

Imperial and Free Towns of the Holy Roman Empire City-States in Pre-Modern Germany?

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The imperial and free towns of Germany are a phenomenon not to be found elsewhere in pre-modern Europe, and they are a special feature of German constitutional history. So, before looking at the main issue of this paper, we have to discuss briefly the general setting of these “city-states”, i.e. the constitutional framework of the “Holy Roman Empire” during the late Middle Ages and in early modern times, *viz.* ca. 1200-1800.¹ The Empire was not a centralised monarchy like the kingdoms of Western Europe, especially England and France. Its political structure was determined by regional forces, particularly the dynastic territories that emerged in the course of the 13th century, as well as by the ecclesiastical territories (bishoprics, a great number of important monasteries and the orders of the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of St. John). In the transition to the modern period all these were transformed into principalities (*Fürstenstaaten*), and it was there that Germany made the full transition to modern statehood. German constitutional historians are used to calling these principalities “*Territorien*” and it is in this specific sense I am going to use the English term “territory” in this paper.

The German king (*rex Teutonicorum*) of the late Middle Ages and early modern times was not a hereditary monarch. He was elected by seven prince-electors (*Kurfürsten*): the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier; the king of Bohemia, the count-palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg. In most cases he also received the imperial crown in Rome at a ceremony presided over by the Pope and thus became *imperator Romanorum*. Although the Roman coronations were discontinued in early modern times, the elected German king was still considered as the Roman emperor whose Empire consisted of Germany (*regnum Teutonicorum*), Italy (*regnum Italiae*) and Burgundy (*regnum Burgundiae*). So, even though we are here dealing with Germany only, I will nevertheless use the term “emperor” when

speaking of the German monarchs, as most of their contemporaries did.

To be the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which was seen as a continuation of the ancient Roman Empire, transferred first to the Franks (800) and then to the Germans (962), was also seen as a vital factor to salvation history, and accordingly it provided a ruler with an unquestionable legitimacy. But in reality the emperor had little power and only a few instruments were at his disposal to exercise power. In the late Middle Ages and in early modern times there was no royal demesne which was handed down from one monarch to the next. What territorial power an emperor had, lay in the territories over which he ruled as a *prince*. The king and emperor was the feudal overlord of the territorial princes, but that did not mean much in terms of power, though it must be considered as the main bond which held together the Empire: the emperor could summon the princes to assemblies, i.e. *Diets* (*Hoftage*, later *Reichstage*). He could summon the host of the Empire for war against external enemies (like the Hussites or the Turks) or sometimes against members of the Empire, if they were found guilty of a felony. The emperor was also needed to confer the fiefs on the legitimate heir, when a vassal had died.

But again, there was no royal administration which could intervene in the territories of the princes, nor was there a royal jurisdiction with such powers. Furthermore, there was no royal tax-system which would bring cash into the coffers of the emperor. The territories were quasi-independent states, which were bound to the emperor only by the fact that he was – in theory – the source of their autonomy. He could even increase their autonomy by giving them more privileges and in return they would comply with his political aims. So the emperor was not really in a position to govern the Empire. All he could do was to negotiate with the territorial powers to achieve his political aims. The Empire was characterised by a

dualism, *viz.* the distinction between Kaiser and Reich: on the one hand there was the emperor, on the other there was the Empire, which was made up of all the territorial powers. The centralisation of power which constitutes the modern state developed in these territories.

Around the turn of the 15th/16th century, from about 1470, some changes took place which a German constitutional historian, Peter Moraw, has described as “densification” (Moraw [1985]: ‘*Verdichtung*’). The territorial powers created a new centralised representative institution, the *Reichstag*. It was the largest assembly of estates in Europe; its members were listed in the *Reichsmatrikel*; it was summoned as necessity required and from 1661 onwards it resided permanently in Regensburg (Moraw [1980]; Schindling [1991]).

Thus a second centre of political power developed in competition with the relatively small and bureaucratically weak imperial court. The institutionalised *Reichstag* of the early modern period was the outcome of a long-term development during the Middle Ages, when the emperor used to summon the territorial powers to his court for consultation, for a *Diet* or *Hofstag*. Most of those summoned were territorial princes, their core being the prince-electors who played the most prominent role in the developing dualism of the Empire. But the emperor also summoned towns and cities for his *Diets*. Some were towns which had a special relationship with the emperor; some were cities, which were not subject to the rule of a territorial prince, but had the emperor himself as their lord.

