**Medieval Urbanscapes**

Observations on the high and late medieval city in the German-speaking regions

by

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By the year 2050, two-thirds of the world’s population will live in cities; even today more than half of all people on the planet are city-dwellers. This was not always the case, and yet cities have always been places in which actors co-existed and integrated in multifaceted relationships with each other. Urban spaces are considered hubs of the local surrounding ecological, cultural, social, political, and economic networks. The formation of these urban spaces as urbanscapes is an expression of the relationship between the physical form of the city (architecture, arrangement of buildings and so on), material and immaterial resources (movable objects and knowledge), activities and practices, perceptions and atmospheres, as well as the natural geographical and ecological setting of the city itself (Fig. 1).

Cities are places with biographies; they are both the motifs and products of varied and multi-layered developments that reach out from the city’s past to affect and inform its present and influence its future. Today’s cities are the result of multi-layered histories that have been established and informed by different kinds of actions, material arrangements, and mental concepts of the past. Cities exist in process and are therefore perpetually historic: cities have histories, and cities are histories. This historical element of urbanity is well-known, and was for example intensively discussed during the ‘cultural heritage year’ of the European Union in 2018 (‘sharing heritage’). Controversies over the image of cities, urban heritage conservation and urban reconstruction (for example in Dresden) demonstrate this significance. Here we must emphasise not only that the multifaceted ‘European city’ was “a revolutionary foreign entity within the feudal societal order” responsible for the establishment of the bourgeoisie society, but also that our Eurocentric model of the city must now face critical inquiry in terms of the global urban present.

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1. English translation by Rubymaya Jaeck-Woodgate.
3. The European city as “ein revolutionärer Fremdkörper innerhalb der feudalen Gesellschaftsordnung […] die bürgerliche Gesellschaft […] mit der europäischen Stadt entstanden”; Siebel 2018.
4. Lanz 2015.
It seems the people of the pre-modern period had a very precise notion of what constituted a city and its urbanity from the first glance. These notions have remained into the present day, and have an ongoing impact upon our view of the medieval city.

In terms of their built structure, medieval cities seem to be primarily characterised by enclosing walls, the churches and cloisters, the town hall and the marketplaces, as well as a very dense built environment and the co-existence of the working and living space in a single location. The urban ground plan (Fig. 2) of the Hanseatic city Lübeck, a major European urban centre in medieval times, illustrates this just as vividly as the city views of Lübeck produced by Elias Diebel in 1552 and 1574 (Fig. 3).

In the following discussion, we will focus on the medieval city of the 11th and 12th centuries up to the 15th and 16th centuries, drawing on examples from the German speaking regions. Although I partly share in criticism of the model ‘European city’ and the concept of an urban ‘intrinsic logic of cities,’ I am still of the opinion that the cities of the Latin European regions are characterised by shared features and developmental tendencies when viewed from the global, comparative perspective, and it is therefore justifiable to refer to these as ‘European’ cities.

It is not the intention of this article to present the whole development of the city in Europe from the archaeological perspective. The focus will instead be laid firstly upon the genesis of the city, primarily in terms of its establishment as a municipality, and secondly upon the urban space. From the high medieval period on, an increasingly organised body of citizens appeared alongside the city’s lords. This citizenry was thoroughly oligarchical, small in numbers, and became a political factor, whether in cooperation or conflict with the city’s lords and communities.

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1 Johanek 2010.
2 Untermann 2008a; Clarke 2019; Pauly/Stercken 2019; Ayers/Kaner 2020.
3 Kemper/Vogelpohl 2013.
4 Siebel 2012.
This communality differentiates the city of the high- and late medieval periods fundamentally from the pre-municipal city of the early medieval period.

The realisation that space and place are more than a physical expanse with set boundaries and a fixed geographical position was important for both the humanities and sociology in the second half of the 20th century.9 The founders of urban sociology and later of urban studies – M. Weber and G. Simmel, as well as W. Benjamin – had already emphasised space as a significant form of socialisation from their various perspectives by the beginning of the

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9 Vogelpohl 2011.
20th century. However, it was above all the French sociologists H. Lefebvre, P. Bourdieu, M. Foucault, and J. Remy who established, both theoretically and empirically, the idea of the permeation of the social via spatial forms, an idea that laid the foundations for the concept of the spatial turn. In the 1970s to the late 1980s the combination of scholarship on social-theoretical definitions of terms and social theory, particularly in the work of D. Harvey, D. Massey, M. Castells, and E. Soja, facilitated essential insights into the configuration of the urban space, which remain relevant to the theoretical fundament of urban research today. However, in recent decades numerous further approaches have emerged (for example, human-ecological and gender-orientated) so that urban studies is presently characterised by a wide range of disciplinary, methodological and theoretical debates, and proposed definitions. In German scholarship, urban studies shows the particular influence of the spatial-theoretical concept created by M. Löw, which emphasises the tension between the ‘differentiation logic’ (Differenzlogik) of spaces and the ‘inherent logic’ (Eigenlogik) of cities. Along with a strong prioritisation of local contexts, new current research is devoted, amongst other things, to the analysis of the stability of spaces from a praxeological perspective (for example: static/fluid), as well as to the systematic differentiation between space and place, so that the re-figuration(s) of spaces comes to the fore.

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10 Cf. Parker 2015; Löw 2018.
12 Löw/Knoblauch 2019.
1. The medieval period – medieval archaeology – urban archaeology

The ‘medieval’ city – from a global perspective the term ‘medieval’ appears in many ways as obsolete. It is a construct primarily used to refer to the so-called ‘dark ages’ that followed the end of antiquity, and to provide the modern period with a point of connection to the ‘achievements’ of antique culture and society. Traditionally ‘medieval’ is understood in the Latin European regions to refer to the period from ca. 500 to ca. 1500, and furthermore to refer to a culture that was exclusively Christian in nature. This understanding is constantly reflected in overviews of the medieval city, and not only the beginning but also the end of the medieval period are the subjects of scholarly discussion. Terms and concepts such as ‘pre-modern’ are also increasingly used in urban studies. A global-historical perspective highlights the interconnection of numerous worlds. This perspective also makes it clear that the European medieval era also developed its specific characteristics via transcultural contacts, particularly with northern Africa, the near East and central Asia. This should also provide an occasion for archaeological researchers, particularly in German scholarship, to critically assess their concept of the medieval period and replace it with an ‘archaeology of the pre-modern’ or ‘historical archaeology’.

The examination of cities generally, and their historical centres in particular, is not the exclusive territory of either medieval or modern archaeology. Inquiry into the development of medieval cities is however very closely tied to archaeology, since firstly archaeology can offer fundamental insights into those epochs where written sources are few or non-existent, and secondly it can provide a highly significant and multifaceted supplement to written and pictorial sources. Since the beginning of the 20th century, research into the cities of the pre-modern period has been concentrated into two large and mutually connected fields, both within German scholarship and beyond:

1. Local and regional urban history has a particularly strong focus on individual cities and city landscapes, exploring specific constellations, for example, leading groups within the city. This approach characterises not only the earlier urban research of the 20th century, which was more based on historising-economic argumentation patterns, but also runs through the social and ‘everyday’ historical approaches of the 1970s and 1980s (with their social-topographical perspectives) right up to the present day.

2. The situating of urban configurations as expressions of overall social change (and thereby also analysing them from a long-term perspective) is a practice that has been influenced and developed through geographical (R. Park), historical (F. Braudel, H. Pirenne), social-anthropological (G. Sjoberg) and sociological (M. Weber) work. This approach, which has recently also displayed comparative and global-historical trends, is primarily popular in British scholarship and observes urban configurations against the background of phases of social development and theories of social or community change, as well as the base logic of social realities.

Looking at these points of entry, it is easy to differentiate those approaches that highlight the historical uniqueness or ‘evolution’ of a city during one period, and those that focus on comparative urbanisation. German scholarship in medieval urban studies is more characterised by the first approach, and thus the following discussion will be directed more heavily towards the academic historical concept the city.

Historical ‘cities’ are constantly under the spotlight of archaeology, not only in Europe, but also worldwide. In older research the differentiation was sometimes made between urban archaeology and urban-centre archaeology. This meant that the ‘urban centre’ was considered the historical point of origin for the city as a whole, and was therefore also to be considered as highly valuable. Urban archaeo-

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13 Clarke 2009; Ennen 1987; Nicholas 1997a; 1997b.
14 Houston 2018. – Series and journals such as Studies in European Urban History use this term to describe the period between ca. 1100 to ca. 1800 or indeed up to the contemporary period, as in the series published by the Institut für vergleichende Stadtgeschichte/A_Darstellungen.html (29.08.2019) and the Journal of Urban History. See http://www.brepols.net/Pages/BrowseBySeries.aspx?Tre eSeries=SEUH (29.08.2019); https://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/A_Darstellungen.html (29.08.2019); https://journals.sagepub.com/loi/juh (29.08.2019)
15 Fauvelle 2017; Bauer 2018; Holmes/Standen 2018.
16 Jervis 2018a; Müller 2017.
18 Beneš 2012.
19 Altekamp 2016; Sadowski 2017.
logy encompasses the entire city area and ultimately also includes the wider surrounding suburban and outer-urban areas.

One very significant factor for the strengthening of urban archaeology is the intensive pressure for change recognisable in our modern cities. Archaeology can rightly be called the first discipline to register the immediate results of a rapidly growing construction boom.\(^{21}\) This development manifested itself immediately after World War II, as the removal of debris in bombed cities revealed extensive old building structures. In West Germany the Roman foundations of the cities were always the foremost subject of scholarly interest. However, the excavations of destroyed churches also revealed numerous medieval remains. In the 1970s modern city planning impinged increasingly heavily on the structure of medieval cities. A growing number of citizens opposed this and tried to save the naturally evolved structures of the city and the historical evidence contained therein.

