late Middle Ages remained ambivalent: the social differentiation of the villages and the rural economies and their integration into urbanized growth cycles of (small) city agglomerations remained incomplete. This resulted at times in social progress if one looks at the formation of a four curia system within the Hapsburg association of provinces that was, however, relatively singular. In it, in addition to the nobility, clergy, and citizens of the city, classes of large farmers could also claim the right of political involvement.⁶⁷ However, an increased marginalization and pauperization of the small-scale farmer classes also partly emerges from this. This tendency toward the increase of social inequality forced its way forward in more than just the peasant revolts and confessionalization crises of the sixteenth century, if one considers, for example, the lyric poetry of Oswald von Wolkenstein from the first half of the fifteenth century which is to be newly read against this background. In it, the deep, hate-filled division between the landed gentry and the farmers becomes visible in a terrifying manner. Both were struggling for the same social product and, in their tribulations for their livelihood, were deeply divided by the conflict surrounding appropriation, by the dialectic between liberation and servitude that never wanted to rest.⁶⁸ And there is still a series of questions of the second order that have not even been begun to be asked with regard to their regional repercussion, let alone be answered: What were the effects of the monetary economy and society on the village-city relationships? Was there such a thing as a monetary defeudalization of the urban ensemble? How did the monetary economy cy-

⁶⁶ This forms the basic thematic framework of the historiographic tradition of the descriptions of the province, see OTTO STOLZ, Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung von Tirol 1: Nordtirol (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte 107) 1923-1926; OTTO STOLZ, Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung von Tirol 2: Südtirol (Schlern-Schriften 40) 1937-1939. For an example-oriented evaluation of this historical project, see: HANNES OBERMAIR, Diritto come produzione sociale? Riflessioni su uno statuto rurale alpino della Val d'Adige del primo Quattrocento, in: Corona Alpium II. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Carlo Alberto Rastrelli. 2004, p. 337-367.

⁶⁷ Within that context, see: ERNST BRUCKMÜLLER, MICHAEL MITTERAUER, HELMUTH STRADAL, Herrschaftsstruktur und Ständebildung. Beiträge zur Typologie der österreichischen Länder aus ihren mittelalterlichen Grundlagen. 1973) 3: p. 193-195; for a new theoretic embedding, see ALGAZI, Herrengewalt (see note 7).

⁶⁸ For an overall view in this change in agrarian history, see: LUDOLF KUCHENBUCH, Vom Dienst zum Zins? Bemerkungen über agrarische Transformationen in Europa vom späteren 11. zum beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert, in: Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie 51 (2003) p. 11-29.

cle which had begun to expand exponentially in the area of Tyrol and Trentino beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries influence the social differentiation and thus the dynamics of urban and rural communities?

Summary

Starting from the very inconsistent state of the regional discussion, a link was first of all formed with the unfinished and extremely exciting debate with regard to the varied and in many ways paradoxical manifestation of the development of European cities in the Middle Ages. In a second step, issues of conceptualization were discussed which are crucial for the perception of communal phenomena. These efforts culminated in the suggestion for the term *bastard urbanism*.

In an excerpt-like manner, clarifications of the objects followed in a third step. The focal point was the role of Trent as a politically organized High Church whose impulses were crucial for the formation of a regional type for Tyrol-Trentino that was structure-like in and of itself. The specific dynamics of the development of the area can be read from the High Middle Ages founding of markets and cities along the Adige that were promulgated by the bishops before they were frozen into a Late Middle Ages organization, so to speak, under Tyrolean and then Hapsburg rule. But they were also integrated into a new, thoroughly successful cycle of development.

In a fourth step, these findings were linked with the discussion of two important leading questions of historical research: the debates on path dependency and on public spaces. The city-like settlements in the Alpine area of Tyrol-Trentino had different demographic preconditions than the centers of neighboring Northern Italy and Southern Germany, they had smaller populations, but they fulfilled important urban functions as central locations. With the consideration of inner Alpine 'cities', the high differentiation stands out specifically for Tyrol between urban functions and the polygenetic origin of the cities. The critical mass for urban functions thus deviates here from the classic parameters. For the separate Alpine path of a premodern crossroads region, the two leading functions in particular of written documentation and the monetary and credit economy were crucial. The deep connection stands out especially clearly between the written culture and the economic boom that occurred in lockstep beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This culturally dependent boom was lastingly supported by the implantation of regulatory techniques of culture. An important precondition for this was the early south-north transfer of the knowledge of the

techniques of power from Central and Northern Italian communities through the area of Tyrol to the territories that lay in the north of the Alps.

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