In the later medieval Empire there were about 3000-4000 towns or even more, and their number was increased only insignificantly during the early modern period.² But only very few were imperial or free cities (Fig. 1-2).³ At the end of the 13th century, early in the reign of Rudolf of Habsburg, there were 105 imperial or free towns; whereas the *Reichsmatrikel* of Worms listed 85 in 1521, in reality only 68 are to be considered as belonging in this category.⁴ In the early modern period their number decreased. Some of them, like Mülhausen, joined the Swiss Confederation, others were detached from the Empire by the French king: Metz, Toul and Verdun as early as 1552, the Alsatian Decapolis with Colmar and Hagenau in 1648 and Strassburg in 1681 (cf. Press [1987] 10). At the end of the Ancien Régime 51 had a seat in the *diet* of Regensburg (1792) (cf. Herborn [1983] 661f). At the time of the Westphalian peace treaty 18 of them were Catholic, 7 mixed,⁵ the rest were Protestant.

What was an imperial or free city of the Empire and in which respect did imperial and free cities differ

from the rest of the ca. 3900 towns of the Empire? They had a special relationship with the emperor, i.e. their lord was not a territorial prince, but the emperor himself. The *imperial* cities (*Reichsstädte*) were towns founded by the emperor, mostly in the times of the Staufen emperors in the 12th or 13th century, or towns which grew up on imperial territory, sometimes in connection with a royal palace or castle (e.g. Nürnberg, Rothenburg, Frankfurt, Friedberg, Gelnhausen or Wimpfen). Consequently most of them are to be found in regions where the Staufen emperors were powerful, i.e. in Swabia, Franconia, Thuringia, Alsace and the region north of Frankfurt (*Wetterau*). In the north of Germany there were only a few, e.g. Dortmund or Goslar, which had developed out of a fisc of Ottonian times, or Lübeck, which became an imperial city after the deposition of Henry the Lion and was given charters in this respect by Frederick Barbarossa (1188) and Frederick II (1226).

The emperor was the lord of the imperial city, he protected it and therefore he was its guardian (*Vogt*). That meant that the jurisdiction lay in his hands, and was exercised by his representative, the *scultetus* (*Schultheiss*). This is why the imperial cities paid tax to the emperor and recognised him as their lord, did homage to him and swore allegiance. They called the emperor “our only, lawful and legitimate Lord” (*ayniger, ordentlicher und rechter herr*, 1481; (cf. Isenmann [1988] 112), and the emperor spoke of them as “our and the Empire’s towns”,⁶ stressing in this way the dualism of the Empire. It was a relationship which was identical with the relationship the emperor had with the princes, whom he called “our and the Empire’s princes”. On the other hand, this conception was generally accepted by the princes. Albrecht Achilles, the margrave of Ansbach, wrote to Nürnberg in the second half of the 15th century respectfully to the king: “Your and our lawful, natural and legitimate lord”.⁷ That meant that the legal bonds that bound princes and imperial cities to the emperor were identical. Princes and imperial cities were partners with equal rights in their relationship with the emperor.

The status of the *free* towns was only slightly different. They were mostly cathedral cities, in which the citizens had succeeded in driving out their lord – the bishop or archbishop – and in taking control of the government of the city. In most cases this happened in the 13th and early 14th centuries, for example in all the cathedral cities along the river Rhine: Cologne, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg and Basel, but also in Toul, Verdun and Besançon. A special case was

Hamburg, which was a cathedral city whose lord, however, was not the archbishop but the count of Holstein; he gradually lost his influence over this city, so that it came to regard itself as a “free town” and only in 1618 claimed the status of an imperial town. Likewise Regensburg became a free town struggling against its lords, the bishop and the duke of Bavaria. In 1484 the duke of Bavaria succeeded in subjugating the city, but by the intervention of the emperor, Frederick III, in 1492, Regensburg was liberated and henceforth regarded as an imperial city.

The emperor was not the lord of the free towns; they did not pay homage to him, and above all he could not use them as a pawn in his financial transactions with the princes, as he very often did with the imperial towns. The free towns were responsible to the Empire as a whole, but even in this context they very often refused to do military service. So the free towns were slightly more independent than the imperial towns, but occasionally they were in danger of being reclaimed by their original lords, as was the case in Regensburg and in Mainz, where the archbishop eventually in 1462 re-conquered the city, re-established his government and reduced Mainz to a territorial town.