In the second half of the 1980s the pace of new building in West Germany slowed. However, with re-unification the historical cities of East Germany pushed their way into the research spotlight. In the urban centres of these historical cities, large and increasingly threatened open areas have survived despite the destruction caused by World War II and the East German concept of re-construction. Excavations over large areas took place in Dresden, Chemnitz, Zwickau, Magdeburg and Stralsund, and later many smaller explorations occurred in small- and medium-sized cities with medieval foundations. With the start of the new millennium, and particularly the financial crisis that raged from 2008 on, this phase of larger-scale inner-city construction projects appeared to come to an end. This appearance however turned out to be a fallacy, as the inner urban centres of metropolitan areas seem to have experienced a new building boom in between. The pressure for change in major development areas such as Munich, Hamburg, and Berlin, as well as in other flourishing regions, seems to be stronger than ever before. Accordingly, the demolishing of older buildings (usually built during the 1950s) in order to replace them with new and more concentrated construction is almost always the most profitable strategy. Because of this trend the preservation of our archaeological heritage is now greatly focused not only upon the development of comprehensive archaeological investigation, but also the erection of protected excavation areas and ‘archaeological windows’ that will keep the excavated structures visible for the public.\(^{22}\)

The high concentration of buildings and population in the inner cities often also leads to new or resumed plans for extensive public transport infrastructure projects, such as new underground garages and new underground train lines. Berlin and Cologne recently initiated large-scale excavations for this purpose (Fig. 4). Yet it is not only transport infrastructure projects that lead to archaeological exploration in the middle of urban centres: there is also the wish to regain the original medieval city structure, and the desire to demolish or dismantle projects originating from the post-war period. Thus in recent years one of the biggest excavations in Germany was carried out in the oldest parts of Lübeck’s historic centre.\(^{23}\) But it is not only such new excavations that have opened up new perspectives on medieval urban development. Also a critical assessment of previous concepts and an interdisciplinary dialogue often provide new insights.\(^{24}\)

The maxim of the initiator- or polluter-principle (‘polluter pays’), has applied to individual cases of archaeological preservation since the 1980s and became an increasingly common practice throughout Germany from the 1990s on. It has provided archaeologists with copious knowledge and physical findings. Archaeology as a discipline is questioning more and more frequently what actually needs to be excavated, and considering whether exemplary explorations targeting specific inquiries are sometimes more expedient. The significant gap between the new information provided by archaeological findings and the temporal or thematic areas of scholarly focus still persists. In this context, some thought must also be given to the question, for example, of whether finds relevant to the early foundation of cities in the 12th century are somehow more significant than evidence of the increasing density of building in the 14th century? One thing is clear: comparative and generalised urban research has different priorities to local or regional urban research focused on particular points of interest. A medieval city is also a pre-

\(^{21}\) Stadtarchäologie 2013.

\(^{22}\) Wemhoff 2018; Wild 2018.

\(^{23}\) Rieger 2019.

\(^{24}\) Kaltwasser/Krieg 2019.
modern city. With the advent of industrialisation the pre-modern city underwent long-lasting changes. The cities adapted to the circumstances of this new period. Yet despite these adaptations it is still important to preserve whatever cultural heritage can still be experienced in such cities, including that which originates from the (by no means ‘dark’) middle ages and the early modern period.25 This heritage shows us the multifaceted interdependence between the past and the present. In this way it builds the foundation for our future.

Urban archaeological research in Germany is organised and carried out by those in charge of archaeological heritage management. In Germany, this office is organised at the state level. Accordingly, there are not only highly varied heritage protection laws, but also different organisational units. The care for urban archaeological work might belong to the overall portfolio of archaeological work in a district or region (this is for example the case in Schleswig-Holstein, where there is no department dedicated specifically to urban archaeological work), or it might have a dedicated department (as, for example, in Sachsen-Anhalt). It may also be organised in communal initiatives for the archaeological research into existing cities (Stadtarchäologien), as is the case in Niedersachsen. Any city has a complex biography, the history of which does not simply end at the current street level (at sea-level or the Höhe Null).26 In Germany, the exploration of urban material historical remains is affected by the division of architecture and art heritage protection on one side, and archaeological heritage protection on the other. This influential division, which was and remains highly affective, is really a child of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even if this division makes some sense methodologically and technically, as well as in terms of specific inquiries and thematic areas, there is still

25 Siebel 2018.

26 Baeriswyl 2000.
an urgent need to get past the Höhe Null: to bridge the gap, as it were, between what lies above the surface and what lies beneath it. Where an archaeological exploration is confronted with older standing built structures, it must cooperate closely with the heritage preservation authorities. The biography of a house, a city quarter, or a whole city does not end at the current street level, but rather necessitates fully integrated consideration and examination.

2. Cities in the medieval period

2.1. The concept of the city and phases of urban development

The attempt to define a concept of the city that is both temporally and spatially universal, and also illustrative of all the relevant scholarly traditions is probably as old as the ‘city’ itself. In-depth discussions comparing the varied criteria and developmental phases of urbanity feature particularly strongly in anglophone scholarship. If we look at German archaeology of the medieval period, we can recognize a historiographical paradigm applied to questions of the development and definition of cities.

Today many associate the phrase Stadluft macht frei nach Jahr und Tag (lit. city air makes you free after a year and a day; this refers to a medieval law to that affect) with the medieval city. This concept is also manifested in the constantly republished graph from Heinz Stoob “Stufen der Stadtentwicklung in Mitteleuropa” (lit: stages of city development in central Europe; Fig. 5). The granting of a town charter and elevation to town status form the criteria and thus we observe a massive increase in the number of cities between 1150/1200 and 1250. The basis for such a strong legal perspective was definitely set down in the extensive 1860 study produced by the Swiss historian Jacob Christoph Burckhardt Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (English title: “The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy”). It was however first and foremost Max Weber who decisively influenced further scholarship. In his famous 1921 essay, Weber presented the fortifications (legal area), the market (economy), and above all the increasingly independent citizenry (autonomy), as characteristic elements of the medieval city. In the 1950s it was Carl Haase who characterised the combined concept of the city: “Nur eine Summe von Kriterien […] kann den Stadtbegriff ausmachen” (“Only the sum of the criteria […] can form the concept of a city”). He saw topography, commerce, demography, law, and the administrative and governing infrastructure as the central criteria to be considered. These perspectives also open up the chance to discuss older urban forms. In the following period there were various attempts to define the medieval city, but the frame of reference was still formed by the late medieval municipal city with its characteristic appearance and institutions. The only ‘representative’ works that should be mentioned here are the broadly received works of Edith Ennen and E. Isenmann. Franz Irsigler did not just extend these criteria, he also gave them a historical dimension with an emphasis on different temporally and regionally stratified city-types. This also led to consideration of further urban models within historical research that do not comply with the typology of the 12th or 13th century municipal city: for example, the Ottonic city. In more recent research, the ‘municipal city’ has been differentiated from the ‘pre-municipal city’ with reference to older scholarship. Behind this approach there lies the question of which forms of socialisation existed before the urban municipality was established.

As different as these definitions are in terms of details, each definition provides a model: in looking for ‘the’ city of medieval Europe, the city around 1200 really comes forward, since this was when many of the criteria mentioned here were first cultivated in the urban environment. Size and population count, legal status and autonomy, the city’s physical form and fortifications as well as its commercial and trade function (Marktfunktion), and the overall centrality and level of urbanity all remain hallmarks of the urban ‘unit’. Accordingly, Monika Escher and Frank Hirschmann set out a point-system for the urban criteria applied to high and late media-

29 Stoob 1979.
30 Lenger 2018.
31 Haase 1957, 22.
32 Johanek/Post 2004.
33 Ennen 1987; Isenmann 2012
34 Irsigler 2010, 63.
35 Herzog 1964.
36 Schich 2007, 239; Ehbrecht 2010.
37 Hirschmann 2005.
val cities, intended to comprehensively present the level of urbanisation observed. The question of the qualitative and quantitative assessment of both these city-forming criteria and the data they provide arises constantly in medieval urban historical research. The abovementioned point-system from Escher and Hirschmann ultimately orientates itself on the presence and intensity of centrally located features. In German scholarship, Walter Christaller’s theory of central places (Theorie der zentralen Orte) has proven quite powerful. Developed in the 1930s as a planning tool, this concept significantly influenced physical planning (among other things) in Germany right into the 1980s. Centrality indicators form the basis for the grading of settlements in terms of elevated significance (Fig. 6). In the medieval period this could for example be the presence of a diocese or a central marketplace. The model of the central places is also very important in terms of historical periods, but it still exhibits some significant limitations. In this case, the model of the homo oeconomicus is assumed. This model must, however, be critically questioned. Here, the fragmentary extant sources present a major problem, as they make it difficult to come to valid and comprehensive conclusions, and so it is also difficult to quantify this data and evaluate it within its given temporal frame.

For some time now, the theory of central places has been placed alongside network concepts. Networks consist of nodes (sometimes also called vertices or hubs) and edges (relations). Networks appear less static, highlight the multidimensionality of actors, and allow analysis across different scales. Thus individual intra-urban actors and groups of actors can be analysed in their web of relationships, and likewise cities can be analysed relative to one another, or in terms of their relationship with their environs. Network analysis currently has a wide range of processes at its disposal allowing for the calculation of centrality and density of networks, as well as examination of their subsections. Here, in addition to using historical data as the starting point for

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40 Müller 2010.
41 Blanchard/Volchenkov 2009.
network analysis, modelling processes are also used. Network analysis can be used to illustrate or describe social groups and inner-city (sub-) spaces, as well as inter-city interactions and interaction between the city and its wider surroundings (Fig. 7). Though the network concept is very powerful, in historical research the question of whether networks are to be used as a metaphor, a tool for analysis, or a theory often remains open. For archaeological data there is often the additional problem of reconciling the spread of objects (for example, ceramics) with the network nodes.

There has been no lack of attempts in German urban studies scholarship to work out different phases and locations for the founding of cities, and to then connect these to various city types. Thus Weber not only produced criteria for the concept of a city and, as an example, defined the ‘consumer city’, he also differentiated the ‘asiatic’ and ‘occidental’ city types of the pre-modern period. Furthermore, Weber utilised economic aspects to facilitate city typification and spoke, for example, about trader-, consumer-, and productive-cities (Händler-, Konsumenten- und Produzentenstadt). The existence of these ideal types cannot, of course, be verified, but they have strongly influenced the field of urban studies. Here it is not just political and commercial, or economic criteria that stand at the fore. A great number of topographical, social, and cultural features have been distilled

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42 Steensel 2016.
43 Müller 2015.
44 Wehner 2019.
45 Sindbaek 2017.
46 Irsigler 2004; Escher/Hirschmann 2005; Blockmans 2012.
47 Selzer 2018b.
from these broader concerns. Thus if we speak about ‘sea-cities’ or ‘port-cities’ (for example, Hamburg) the absolute relevance of location is immediately highlighted. By contrast, the term ‘Hanseatic city’ (applied, for example, to Lübeck) draws immediate attention to that city’s membership in the Hanseatic League as its predominant feature. For diocesan townships (for example, Mainz and Cologne), which often developed on the foundations of far older settlements, especially along the Rhine and Danube, the role of the bishop as lord of the city is brought to the fore. The situation is different again for the mining towns (for example Freiberg and Annaberg) of the late medieval period, which often held special privileges and status. Yet even if the comparative urban histories of different cities emphasise this kind of typification, greater significance is given to the sheer variety of theoretical types, and within these the actual, historical types of cities. In the end any typological observation is insufficient. Spatial and temporal dynamics lead to constant change and developmental leaps in cities. It is precisely the task of archaeology to map out these most easily overlooked stages of a city’s birth.

A further concept named here is the city landscape or ‘web’ of cities (Stadtlandschaften/Städtenetze). These terms refer to the political, cultural, religious or economic influences resulting in spatially more or less definable city landscapes possessing comparable developmental and structural traits. This concept, however, lacks consistency. Thus, using this concept, it is possible to discuss the landscapes of maritime cities on the North- and Baltic Sea coasts in the same way as those of the Hanseatic cities, or to examine cities from the perspective of the transformative processes that took place during the high medieval period in the Baltic Sea region. In opposition to this, the abovementioned city ‘webs’ highlight the multi-dimensionality and dynamic character of the urban ‘mesh’. City ‘webs’ may, for example, form around strategic alliances (based, for example, on commodities traded) or functional aspects. Ultimately, this method of observation is based on the idea of cooperation, as well as shared aims and interests. Conceptually, city systems are placed between the theory of central locations and the theory of city ‘webs’. City systems are groups of cities bound by mutual commercial, cultural, and social relationships. ‘Central locations’, ‘city webs’ or ‘city systems’: when it comes to the pre-modern the question is constantly posed, if and how these terms, which were ultimately developed recently in the discipline of geography, can be transferred and adapted to historical constellations. Yet at the same time, their heuristic quality cannot be questioned. Centrality is actually more of a background factor in current urban history research.

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50 Heit 2000.
In the wake of the *spatial turn* and the reception of practice-theory approaches, questions concerning knowledge, commerce or perceptions form an important field of research in which ‘traditional’ themes such as social topography, urban economies, and power are embedded.

In German scholarship, medieval archaeology has produced exhaustive work on the definition of the city, especially during the period up to the 1970s. The comparison with extant historical data concerning the grounding of a city was considered to be as significant as the discussion of particular street-plans as a sign of urban planning. Here we can observe that archaeological urban research was and indeed still is strongly characterised by the morphological approach that partly dominates urban planning and geographical urban studies: the city plan, the structure of building, the development of land-parcels as the basis for building, the building typology, and the web of development are all thematic areas that could stem from engagement with the material appearance of a settlement. Increasingly large-scale explorations have facilitated analysis of the development of land-plots. The image of blocked parcels of land, which were then reduced through constant division to narrow rectangular ‘hand-towel’ shaped parcels has circulated widely. In terms of actual construction, questions concerning the transition from timber to stone, and to professional building, have played a large role. Themes such as the urban supply of provisions and disposal of waste, craftsmanship and commerce, as well as consideration of churches and cloisters, likewise belong to these broad themes. The question of specifically urban lifestyles has also been discussed in detail, even though little reference was made to the concepts discussed by Louis Wirth or L. Mumford. To summarise: virtually all thematic areas of medieval archaeology are mirrored in medieval urban archaeology. It is obvious that such thematic areas are seldom comprehensively explored in one city. However, long-term excavations provide constant insights into a city, it becomes possible to present the archaeological history of the city alongside the narrative provided by historical research.

Is there a medieval urban archaeological definition of the city? Medieval archaeology has orientated itself on one hand largely around the historical discourse, but on the other hand also around the geographical approach. The historical debate on the city has been and will be decisively influenced by archaeology. Archaeological data can confirm, discredit, and correlate written sources; such data can rarely be identified with the written sources, but it can open entirely new perspectives on those sources. In German scholarship the reception of the theory of central places within pre-historical and early historical archaeology caused a significant widening of the perspective on the formation of medieval cities. For this reason, various different indicators were laid out for centrality (for example, prestige finds and settlement location) through archaeological investigations, in order to describe the functions of the ‘central places’ (for example, commerce and traffic). This pre- and early-historic methodology allowed medieval archaeology to free itself from the criteria of municipal law and cast its gaze back on so-called ‘pre-urban’ or ‘pre-municipal phase’ settlements. It is obvious that cities in particular can only really be described with the aid of archaeological sources via criteria ‘bundles’. A global archaeology, which dedicates itself to urban agglomerations using a diachronic view, is precisely the kind of archaeology that cannot be limited by an administrative-legal concept of the city. Here the question emerges as to what extent we should embrace the approaches of recent urban research.

Altogether German medieval archaeology remains today as previously characterised by a strong fixation upon historical scholarship, and therefore prefers to understand the city in terms of its inherent historical logic (*historischen Eigenlogik*). Anglophone scholarship, however, appears more open to theoretical approaches. Thus new processual, “urban scaling” approaches have been developed in American research in particular. R. Cesaretti and others have used mathematical models of the laws governing the connections between city size, demo-
graphy and the urban organisational structure to critically inquire into the influence of typical medieval institutions such as guilds, the church, and municipal organisations. They are more of the opinion that “throughout history [people] share common principles of organization that self-consistently relate their socioeconomic networks to structured urban spaces”. A model presented recently by M. E. Smith aims to show that “demographic processes of population growth and settlement nucleation (aggregation and urbanization) lead to increased energized crowding”. Alternatively, B. Jervis has engaged with the theory of assemblage. In this theory, the city is understood as a fabric or framework, as the result of connections that form new features and capacities through their interaction and in this way stabilise or destabilise social-material realities. A (human) ecological understanding can observe the city as a complex system and part of a ‘metabolism’, as reflected in concepts such as the ‘urban metabolism’ or ‘resilience’.

2.2. On the way to the ‘municipal’ city

Cities are dynamic entities that are subject to constant transformation. Notably, Heiko Steuer has, in various contributions, discussed the different constellations, phases and spaces of a city’s founding. With a clear focus on economic parameters and the conditions surrounding the leadership and ruling class, Steuer differentiated certain categories.

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63 Cesaretti et al. 2016.
64 Smith 2019.
65 Jervis 2018b.
66 Färber 2014.
67 Hall/Balogh 2019.
68 Endreß/Clemens/Rampp 2020.
69 Steuer 2004.
contributing the founding of a city in the period “around 800” (“um 800”); “market” (“Markt”), “feudal centre of production” (“grundherrschaftliches Produktionszentrum”), “border trade centre” (“Grenzhandelsplatz”) and “Roman city” (“Römerstadt”) (Fig. 8). The question of migration and permanent settlement has also long been considered, and not just in the field of archaeology, regardless of whether it is a migration ca. 1200, ca. 1300, or one spanning from antiquity into the medieval period. The city is a dynamic process and because of this a praxeological and actor-centred analysis can open our eyes to the ‘polyphony’ of these migrations.

Overall it is not just the all-embracing discussion about transition from late antiquity to the early medieval period, but also the Merovingian and early Carolingian periods up to the late 8th and early 9th century that are marked out by dynamics for which archaeological investigation is of particular importance. The emporia on the North- and Baltic Sea coasts gained great attention from the 1950s onwards, and there is now little question of their urban character. However, with the exception of the Roman cities, research focused only much later on inland locations as the starting point for the founding of high medieval urban centres. Historical research in particular has long taken the lack of relevant written sources to indicate that no real urban organisational structures developed inland, and have identified these locations more with village-like structures and the term villa.

However, the cities of the 11th and 12th centuries hardly correspond to the concepts, the images and the narratives about the late medieval city. Thus, archaeologists may also not adopt the categories of a late medieval city when interpreting the features from the 11th or 12th century. In addition, the emergence of the city must also be seen against the background of power and domination. Archaeologically, this can also be seen in the appearance of the many castles or in the process of village development (“Verdorfung”) between the 11th and 13th centuries. When towns are “founded”, when planning steps become visible, this also indicates power and domination.

All of these many (and not always successful) paths culminated in the 12th and 13th centuries with a process of change that ended provisionally ca. 1200, and resulted in a new structural model of urban development and society. These transformations were as much an expression of the intrinsic logic of urban environments as of broader social changes. Types with both municipal and feudal connotations manifest themselves in urbanscapes. Thus the urban space, from the late 12th and 13th century on, oscillated between these two poles. In more recent scholarship the period ca. 1200 (seen as an extension of the 12th century) has and will be seen as a moment in which certain growing ideas about the city as an entity took shape, and manifested themselves as material arrangements.