In early modern times the differences between imperial and free towns gradually disappeared, so that in the end they were all habitually called “free imperial towns” (*Freie Reichsstädte*). Thus, if we are to speak about city-states in medieval and early modern Germany, the imperial and free cities seem to fit the model. But German constitutional history is a complicated and confusing matter. There are still the *territorial* towns to consider, and quite a few of them enjoyed a considerable measure of independence.⁸ So, Heinz Schilling has suggested calling them semi-imperial cities or autonomous towns (*Semi-Reichsstädte*, *Autonomiestädte*; Schilling [1993] 38 ff.). Occasionally they possessed an influence, economic power and autonomy that rivalled the richest and most influential of the imperial cities. This was the case especially in the North of Germany, where there were almost no imperial or free towns. Some of those territorial towns were big towns like Brunswick, Magdeburg, Rostock, Lüneburg, Bremen, Osnabrück, Münster, Söst or Erfurt, but there were also smaller ones like Lemgo or Stendal. They all recognised a prince or bishop as their lord, did homage to him, but had in return been given privileges which guaranteed a large amount of autonomy. Occasionally, some of them successfully opposed their lords like Lüneburg, which defeated Duke Magnus of Brunswick in 1371,

destroyed his castle and henceforth kept him out of the town. Soest switched from the archbishop of Cologne to having the duke of Kleve as its lord in the middle of the 15th century; and when Count Simon VI of Lippe tried to introduce Calvinism at the beginning of the 17th century, Lemgo resisted successfully, and kept to the Lutheran faith.

Such towns resembled imperial cities in so far as they enjoyed a relationship with their princely or episcopal lords which was almost like the relationship between imperial cities and the emperor; and such towns dominated the Hanseatic League, which represented a considerable political and economic power (see below). Almost all of the ca. 200 towns in the Hanseatic League were territorial towns; only 5 (Cologne, Dortmund, Lübeck, Mühlhausen [Thuringia] and Nordhausen) were imperial towns, and one was a free town (Hamburg). So – if we are dealing with the concept of city-state – many of the features by which imperial and free towns are characterised are also to be found in many territorial towns.

It is necessary, though, to keep in mind that the autonomy and independence of territorial towns decreased in early modern times, especially in the 17th century in consequence of the rise of princely absolutism. Some of the most independent territorial towns were conquered by their lords and reduced to almost complete dependence, like Münster and Brunswick in 1661, and Erfurt in 1664. So the 17th century, with its Thirty Years War and its aftermath, is a time of decline of urban liberties and even of the political and economic importance of the German city-states in general.

Territory

The size of the imperial and free towns differed considerably. The biggest of them, in fact the biggest German city, was Cologne; it covered 400 ha and had about 40,000 inhabitants, and was comparable to big Flemish towns such as Gent, Brügge and Antwerp. There were big towns, as Nürnberg (160 ha; ca. 20,000 inhabitants), Lübeck (200 ha; ca. 28,000 inhabitants) and Hamburg (96 ha; ca. 9,000 inhabitants); but there is a wide range in size from Ulm (70 ha) and Mühlhausen (Thuringia) (50 ha) down to Eger (Cheb) (30 ha), Wetzlar (27.4 ha) and Weissenburg (Franconia) (26 ha) and even further down to the many small ones of about 10 ha and even less. The size given here is the area enclosed by the walls. All the towns reached the peak of their expansion already in the Middle Ages, most of them in the 14th century,

whereas there was little growth in the 15th and the 16th century and almost none at all later on.⁹

Most of the imperial cities succeeded in acquiring a territory of their own, sometimes quite substantial:¹⁰

Nürnberg 1500 km²
 Ulm 830 km²
 Rothenburg 400 km²
 Schwäbisch Hall 330 km²
 Frankfurt a.M. 110 km²

Sometimes this territory was enclosed by a fortification (*Landwehr*; *Landheeg*) consisting of an earth dike planted with hedges and enforced with some towers for look-out (*Warte*). Schwäbisch Hall for example had a dike of 120 km in length with 4 towers, Rothenburg 62 km with 9 towers (cf. Schneider [1997] 111-35).