2. 2. 1. Examples

In the following examples, cities will be presented that display differences in their roots and intrinsic logics, despite sharing some developmental similarities (Fig. 9). For this purpose, we have chosen cities located in the former Roman territories (Cologne and Zurich), cities founded during the Carolingian expansion into the north-west (Paderborn), cities that represent probable examples of specific ‘settlement-politics’ (Gründungspolitik) (Freiburg), cities set in the contexts of natural resource acquisition (Freiberg) and commercial networks (Lübeck), and ‘twin-cities’ (Brandenburg).

Cologne, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany (Fig. 10–11)

Roman cities such as Cologne, Augsburg, or Regensburg were unquestionably important centres of the Roman provinces and are highly significant for archaeological research. During the centuries-long transition from Roman to medieval city, the differences between the two types of cities became particularly clear, as did the distinctive hallmarks of a medieval city. While in Trier the medieval city never equalled the surface area of the ancient urban centre, in the year 1200 Cologne extended far beyond the walled area of the old Roman city. Thus in the year 1106, the people of Cologne excavated an almost 3.2 kilometre long defensive ditch in approximately 12 to 16 weeks. This involved the moving of ca.

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71 Henning 2007.
73 Igel 2013; Untermann 2018.
About 70 years later the citizens of Cologne began extending these defences with a new city wall that ran for a good eight kilometres and increased the surface area of Cologne by 390 hectares. These gigantic building measures are evidence of the pursuit of emancipation from the ecclesiastical lords of the city. Crucially, they were supported by the Emperor Friedrich I Barbarossa. Since these measures could really only be the result of a consensus between various groups within the city (given their financial, as well as infrastructural and legal significance), they also represent a consensual, communal decision-making process.

The urban structure is just as important as the city’s overall surface area. Polycentric development followed upon the clearly structured Roman city based on known schemata, though a certain number of the pre-existing infrastructural provisions were maintained (road networks and drainage). At the city limits the arterial road, which is lined for the first few kilometres with tombs, is of special significance. The establishment of new religious institutions combined with the homage paid at the tombs of Christian martyrs made this area a new urban centre. The imposing churches and cloister buildings here characterise the built environment of Cologne to this day. Exploring the mutual influences and mutual growth of these diverse focal centres of urban development into an integrated urban framework is one of archaeology’s most important tasks. Large excavations in the vicinity of St Severin have in fact produced substantial new discoveries revealing these processes. Looking at the territories of the old Roman Empire, we find widespread evidence in-
Fig. 10 Cologne/D. Growth phases of the city. I Roman city; II Late Antique expansion and early medieval council; III Circuit of the city walls from 1106; IV Staufen city wall (Höltken 2016 250 Fig. 6).

Fig. 11 Cologne, religious building from the Merovingian to Ottonic periods (Höltgen 2016, 248 Fig. 4).
indicating the extension of urban settlements. The propositions of older scholarship – that this pattern of settlement and expansion was severed when the empire ended, or that the early medieval elite had no knowledge of or desire for urbanity – can no longer be reasonably defended. Rather than a sharp interruption or collapse in urban development, we can observe highly influential traditions co-existing with innovation.

\[ \text{Zürich, Switzerland (Fig. 12–13)} \]

Zürich, located in Switzerland on Lake Zürich at the source of the River Limmat, is a paradigmatic example of the establishment of a city long before any municipal status was granted.\(^7\) There is evidence of oppida, as well as fortresses and civilian settlements built on the location of the later city dating from the Celtic and Roman periods. The fortified central settlement survived into the early medieval period. During the Carolingian period there are six demon-

\[^7\] Jansen 2013; Wild 2018.
strable focal points for new settlement, distributed on both sides of the River Limmat and representing various groups of actors. The Fraumünster convent and the Großmünster monastery are religious focal points, but are nonetheless closely bound to the city's secular rulers. The parish church of St. Peter and the relevant settlements, some of which date from the Carolingian period, bring us into connection with commercial- and trade-settlements. The late antique fortress on the Lindenhof was the seat of an aristocratic palace. Possessing this seat allowed Zürich to become an important foothold or base in Alamannia and catapulted the city into the same league as other European centres. We know that the city held the right to strike, mint and issue coinage, and had a market from at least the 10th century. The written sources indicate the polycentric structure of the settlement with the designation in Turogo, and likewise with descriptions of a villa, a vicus, and a castrum or curtis, as well as a monasterium. The question of whether this agglomeration, which stretched for roughly 500 metres along either side of the River Limmat, already had a protective wall remains controversial. Over the next 100 to 200 years the polycentric structure does not exhibit any great changes, but there are visible defensive measures dating from this period, as well as extensive fortifications around the palace complex. Fundamental changes did however occur between the final years of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. The most obvious of these is a series of fortifications that enclosed virtually the entire urban space, and largely reflected the later circuit of the city walls. We also know that whenever the written sources begin to refer to a location using the term oppidum as opposed to civitas, this indicates a new level of urbanity. In Zürich’s case the early secular and monumental stone buildings demonstrate this shift as clearly as the written sources do. In the pre-municipal phase of the early 12th century the inhabitants of Zürich were referred to as burgenses or urbani, and offices for ruling or leading positions in the city’s governance and administration were also named. With the destruction of the city castle on the Lindenhof in 1218, the seat of political power in Zürich moved permanently into the core urban settlement. Zürich became an imperial city and built a full circuit of city-walls, which nonetheless enclosed an urban area still characterised (as it had always been) by large open areas.
Paderborn, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany (Fig. 14)

Charlemagne expanded the Frankish empire after achieving victory in his protracted campaign in the Saxon territories. He named Paderborn as the centre of the new territory and built the town up as a royal residence. Comprehensive excavations of the palace area were carried out in the 1960s, and these excavations were evaluated and the results presented during the 1990s. Therein we have a complete and detailed record of the architectural and urban development of this town from Carolingian palace complex to the new Ottonic construction carried out under Bishop Meinwerk (1009–1036). The comprehensive urban-archaeological investigations carried out since 1994 can now also present all the findings from Paderborn in a much wider context. They show that the settlement structure during the Carolingian period differed from the structure prevalent in the 11th century, but above all demonstrate the radical changes of the 12th century. The settlement beyond the Carolingian Domburg is characterised by village-like structures set in large open areas, and wide expansion into the surrounding countryside. There is no evidence of an outer boundary, and equally little evidence of denser building or population in the vicinity of the Domburg. At the beginning of the 11th century the appearance of the location was altered considerably by the construction of two new religious institutions, the Abdinghof Benedictine cloister, and the Busdorf church and monastery.

Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg, Germany (Fig. 15–16)

The city of Freiburg, located in the Oberreinental, possesses wide-ranging significance for historical research. On the basis of its regular street grid Freiburg was always considered a prototype of the so-called ‘Zähringen foundations’ (Zähringischen

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76 Gai 2018; Spiong 2018.
77 Kaltwasser/Krieg 2019.
Gründungstadt78, supposedly created in an open field according to an official act of establishment and planning. In 1120, Konrad of Zähringen granted the privilege of market rights. This was often regarded as the starting signal for the town, because there is no archaeological evidence of the so-called „Wiehre“ settlement, which was mentioned in 1008. Since the 1980s systematic archaeological excavations brought evidence that substantial suburban structures already existed before 1120. From the late 11th and early 12th centuries, archaeology can reconstruct stages of urban planning. There is evidence of an settlement from the end of the 11th century. This “civitas Friiburch” was located below the castle of Bertold II of Zähringen. It has been pointed out that the town and castle of Freiburg – situated on the Schlossberg – may have been founded at the same time.79 The first settlement in Freiburg’s old town was established in an area that had previously been completely unused.

A second phase followed, extending largely outside the first settlement. Here, too, the building activities took place on a previously unused area. The street system and the numerous stone houses of the time from 1120/1124 are characteristic features. Systematic development can also be recognized from the plot sizes. The so-called “Freiburger Hofstättenmaß” (50 × 100 feet) will probably already have been used in this period. In addition, there was the erection of a town wall. With a length of 2.2 km, it covered an area of 30 hectares and thus potential development terrain. The construction of the town wall was at the same time linked with a massive inter-

78 Baeriswyl 2011.
79 Baeriswyl 2019, 54.
vention in the older settlement. From an archaeological point of view, both of these factors indicate that this second planning phase is an active part of the process of founding a city. This can probably be connected with the establishment of the market by Konrad in 1120. In the succeeding period the city actually developed according to a long-lasting plan with new streets and land plots, still observable in the city today. The transformation of Freiburg that occurred around 1180–1190 also saw the establishment of the city’s network of streams, which still exists, intended to provide service water to the population.

Freiberg, Sachsen, Germany (Fig. 17–18)

The ‘Bergstadt’ Freiberg dates from the discovery of the silver deposits found between 1168–1170 in the Christiansdorf village area – this location is probably part of the Berggasse today. The name Freiberg first appears in documentation from 1218. In barely 20 years the relevant area was separated from the property of the local cloister and built up into a mining- and market-city with massive support from the nobility. The old city lies on a plateau that rises between 380 to 408 metres towards the south. The city’s early history can be quite precisely reconstructed from both historical and archaeological data. A settlement of mining people (civitas Saxoniae, 1241) is suspected to have existed from 1168 on, in what would become the north-eastern part of the city, either around the former Donatskirche or the Jakobikirche. It seems the settlement displayed strong urban characteristics from the very

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80 Hoffmann/Richter 2012; Tolkosdor et al. 2018.
Fig. 17 Freiberg/D. Appearance of the city quarter (Hoffmann/Richter 2012, 113 Fig. 52).

Fig. 18 Freiberg/D. Upper city with the location of the 12th century Holzstraße (Hoffmann/Richter 2012, 119 Fig. 56).
The “Burglehensiedlung” (lit. ‘Burglehen-settlement’) between the castle and the site of the later cathedral formed a further focal point for development, along with another core settlement around the church of St. Nikolai. At around 32 hectares, this surface area was considerably larger than that of comparable mining cities such as Dippoldiswalde (7.2 hectares), Treppenhauer bei Sachsenburg (11.7 hectares), or Jihlava (23 hectares). Because of the rapid growth of the city, the Oberstadt or ‘upper city’ was established to extend the overall surface area by around 19 hectares – this was certainly an initiative from the city’s ruling lords. Here in the upper city we see planned construction dating from the 1180s, with a further, step-by-step increase in the density of construction (also observable in the old city), and this makes a precise reconstruction of the original ground plan problematic. The early settlement development of this city was characterised by the rapid growth of different parts of the settlement (for example, the old city), that ceased with the construction of the upper city around the end of the 12th century at the latest. The example of Freiberg is an ideal example for discussion of the tension between the naturally evolved city on the one hand, and the planned city (in the sense of pre-determined planning) on the other. Last but not least, the example of Freiberg will allow to discuss what actually characterizes a mining town from an archaeological point of view.

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81 Hoffmann/Richter 2012, 113
The city of Lübeck lies around 17 kilometres from the Baltic Sea (Ostsee). Lübeck is a ‘hot-spot’ for both historical and archaeological research, where it is possible to follow an almost paradigmatic example of the development of a high medieval port city, as well as that of a Hanseatic city displaying a highly specific form of urbanity. According to the written sources, the city was founded in 1143 by Adolf II von Schauenburg. Following a fire documented in 1158, the city was rebuilt by Heinrich den Löwen and became the so-called Löwenstadt. Over time, Lübeck developed into an important centre, not only for the Baltic Sea region, but also for global trade. In 1226 Lübeck acquired the status of an imperial free city, but the period of Danish rule between 1201 and 1227 also provided a decisive impetus for the city’s journey towards becoming the ‘queen of the Hanseatic League’. Both historians and archaeologists have proposed many highly varied envisionings of the city’s early development. There is evidence of three core areas from the mid-12th century. The cathedral (ca. 1160) stands to the south of the old city island, to the north there is the castle (ca. 1143) of the region’s ruling lords. There has long been suspicion that a ‘civic’ (bürgerlich) settlement existed on the River Trave, however there is still no earlier evidence for this.

The excavations that took place between 2009 and 2016 have provided a much more complete picture. Now we know a settlement was established ca. 1143 on a protected and yet geographically convenient (especially in terms of transportation) plateau by the River Trave with potential mooring sites. This settlement may also have had an even earlier forerunner. We can in any case observe that the establishment of the settlement in 1143 displays signs of being a planned construction, with main buildings constructed in grand style along the streetfront and further infrastructure such as walls, ditches and a market. It also appears that the architecture from the Schauenburg period resulted more from individual, private initiatives, while the buildings constructed in the later phase (second half of the 12th century) appear fully standardised. The orientation of the land plots facing the River Trave, and therefore towards the future port (at this time probably a simple mooring place), is notable.

All in all, there are clear signs of an overall concept that extends beyond the individual properties, since under Adolf II there seems to have been an expansion of the settlement (or perhaps even the establishment of a structured settlement) with the land divided into blocks. Taken altogether, these measures could be interpreted as signs of a master-
plan that was already aimed at expansion from the first founding of the city, and ultimately encompassed the whole island of the old city. Next to the transport routes and defensive capacities, potential settlement areas that could facilitate expansion played a fundamental role in the choice of a city’s location. This is also evident when observing the city’s further development. Here the settlement extended to the south and north, and then encompassed the entire hill of the old city. Parallel to this, from the 13th century on there were extensive land reclamation activities on the River Trave. During the 12th and above all the 13th century, churches and cloisters, as well as a new central market and the town hall built at the apex of the old city island all mark the transition to a municipal city. The full fortification of the city was completed no later than ca. 1218.

**Brandenburg, Brandenburg, Germany (Fig. 21–22)**

This form of emergence from many localised centres also characterises the city of Brandenburg. This location is marked out by a Slavic castle complex dating from early medieval times. In the year 928 the city became an episcopal seat (diocese) following the victory of Heinrich I over the Slavs, and was also established as the seat of the relevant margrave. After being reconquered by the Slavs in 987, Brandenburg retained its function as a central settlement. With the final occupation of the city by the Ascanian margraves in 1157 expansion began, still supported in the following period by various individual nobles. Besides the ruling margraves, there were also the burggraves and the bishop with his chapterhouse. After 1157 there were also many new formations evident in the earlier settlements on the

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Fig. 21 Brandenburg/D. Suburban settlement framework ca. 1130–1170 (Müller 2016, 323 Fig. 2).
cathedral island and around the Gotthardikirche; of these, the ‘old city’ and ‘new city’ still strongly characterise Brandenburg’s image today. Today only the Nicolaikirche outside the city walls provides evidence for the founding of another city. Despite decades of systematic urban archaeological investigation, the exact temporal progression from the old city to the new city has still not been confirmed. This clearly shows that when we speak about ‘old’ and ‘new’, it does not necessarily imply a large temporal gap between the two.

2.2.2. Outcomes

The examples presented here should not be taken as an exhaustive illustration of the historical complexity of urban spaces. Here we are largely dealing with polycentric, multi-cored settlements that were either more closely or less closely connected to one another. It is very clear that these cities exhibited urban structures and functions, and offered space for differentiated social, commercial and religious communal life. The changes demonstrated via archaeological investigation – planning, increased urban density,
the re-structuring of the city as a whole or in part – had all also taken place in the centuries before. Thus, in cities like Cologne or Zürich there is evidence of city walls dating from the 11th and the 12th centuries, which brought Steuer to pose the question of “whether there was a difference between the city walls ca. 1000 and the city walls ca. 1200”. This question is in no way banal, in that it reaches well beyond the architectural and functional aspects of the structure, targeting the symbolic entity or mental evaluation of the human built environment. City castles, churches and cloisters can provide similar stimulus.

Even if the granting of a town charter represents a decisive moment in the process of a city’s establishment, this legal act is often preceded by many other steps. A town charter does not make a city into a city. It was the commune or municipality that became the body responsible for the city via the granting of a town charter. New corporate social entities were to prove their influence. These reveal themselves as early as the 11th and early 12th century in north-western Europe and Italy. As commercial trading communities with special market- and tax rights these were an important building block on the way to establishing a municipal commune. The impulse towards ecclesiastical reform was another active element in this process. Particularly in cathedral cities such as Mainz or Speyer, this impulse incorporated the concept of consensual rule.

In the 12th century civitas was conferred upon other forms of settlements. In the German sources the terms *stat* or *stede* steadily replace *burg*. It appears that increasing consistency can therefore also be observed in the terminology and its underlying mental and architectural concepts. Previously, loosely connected settlements would often be grouped together structurally as a single urban area, even though the legal independence of those settlements was not always dissolved. The *universitas civium*, meaning the whole citizenry, became a general term used for the interaction of various groups from the late 12th century on. Intra-urban organisation achieved a new level towards the end of the 12th century through the establishment of the communes. With the “council as the new communal leaders and rulers cooperation [could] be achieved”. The urban leadership committees (*Führungsgremien*), made up for example from clerics, noblemen, and the middle class, were the decisive actors in this case. We must not imagine this evolving urban leadership in the sense of modern democracy or participative structures. It was naturally based upon an elite minority.

Despite the variety of early urban levels of development across many locations, the explosion in urban development that took place during the 12th and 13th centuries remains a unique occurrence that has influenced Europe to this day. From this time on, a canon regarding urban development appears to manifest itself, which often led to, or otherwise caused, a fundamental restructuring of the urban space. On one hand, innovations can be found here that had never existed in this form before. These included administrative institutions like town halls, new economic centres such as marketplaces or *Kaufhallen* (lit. trading or shopping concourses), religious and charitable architecture, particularly of the new mendicant orders, but also parish churches and church graveyards. In addition to this came comprehensive earthworks such as land reclamation, land levelling and changes to the structure of land plots. Perhaps in summary we can say: innovation is really the dynamic of the process, a concentration and an acceleration that only becomes possible through integration in the form of the *universitas civium*. It appears that, at least in Latin Europe, a consensus developed as to what a city should be. In their concrete materialisation, these urban arrangements also represent an expression of the social concept of order. The transformation of the 12th and 13th centuries is therefore simultaneously an expression of social differentiation. Likewise, the formation of the civil commune should not blind us to the fact that even after the shift to commune and municipality the city was still the territory of ecclesiastical and secular urban lords.

3. The urban design

3.1. City plans and city planning

In view of the apparent regularity of the street grid and land parcelling in some medieval cities (for example, Hanseatic cities on the Baltic sea coast, and the so-called ‘Zähringen foundation cities’ (*Zähringische Gründungsstädte*) the question of whether we should look for some kind of ‘ordering hand’ arises quite
strongly. It can be suggested that this ‘hand’ was not only responsible for the foundation and expansion of the city, but also worked according to a broader master-plan. This suggestion is, however, largely underpinned by ideas and concepts of urban planning that really belong to the modern and contemporary eras. In contrast to this, the metaphor of the ‘naturally evolved city’ (the *gewachsene Stadt*) suggests an unplanned and uncontrolled growth.