But in most cases the territory remained relatively small, and it would be a mistake to assume that all big and important imperial cities possessed big territories. Strassburg and Augsburg, for example, which are to be regarded as powerful economic centres of the empire, had very small territories, in fact of the same size as the combined territory of the two smallest imperial cities, Gengenbach and Zell am Harmersbach.

For military and economic reasons most cities and towns of some size – not only imperial cities but also territorial towns – tried very early to dominate their immediate vicinity.¹¹ The beginning was very often the acquisition of landed property, often by single citizens but sometimes also by the urban hospitals. In the years from 1262 to 1350, for example, citizens of Rostock (a territorial town of the counts of Mecklenburg) acquired 34 complete villages, of 41 villages they owned a part, and in 30 they received revenues and rents. In Lübeck, an imperial city, citizens owned 49 villages, and in 129 places they owned a part of the village or were paid revenues or rents (Fritze [1985] 29). In general a town – imperial cities as well as territorial towns – was surrounded by an agriculturally exploited area (fields, pasture, woodland, partly privately owned by citizens, partly under public administration), which constituted the base of the town's supply (*Feldmark*). This area was – in the case of the territorial towns – not a territory *stricto sensu*, but the town's authorities exercised considerable influence and very often this area was protected by towers and a dike (*Landwehr*).¹²

The growth of landed property and revenues owned by citizens entailed a need for protection by the urban authorities, and it was always necessary to maintain the safety of the roads. From the second half of the

14th century most imperial cities turned to a policy of intentional and deliberate territory-building by the acquisition of landed property and, above all, the right to exercise jurisdiction. From the turn of the 13th to the 14th century many cities and towns had tried to acquire one or several castles in order to increase their military potential.¹³ In many cases the imperial cities came to include other towns within their territories. Thus, in 1359 Lübeck, for example, bought the town of Mölln. Nürnberg also owned other towns (6) and so did Ulm (2), Schwäbisch Hall (1) and others. Schwäbisch Hall, Dinkelsbühl and Rothenburg governed in condominium two other small towns – Ilshofen and Kirchberg – which they had bought from the counts of Hohenlohe.¹⁴

Sometimes imperial cities were able to gain possession of property which had originally belonged to the king. This was the case in, for example, Dortmund, where the county of Dortmund, a royal fisc of 27 km², was taken over in 1353, when the family of counts of Dortmund, who held it from the emperor, became extinct.¹⁵ A large part of the territory of the imperial city of Kaufbeuren consisted of a royal fisc of the 12th/13th century, the "*officium Buron*", which was administrated by a royal official (*Ammann*), who became an urban official of Kaufbeuren at the beginning of the 15th century.¹⁶

The extension of urban control over the surrounding countryside and the acquisition of a territory reached its peak around 1400 and continued during the 15th century. It was an expensive affair and in many cases the external policy of the city-council caused internal disturbances and led to constitutional struggles (see below: Self-Government).

Both imperial cities and territorial towns aimed at controlling their hinterland, but only the imperial cities succeeded in building territories which equalled the structure of princely territories. The growth and development of urban territories depended on the pattern of political influence of the towns in the region in question, and in most cases the cities met with very strong resistance from the neighbouring princely territories. All urban territories remained relatively small compared with the important princely territories of the Empire. But the importance of an imperial city is not to be defined by the size of its territory but by its economic power.

Population

The imperial and free cities differed considerably in population as well as in size. It is, however, extremely

difficult to estimate the number of inhabitants of individual medieval towns. On the whole, there was a continual increase of population from around 1200 to the 1330s, followed by a short period of stagnation for about two decades and then a sharp decline, caused by the Black Death in 1348/50. Apparently about a third or even more of the urban population died, but was partly replaced by increasing immigration. There was a considerable growth in the second half of the 15th and in the first half of the 16th century, but epidemics from the 1570s to the 1590s and the effects of the Thirty Years War brought about a new decline. For the period around 1500 relatively trustworthy estimates of the urban population are available.¹⁷

In the Empire (excluding Switzerland and the Netherlands west of the river Ijssel) there were 11 towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants (imperial and free cities are italicised): *Lübeck*, *Cologne*, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Breslau (Wrocław), Prague, *Strassburg (Strasbourg)*, *Nürnberg*, *Augsburg*, Vienna, Danzig (Gdansk, a city of the king of Poland since 1454; its status comparable to that of an imperial city; member of the Hanseatic League).