In discussing the establishment of a city, planned cities and city planning, we must recognise that these are three extremely different concepts. The establishment of a city is a formal, legal act. The establishment of a city was recorded from at least the 13th century (and possibly earlier) in official documentation confirming the city’s new status. Planned cities are cities that were originally planned in their entirety and also ultimately built according to that plan with very little deviation. Alongside the Roman planned cities, we know of others dating first and foremost from the early modern period (Mannheim, for example). City planning can be understood as a general term for any planning affecting all or part of a city. The term therefore implies a specific aim as regards both the form and formation. Archaeological investigation shows that there have been a large number of targeted interventions and measures for guidance and control in the history of urban development. In the course of such interventions and measures, planning concepts must have been imposed, and a large amount of surveying work undertaken. In this process the religious basis for the ‘ideal city’ and its foundation in contemporary thought and philosophy played an exceptional role, but one that is often difficult to precisely ascertain. The principles behind planning processes have only been rudimentarily ascertained up to this point. Planned cities built ‘from the drawing board’ or according to the ideal concepts of the ruling parties were in any case extremely rare. Thus archaeology can demonstrate that supposedly planned cities in central Europe like Freiburg in Breisgau, but also Brandenburg (Fig. 21), actually had pre-existing settlements and were by no means simply established in a single stroke. Likewise, urban archaeology has clearly shown that the networks of streets and land plots that supposedly date from the establishment of the city actually reflect much earlier developments. The narrow plots of the high medieval period and the closed or sealed street fronts must therefore be understood as the result of later divisions of plots as well as an increased density of construction: in short, these are later, ongoing developments. Many city quarters were also first developed following land-levelling or reclamation measures taken after the official establishment of the city.

Every individual and collective building activity in a city is based on planning. City planning is a process of negotiation between various actors, and also represents a confrontation with the topographical disposition of the site and any pre-existing structures. If plots of land are defined after land reclamation work, and regular, standardised buildings are then built on these plots, this is as much an expression of an overall urban planning process as the construction of city walls or the installation of a communal water supply system. What is important here is that we do not imagine such measures to be exclusively initiated and controlled from above, by the city’s ruling parties. Rather, we must consider that there was also a process of negotiation between the different actors involved. The image of the city is formed by both the hierarchical planning and decision-making processes (undertaken, for example, by the king or local lords) and the practices that take place in the city itself (for example, those of merchants or craftsmen). Processes of city planning are particularly identifiable between the 11th and 13th centuries. Thus in the late 12th and 13th centuries it was common for older and often larger land-plots to be re-distributed or re-zoned. The use of property is characterised here by division, letting, and sales, which demonstrate the individual’s economic control over their land. The excavations in Freiburg in Breisgau provide a typical example of how land plots that were originally extremely irregular and unique were developed into various land parcelling structures by later processes of division and re-distribution (Fig. 23). In Paderborn we can observe an aggressive planning process dating from the final years of the 12th century. Until the middle of the 12th century, the Domburg was surrounded by a deep, wide quarry. When the city walls were built, this area was filled and reclaimed (probably using the material excavated while digging the new city moat) and thereafter divided into land plots.

The structures developed during this period form the basis for property development right up to

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Fig. 23 Freiburg/D. Development of the land-plot at Salzstraße 20, view from the south-east. 1 ca. 1100; 2 ca. 1130; 3 ca. 1170; 4 ca. 1302; 5 ca. 1560; 6 ca. 1767 (Müller/Wemhoff 2019, 397 Fig. 4).
the present day. Land plots or parcels, even though they could be divided or combined, thereby became a characteristic norm of a city's genesis. However, as the smallest unit of ground-space within the city, land plots definitely confront archaeologists and historians with problems. Here questions arise as to ownership and usage rights, since those land plots identified via archaeological investigation may not actually be synonymous with any legal attribution of ownership (i.e.: 'possession' of that plot). Fortunately in some cities such as Cologne comprehensive medieval archives have survived, which allow us to concretely identify the owners and users of individual plots of land. Without these sources, any distinction that could support, for example, a social-archaeological interpretation would be difficult to determine. Here though another question definitely arises, that of whether and how the interventions from the ruling parties on one hand and communal negotiations on the other might appear in the archaeological record. Are apparently irregular street routes a sign of negotiations, or simply of extended development over time? By contrast, is a regular street route a sign of some authoritarian decision? How should we evaluate the changes in the structuring of land-plots? Yet the planning of a city encompasses much more than this, even: cities are established as cities in the imagination and through the imagination of people. Such mental concepts, right up to the concept of utopias, are fed by culturally specific realms of knowledge and experience. They constitute urban identities, which themselves feed back into the material and social dimensions of urbanity.

3.2. Densification and extension

The phenomenon of further urban densification is not an exclusive feature of the modern period. In the medieval period urban space was also limited. Even though both pre-municipal and high medieval cities often appear to have left open areas (not only on their peripheries), and had clearly planned for a certain about of growth, this space often still proved insufficient in the succeeding years. Before any labour-intensive extension of the city limits was undertaken, all available space within the existing city would be used. Large open areas only remained when they belonged to a church or cloister and were therefore protected from any conversion or construction. Outside of such protected areas streets were quickly characterised by 'closed' or continuous building facades. Former entryways to plots of land were built over. The streetscape became widely closed off, and inner-city garden areas often disappeared.

When these measures were no longer sufficient, sites for new construction had to be created. Land reclamation was significant for this purpose. City ditches were filled in and uneven areas were levelled. However, archaeological investigation also reveals wide-range extension of the city limits. The strategies used to obtain more land were varied. Despite their many differences, Konstanz in the south and Lübeck in the north share an unusual feature: both cities were extended by building over water, namely over the Bodensee in Konstanz, and over the River Trave in Lübeck. In both cases the measures taken included the use of massive amounts of timber to create a secure substratum, as well as using earth and debris or waste as landfill. Planning for such measures and organisation of the actually construction would have been indispensable in these cases. In Konstanz, the planning and organisation can be traced back to different actors. In this case the bishop held both the feudal and sovereign rights to the port and the market. As the land reclamation measures progressed on the Bodensee, the Heilig-Geist hospital (before 1225) and the town hall (ca. 1282) were built, along with two civil establishments built on the reclaimed land that were probably also under the bishop's control (Fig. 24).

In addition, both examples emphasise how closely urban extension and the building of city walls are connected. Following the land reclamation measures in Lübeck, the city walls enclosed the whole of the old city island (Fig. 19). In Konstanz, by contrast, the extensions all took place within the existing circuit of the city walls. The new building sites had been used as port- and market-space from the last third of the 12th century on, and were then systematically built over. This type of large-scale construction presented both logistical and economic challenges. At the same time, they constituted a 'prestige' act, which allowed the lords of the city to materially present their concern for urban development.

Urban settlement areas were not only extended through internal enlargement. The intentional creation of new suburbs, which sometimes had their own town charter and the absorption of pre-existing
Fig. 24.1 Konstanz/D. The waterfront ca 1000 (Heiligmann/Röber 2011, 34).

Fig. 24.2 Konstanz/D. The waterfront ca 1300 (Heiligmann/Röber 2011, 34).
outer-urban settlements also increased the overall size of the city. These new suburbs/settlements were legally quite independent. Cities did however often outgrow the circuit of their outer walls. Different kinds of settlement structures often established themselves just outside these walls. These outer areas were however complex both in terms of their nomenclature and their functionality. They could become a fully integrated and legally equal part of the city as urban development progressed, or they could remain dependent.

3. 3. Images of the city: building and architectonic arrangements

The urban space was as varied as the city itself. Monumental architecture such as palaces, cathedrals, chapter houses and castles stood next to multi-level representative homes built from stone or timber. Simple shacks alternated with standardised architecture, which stood with either gable or eaves to the streetfront and thereby closed it off in a continuous facade. Open areas, squares, and markets were nodal points in a network of streets and alleys. This dynamic is varied. It is visible in the different building materials used, and in the buildings themselves. Timber was the dominant building material well into the 12th and 13th centuries, and during this period stone walls and glazed windows were reserved for important, representative buildings, particularly those associated with rulers or the church. Archaeological research has presented us with many examples of secular timber architecture over time. Log construction (Blockbau), framing construction (Rahmenbau) and post-and-beam construction (Ständer- Gehindebau) are all simultaneously present well into the 13th century. The abilities of this period's carpenters were just as visible in the early, sometimes multi-level constructions dating from the late 12th century in Lübeck, as they were in the oldest extant professionally constructed buildings that manifested the mastery of carpentry work from the 13th century: these include dendro-dates buildings from Esslingen (1262), Bad Wimpfen (1266), Göttingen (1276), and Quedlinburg (1289). In the north the transition to secular brick buildings, apart from in monumental architecture, represents a deeply significant break. According to the newest discoveries this change is already visible from as early as the third quarter of the 12th century. These finds demonstrate the symbolic currency of the new materials.

The usage of stone increased considerably wherever natural stone was easy to procure. The first urban secular buildings built using stone date from the 12th and 13th centuries. In south-west Germany there is evidence of stone buildings dating from the 12th century in cities such as Schwäbisch Gmünd, Villingen and Freiburg, likewise in Switzerland, for example in Basel and Zürich. In the middle- and lower Rhine valley there are also secular stone buildings in urban contexts that date from the 12th and 13th centuries. These romanesque stone buildings create an elite urban atmosphere. They often contained three or four floors, and with the exceptional of the uppermost floors, they were massively built. Rusticated stone ashlers on the corners emphasise the monumentality of the building. Access to the residential floors was usually provided by separate outer staircases, while the darker ground floor was accessible at street level. As tower-houses built gable-side to the streetfront, they often appear in prominent locations. Built on defined, often walled plots of land, they indicate the presence of pre-municipal groups such as the lower and higher nobility or ecclesiastics, but also increasingly of important middle-class citizens. The more modest variation of this type of house, built in stone, can be found in many ‘merchant’ cities in Westfalen and northern Germany. These houses were not positioned representatively directly on the streetfront, but were rather built towards the rear of the plot. Here one great advantage of stone houses is clear: they protect the goods stored in them far better from fire. Representation did not always come before functionality.