15 Towns (6 imperial cities) of 10,000-20,000 inhabitants: *Bremen* (recognised as an imperial city only in 1646), *Hamburg*, Lüneburg, Rostock, Stralsund, *Aachen*, Münster, Söst, *Frankfurt/Main*, Erfurt, *Metz*, *Regensburg*, Zürich (in the Swiss Confederacy), Deventer, Kampen.

73 towns (17 imperial cities) of 5,000-10,000 inhabitants: Wismar, Greifswald, Salzwedel, Stendal, Burg, Brandenburg, Berlin, Frankfurt/Oder, Prenzlau, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Zwolle, Zutphen, Wesel, *Dortmund*, Osnabrück, Herford, Lemgo, Lippstadt, Paderborn, Hannover, Hildesheim, *Goslar*, Einbeck, Göttingen, *Nordhausen*, Halle, Wittenberg, Glogau (Głogów), Bonn, Kassel, *Mülhausen*, Naumburg, Leipzig, Altenburg, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Bautzen, Görlitz, Liegnitz (Legnica), Schweidnitz (Swidnica), *Verdun*, Trier, Mainz, *Worms*, *Speyer*, Heidelberg, Würzburg, Bamberg, *Eger* (Cheb), Kuttenberg (Kutna Hora), Olmütz (Olomouc), Iglau (Jihlava), Brünn (Brno), *Hagenau*, Stuttgart, *Schwäbisch Hall*, *Rothenburg*, Amberg, Freiburg, *Mühlhausen*, Konstanz, *Ravensburg*, *Besançon*, *Esslingen*, *Ulm*, *Memmingen*, München, Landshut, Salzburg, Elbing (Elbląg, cf. Danzig), Thorn (Toruń, cf. Danzig), Königsberg i.Pr. (Kaliningrad; territory of the Teutonic Order, member of the Hanseatic League).¹⁸

So most of the imperial cities were small or middle-sized towns, but even so the imperial or free cities constituted slightly more than a quarter of the largest

towns of the Empire, and ca. 40% of the towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants. The share is even higher if we take into consideration that Mainz was reduced from a free to a territorial city only in 1462, and that Danzig, Elbing and Thorn enjoyed a status comparable to that of an imperial city under the king of Poland. Furthermore some towns like Lemgo, Söst, Danzig and Elbing were registered as imperial cities in the *Reichsmatrikel* of 1521; and in 1645 Elbing was invited by Ferdinand III to take part in the negotiations leading to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

It follows that the largest and economically most important imperial cities do not fit what is understood by a face-to-face society. But we must keep in mind that not all of the inhabitants were citizens with full political rights and also that the citizens were organised into societies, craft-guilds and fraternities, which in any case were face-to-face societies. There is no doubt that the towns' councils and their policies were dominated by a political elite which constituted a face-to-face society.

Settlement Pattern

Although some of the imperial cities created quite substantial territories, the majority of the population lived in the urban centre, inside the town walls. The inhabitants of the territory outside the walls were not citizens but subjects of the city's government. That was even the case when the territory was very small.

Nevertheless the citizens, especially of the larger towns, developed distinctive patterns of living, which established a strong interrelation of town and hinterland. In all towns, especially in the smaller and very small ones, there was of course some agrarian activity. But many of the citizens owned substantial landed property in the countryside, sometimes farms and sometimes even whole villages (cf. above: Territory, and below: Economy). That applies especially to the members of the ancient elites, which originally dominated the city's council – like the patricians of Nürnberg or the 'Erbmaenner' of Münster. They very often owned or built sumptuous country-houses or even castles; and they became assimilated to the way of life of the nobility and in many cases succeeded in being recognised as members of the nobility by imperial charter. But most of them still lived in the cities and took part in their economy as well as in their government (cf. below: Self-Government). Only in some towns or in single cases did they leave the town and become part of the landed nobility; and in one unique

case they rose into the rank of territorial princes, viz. the Fugger family in 1514, whose ancestor had come to Augsburg in the 14th century as a simple weaver.¹⁹

On the other hand, nobles of the urban hinterland very often tried to obtain citizenship (*Bürgerrecht*) in order to gain the towns' protection and also for economic reasons.²⁰ From the second half of the 15th century onwards there was an increasing tendency among the landed nobility to acquire a townhouse (*Adelshof*) mostly in the territorial towns and only very rarely in an imperial city (Hufschmidt [1996]; Matsche [1998]).