In terms of the internal structure of high medieval stone and timber buildings, we can usually only glean sufficient information for serious consideration where there is very well-preserved evidence and where the upper structure has also survived. Though open fireplaces were initially dominant during this period, from the 12th and 13th century on closed heating ovens with chimneys were standard in urban middle-class homes. Hot air, or ‘radiant’ heating was found more often in large-scale installations such as town-halls or cloisters. The functional internal division of the home into work spaces, offices, parlours, living rooms and bedchambers, usually achieved by internal timber walls, could be further refined with niches for sitting, paintings, and fireplaces or tiled stoves. Rendering using left-over paint, as well as painted beams, provide evidence of a domestic
Fig. 25 Model of a mercants' townhouse (Dielenhaus) (Europäisches Hansemuseum 2016, 35).
culture that was not exclusively orientated towards the aristocracy. The findings from ca. 1300 in Zürich, Konstanz, and Lübeck in particular give us a clear view of the city house as canvas for secular wall paintings. A classic exemplary form of building in the northern German regions is the late medieval Dielenhaus, divided into a merchant’s cellar and residential cellar with a spacious hall in the front part of the building, and then more floors following above (Fig. 25). In the rear section of the house there was a large salon and bower, as well as further residential wings. This ‘ideal type’ could easily be adapted to the social status and functional requirements of its inhabitants. This type of house was favoured by craftsmen and tradesmen, as well as those involved in long-distance commerce.

3. 4. Doing Urbanity: social variety and its spaces

The variety of medieval lifestyles is reflected precisely and paradigmatically in medieval urban spaces, and in the research into these spaces. A city is formed and re-formed over and over again as a distinctive or special social locale through the exercising of social practices in a material space. This was of course also true for the other forms of settlement, but the intensity and density of the urban form of settlement was nonetheless something new. This was the shared understanding that the inhabitants of the city developed by living together in a dense and varied community, through their experiences, competencies, intentions and ideas. Uncounted practices became interwoven with one another and formed a particular urban lifestyle. ‘Doing urbanity’ encompasses both the experience and the act and refers to different forms of interaction involving varied levels of complexity:

- movement as a central benchmark for the perception and definition of space;
- habitus as a mode of the incorporated physical- and role-concepts that become influential within the urban space;
- everyday and extraordinary actions;
- ritualised and performative acts;
- and lifestyles.

Lifestyles, as a spatially and temporally structured pattern of human life, are dependent upon the form of the family and the household, its material and cultural resources, and it values. The actions that characterise, influence or change the urban space might be singular, but are often marked out by their repetitiveness and patterns. These are in turn based on the practical or discursive, implicit or explicit knowledge of the actors involved. Initially we must imagine the actor as a genuine individual who draws his actions from other actors or the urban space itself, but we must then also progress to considering groups of actors and the supra-individual actor. These definitions can be expanded, in that both materiality (in the form of building arrangements) and immaterial manifestations such as the ‘urban atmosphere’ influence and guide human actions. Urban forms of action therefore overlap with questions concerning urban arrangements and urban atmospheres. Action in the urban space can thus be described as a network-constellation, yet what we are really dealing with is a phenomenon of interaction in which various actors, involved in various action-constellations within a materially constructed space, take part.

Stadtluft macht frei (lit. ‘city air makes you free’), was the apparent wording of that winning formula, which granted city-dwellers civil rights after one year and one day’s habitation. But in fact, it was really not that simple. The ‘liberating air’ of the city should also not blind us to the fact that it is precisely in urban spaces that we find the most varied groups of people. It is difficult to identify all of them through archaeological investigation. Mass finds, as well as exceptional objects, are all too gladly utilised to archaeologically demonstrate the social stratification of the urban population. However, analysis of such finds largely limits itself to upper-, middle- and lower-classes, and is therefore hardly able to do justice to the variety and dynamism of urban social groupings. It is rare that we can perceive the internal differences within a single household. When examining the spectrum of finds constituting a typical household inventory, it is generally very difficult to determine which objects may have belonged to the master of the house, his family, his apprentices, or other boarders. What we can see more clearly are the basic facilities, which do vary in their quantity. This is also comprehensible, since assignment to a social group is of course not exclusively based on material culture.

90 Igel 2013.
This also has consequences for social topography,\textsuperscript{91} which aims for the most precise ordering and localisation of direct and indirect social features, right down to each individual land plot. Archaeological investigations aimed at such patterns are rarely successful. It is far more often the case that we can only reach conclusions concerning the social status of a house’s inhabitants with the help of ‘bundled’ criteria, which draw on the type of construction used to build the house and its location, as well as the archaeological findings. The city should also be understood as a performative stage, upon which actors set the scene by means of the outward appearance of their homes and institutions, but also by means of their material possessions. A city is comprised of many spaces, which might be private, semi-public, or public, and serve sacred, political, or economic functions.\textsuperscript{92} These spaces give the individual and his family, but also larger social groups, the opportunity to acquire, deploy, express, and above all to display their economic, cultural, and symbolic ‘capital’.

Conflict and neighbourhood are also important themes that have long been neglected in medieval archaeology.\textsuperscript{93} Naturally there were places and spaces in medieval cities that were reserved for particular groups, or where only particular people lived.\textsuperscript{94} Thus, in coastal cities land plots near the marketplace, but also towards the port, were favoured by the foremost merchants as sites for their homes. Other areas were in turn favoured by particular trades (for example, brewers or tanners), or were strictly delimited within

\textsuperscript{91} Ellermeyer 2005; Beutmann 2013.
\textsuperscript{92} Spatscheck/Wolf-Ostermann 2009.
\textsuperscript{93} Smith et al. 2015.
\textsuperscript{94} Pickalski 2014; Cembrzyński/Radomski 2020.
the city area as the legally protected property of ecclesiastical institutions. This is also connected with consideration of open space. It can be defined as "any urban ground space, regardless of public accessibility, that is not roofed by an architectural structure". This very broad definition includes (among other spaces) parks, gardens, recreational areas, squares, streets, transportation facilities, food preparation areas and adjacent areas. Of the useable spaces, at first glance it is these locations that seem to paradigmatically offer the chance to demonstrate the social relationships within a city and to investigate the further internal differences therein. The theme of the ‘marketplace’ is pointed out as exemplary here. The analysis of the marketplace in Tulln, Austria vividly shows the multidimensionality of the space and the multi-vocality of the actors.

The marketplace of Tulln was almost completely excavated in 2007/08 and covers an area of more than 7000 square metres. Thirteen phases verify its use between the 12th and 20th centuries, whereby particular emphasis on its usage can be determined during the 13th and 14th centuries. From the 13th century on, a complex infrastructure is verifiable, whereby increasing spatial differentiation and the placement of products offered by diverse dealers in different zones and differently built spaces is identifiable (Fig. 26.1–2). The physical space was mainly paved and can be categorised into market zones without constructions (stands), mobile elements (tents, tables) and fixed local constructions (tables, benches, market stands). Additionally, there were also craft facilities (lime kilns). Further components of the market including a bathhouse, facilities for maintaining market regulations (i. e. pillories), as well as facilities for waste disposal (pits), particularly at the border areas of the market. Although these arrangements were subject to change, they remained in existence into the 15th century. From the 15th century, the open spaces increased in size and only a few documented ground intrusions suggest the construction of demountable market constructions.

The open space has the greatest social function and provides public space for numerous everyday practices. The market as an economic space is enhanced by its usage for cultural, political, urban or religious events. Thus, it offered space for the organisational and stately sectors of the town. The creation of the market reinforced or initiated processes of reconstruction, extensions, and changes in use, for example, the shift of the city centre and of connections to city expansions. The investigations concerning Tulln show both the significance of material based studies compared to written sources, and interdisciplinary evaluation and the potential of theory-based approaches, which give the study a reference character for future analyses of marketplaces.

Moreover, the example of Tulln shows that besides people, animals also inhabited the city. In recent years, the animals have aroused interest in medieval studies. There is less focus here on the agricultural and commercial uses of animals, as on the co-habitation and shared life of animals and people. The multi-voiced actors in urban spaces have left traces of their material ‘expressions’. The diversity of archaeological finds tells us much about the life of different groups, about their celebratory culture, their delinquency, commercial power, and social inequality. To call such finds ‘objects from everyday life’, as has long been the norm in museums and exhibitions, but also in published scholarship, is insufficient. These objects do not simply ‘illustrate’ pictorial or written sources, rather they may in part supplement, contrast with, or contradict those sources. Just as we may find simple wooden tableware in the household of an alderman or councillor, so we might also find a middle-class household with a clay aquamanile, more often associated with an aristocratic lifestyle. If we look at the city as a stage, from the individual buildings to the land-plots and quarters, and further to the city as a whole, we see that the actors do not only have fixed roles, they also have some changing positions. A beer-brewer was not only tradesman; he could also be a member of the city council. He may have owned various land and houses that he rented out, and could possibly take on other important positions, for example as a member of a lay religious brotherhood.

Even when access and movement in medieval cities were highly regulated by ordinances and laws, migration still formed a fundamental factor in urban development. This could take the form of migration into the city from the surrounding area, but also

95 Stanley/Stark/Johnston/Smith 2012, 1089.
96 Müller 2019 with references.
97 Baeriswyl 2006.
98 Choyke/Jaritz 2017; Salvadori 2019.
99 Christophersen 2017.
from far more distant regions. This is particularly true for the members of highly specialised professions. At first glance it may seem that this process is easier to grasp using written or normative sources, chronicles, or civil and church registers, rather than archaeological sources that are more useful for providing ‘highlights’. Finds and the resulting knowledge can however also function as evidence for the transfer of culture, ideas and knowledge. Here the Jewish quarter in Cologne can be quoted as a paradigmatic example that has been intensively investigated. In this quarter we can clearly observe both integration and the production of differences through ‘otherness’ (Fig. 27). The excavations not only revealed buildings such as the synagogue dating from the first half of the 11th century, which provided details of internal facilities such as the Mikwe, but also extensive information concerning the infrastructure of the

100 Kliemann/Ristow 2018.
quarter; these prove that it was established during the high medieval period. Furthermore, it has become clear that the separation of the Christian and Jewish quarters was less strict than previously assumed. The extensive documentation of the 1349 pogroms is of course also highly significant here.

3.5. Beyond the city walls

Our image of the medieval city is characterised by the circling city walls that often enclosed it right up until the beginning of the modern era, and are also a common visible remnant of the medieval city in the present day. The city walls had many functions. They served in the defence of the city, closed people and animals into or out of the urban space, possessed a high symbolic significance, and not least important, they had a representative function. As a part of the city’s defences, the city walls were very often part of a staggered system of defensive measures beyond the city’s walls, supplemented by lookouts, land defences, ditches, and impenetrable thickets.

City wall-building was an expensive process, and was also often only achieved in stages that reflected the phases of the city’s expansion. Accordingly, we often find complex stratigraphies hidden within apparently homogenous city walls. Earlier research saw a close connection between the granting of a town charter and the building of city walls. However, the construction of city walls was not always a process exclusively initiated by municipal cities during the 13th century. It was far more commonly a pre-municipal initiative from the city’s rulers or lords. They would of course have had to coordinate and agree upon the necessary financial and infrastructural resources with the relevant groups of urban leaders.

The urban space did not end at the city walls. Urban structures and ways of living extended beyond those walls, just as rural space was often present within the city itself. Archaeological research into the immediate outer-urban surrounds is, in contrast to investigation into the city centre, very underdeveloped. This is of course partly due to the extreme modern and contemporary influence and changes affecting such areas. Older scholarship characterised the outer-urban environs using concepts such as ‘hinterlands’ and thereby often connected these ideas with the image of a more or less circular structural form. This static picture should be modified in favour of a differentiated and dynamic network. Trade installations such as mills or hammer mills, the castles of the aristocracy, religious and charitable institutions like hospitals and leper houses, execution grounds and above all agricultural fields and forests all belonged to the urban sphere of influence. Furthermore, the municipality or commune was equally as present and influential in the countryside as it was in the city, since groups like the rank-and-file nobility were not an exclusively urban but also a rural phenomenon.

3.6. The city ‘disappears’: abandonment of cities

The urban boom of the medieval period also had its losers. These were cities that lost their status or collapsed completely. It is calculated that of the approximately 5000 medieval cities recorded in central Europe, about 10 to 20% sooner or later disappeared. While German research into rural abandonment can look back upon a long scholarly tradition, many abandoned cities have only been ‘discovered’ in the last 20 years, through systematic prospection and intensive analysis of LIDAR scans. Freyenstein in Brandenburg, Nienover in Südniedersachen, as well as Blankenrode and Corvey in Westfalen, and Altreu in Switzerland are among the cities that have been investigated (Fig. 28).

The reasons for the collapse and abandonment of cities are many and varied. Similarly to rural settlements, it is seldom due to a single event such as fire or war. Far more often there are many factors, some of which have mutually reinforced one another, that lead to this result. Not a few cities found themselves unable to succeed in competition with their neighbours. Towns in mining areas lost their significance once the natural resources were exhausted, disputed territorial borders often necessitated the besieging of a city, and the withdrawal of municipal rights demoted once-blossoming urban centres. Cities that simply

\begin{footnotes}
101 Baeriswyl 2018.
102 Gläser 2010.
103 Bille 2016.
104 Heit 2000; Müller 2015.
105 Müller 2015.
106 Rösch 2016.
107 Bergmann 2011; Baeriswyl 2015.
\end{footnotes}
remained frozen in the planning stage, or only enjoyed a short-term existence were also common.

The processes of urban contraction and intra-urban abandonment have long been largely neglected in research and scholarship. These processes can affect larger areas, or result in partial abandonment. Intra-urban abandonment can result, for example, from fires as in Bern, or from the loss of the city’s castles as in Zürich or Nuremberg. Demographic change following, for example, the epidemics and economic crises of the 14th century or the Thirty Year War (1618–1648) can be marked in the massively reduced number of homes. This can be referred to as a partial abandonment. In urban studies, intra-urban abandonment presents a methodological challenge.

This includes the problem of dating, but above all the question of how long an area must remain uninhabited before it is considered ‘abandoned’. For example, we can hardly refer to the months between the destruction of the sovereign castle in Lübeck in 1226 and the construction of the castle cloisters in 1227 as a period of abandonment. Another long-neglected area of research is the abandonment of the outer-urban or suburban regions surrounding a city.

### 4. Medieval Urbanscapes

Archaeology can engage with the theme of the medieval city on different levels, using a wide range of methodologies and theories. There will also be many thematic areas in the future that urban archaeo-
ology can and must be involved with. One of the new challenges for archaeological heritage preservation and city planning is that, besides the relics of the ‘Roman city’ or the ‘medieval city’, modern and contemporary structures will also increasingly require protection. This is necessary and correct, since the city can only be observed as a whole. Thus most city walls were first removed following industrialisation, and the city itself remained trapped in its medieval structure right up until the eve of the contemporary period. This shows the ‘continuities’ that have only recently been broken up into distinctive stages as the result of research: in place of this apparent ‘break’ between the medieval and modern periods, we must instead take an integrated and comprehensive view of these pre-modern configurations. Small cities are another theme that has been continuously neglected in archaeological research. Yet they constituted the majority of urban landscapes during the medieval period. Questions concerning re-urbanisation or ‘urban villages’ are also connected with this theme.

The question of “urban scaling” presents both theoretical and methodological challenges. Are there temporally ‘universal’ factors existing independent of any given epoch that constitute urbanisation? Are there urban ‘variables’ (for example, environmental impact, neighbourhood development, and conflict) that can be equally observed in both modern and pre-modern cities, and can we really use contemporary cities to reach conclusions concerning historical constellations? Historical and archaeological research into the pre-modern city has made enormous progress in the last 50 years. The main insights gained include, among others:

- Recognition of the specificity of historical influences affecting each individual settlement;
- Recognition of the mutual independence of social practices and architectonic design;
- Understanding of the interdependence of perceived, mentally conceived, and physically experienced space;
- The relativisation of spatial dichotomies (for example, social ‘levels’; urban/rural; public/private; built-up/undeveloped) in favour of an analysis of the complex network processes reflected in terms like ‘urban landscapes’ or ‘city webs’ (Städtenetze).

Medieval urbanscapes should not necessarily be defined via set parameters, but rather seen from the perspective of a dynamic network, the nodes and edges of which display not only different sizes, densities, and strengths, but also different positions on various levels.

German urban archaeology – as discussed the beginning of this article – is strongly characterised by an urban-historical point of entry, which places more emphasis on the historical uniqueness (and thereby the intrinsic logic) of the individual city. Intrinsic logics target the characteristics of cities, looking at the locality and its concrete circumstances. At the same time, the concept of intrinsic logic calls up both a historical and a comparative dimension. While there is inquiry into the ‘sedimentation in the materiality of the city’ (Sedimentbildung in der Materialität der Städte), the ‘individual figure or form’ (Individuelle Gestalt), and the ‘biography’ of the city, this view is focused on historical path-dependency. This also encompasses the question of the ‘enactment’ or ‘staging’ of a city, as well as its material arrangements. Questions concerning the sensescapes, or perception of the city have also been long neglected. This is astonishing, since the image of the city in the sense of material assemblage is a space of perception and experience.

The excellent concept of intrinsic logic must however be furthered by throwing our gaze beyond the proverbial Tellerrand (lit. edge of the plate). Looking at it from a comparative historical and spatial perspective, it is precisely inappropriate to define cities via invariable parameters that are only relevant within a specific historical context: for example, via their status as legal entities. Urban constellations are hubs of dense interaction, dense materiality, and specific materiality, which can be nonetheless be realised or implemented in highly varied forms. If we inquire into the difference between cities in terms of localised logic, this encompasses not only a comparative view of city landscapes and city webs, but also a transcultural perspective. From the transcultural perspective it is necessary to sharpen our focus and look at contemporary urban structures in Africa or Asia, evidence of which is provided not only in the reports of medieval travellers, but also in the material arrangements of many cities. To look at a city from a transcultural perspective means


110 Alt/Pauketat 2019.
not only to take a theoretical approach to historical constellations, but to specifically inquire into the transcultural as it exists in those historical constellations. This could take place on the apparent edge of Latin Europe, where inquiries have been made into the interdependence of the ‘models’ and images of a city: for example on the Spanish peninsula, or in the Slavic or Byzantine world.

This however also calls for the courage to foster a structural-comparative gaze that is prepared to compare centres such as Angkor Wat/Cambodia, Great Zimbabwe/Zimbabwe, Karakorum/Mongolia, Cusco/Peru and imperial cities or city landscapes like the Hanseatic cities on the Baltic Sea coast with those on the east African ‘Swahili Coast’. The requirements for that kind of structural comparison naturally include indicators or proxies that can facilitate the initiation of such a comparison. The city of the medieval period is also a city of the pre-modern and modern era. With the advent of industrialisation the pre-modern city experienced an enduring change, and was adapted to those new circumstances. Despite this adaptation it is still important now, as ever, to preserve the concrete cultural heritage from the (in no way ‘dark’) medieval period and the early modern period. These demonstrate the various interdependencies between the past and the present, and thereby form the basis for the future, wherein the many facets of urbanisation will form one of our greatest challenges.

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Zusammenfassung: Mittelalterliche Stadtschaften. Beobachtungen zur hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Stadt in den deutschsprachigen Gebieten


Abstract: Medieval Urbanscapes. Observations on the high and late medieval city in the German-speaking regions

This contribution deals with current questions concerning the high and late medieval city in the German-speaking world. In this context, a critical examination of the concept of the Middle Ages as well as a discussion of the various concepts of the medieval city in historical sciences and archaeology of the Middle Ages are included. These are both discussed generally and specified by seven examples. The concept of “urban design” is implemented in order to take a closer look at actors and materialities as significant configurations of the urban sphere. Finally, the author advocates not only an emphasis on the “Eigenlogiken” ("inherent logic") of urban developments against the background of historical constellations. In the future, it will also be necessary to thematise overarching urban phenomena beyond specific historical aspects. This will enable us to grasp the connectivities between regionality and globality and also to investigate urbanisation from a comparative ("global") perspective.