Urbanisation

As we have seen, the territories of the imperial cities were relatively small, and there were no or only a few other urban settlements within those territories. Without exception the territory was of minor importance and never included a second major urban centre. Above all the citizens of secondary towns within the territory were not citizens of the major city.

It must also be kept in mind that imperial cities did not strive to include other towns in their territory. When that happened it was more or less by chance. No imperial city ever founded another town. Territorial princes were keen on founding new towns, imperial cities were not. So they were not promoters of urbanisation in the direct sense as were the territorial princes,²¹ but their economic activities may have stimulated urban growth within a region dominated by the economic influence of certain imperial cities. One example is the capital invested in the 15th century by merchants of Cologne which contributed considerably to the growth of towns in the Sauerland region, which was dominated by the metal industry.

Economy

All of the 99 largest towns of the empire named above (see above: Population) engaged in long distance trade and housed specialised crafts.

Lübeck dominated the Hanseatic trade of the North Sea and the Baltic. Lübeck was at the centre of an axis with "two arms: one stretching out west toward Bruges and London and the other east to Riga and far away Nowgorod" (Russell [1972] 106). Linked to this axis were the towns of the southern Baltic coast as well as Bremen, Hamburg, Deventer and other towns on the river Ijssel. Also linked to it were Magdeburg and Prague via the river Elbe and Breslau by the river Oder. So was Cologne, and in this case the

link was established by a diagonal road from Lübeck via Hamburg and Lüneburg toward Osnabrück, Münster and Dortmund and from there to Cologne. And again there was a link established by road from Cologne via Dortmund, Soest, Paderborn, Brunswick to Magdeburg and from there to Leipzig, Breslau and farther east. This is the framework for the Hanseatic trade in the Middle Ages from the 13th to the 17th century.²²

Cologne again was the centre of an axis that extended from London and the Flemish cities southward along the river Rhine via Mainz, Frankfurt, Worms and Speyer to Strassburg. If Cologne was a kind of entrance gate to the traffic of the Rhine, so was Strassburg for the trade from the south (via the Alps and the river Rhone) and from Paris (Russell [1972] 90-3). The region of the Upper Rhine with Mainz and Strassburg was linked by roads toward the East to another important economic region of Upper Germany, dominated by Augsburg, which occupied a key position in the trade with Italy, especially Venice. The main commercial centres here were Nürnberg, Ulm, Regensburg (whose long-distance trade declined in the 15th century) and Vienna, which, again, had close links with the region of Prague and the very important mining districts of Upper Hungary (today Slovakia).

So the largest cities of the Empire and especially the imperial and free cities were the main agencies of Germany's international trade during the Middle Ages and up to around 1600. There were two major fairs (*Messen*) in Frankfurt am Main (from around 1330/40, charter of emperor Louis IV 1337) and Leipzig (charters of Frederick III 1466 and 1469 and Maximilian I 1497 and 1507), which were major places for the exchange of commodities but also important financial markets, comparable to the fairs of Geneva, Lyons and Chalon-sur-Saone or Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp. Secondary fairs existed in Friedberg (imperial city, near Frankfurt am Main), Naumburg (near Leipzig), Deventer (member of the Hanseatic League), Zurzach (near Basel), Nördlingen (imperial city) and Linz on the Danube.²³

This is the framework for Germany's participation in the European trade with its centres in London, Bruges and later Antwerp, Venice and the Levant, Genoa and the trade centres of the Iberian peninsula.²⁴ The larger cities of the Empire – imperial cities and territorial towns – formed a network of commercial connections, but even smaller towns of the category of 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants engaged in the long-distance trade. In Attendorn, for example, a town

of the archbishop of Cologne and a member of the Hanseatic League, there existed already in the 13th century a guild of merchants visiting England (*Gilde der Englandfahrer*), and Attendorn's merchants did business in Flanders and Livonia. But they apparently were only few and in the assemblies of the Hanseatic League the town frequently was represented by Soest.²⁵

The merchants of the imperial city of Rottweil, putting on the market the products of the town's clothweavers and metalworkers, visited the fairs of Frankfurt, Nördlingen and Zuzach and they sold a lot of grain and wood to towns in Switzerland, but they were rarely seen in Nürnberg and apparently never at the fairs of Leipzig or in Cologne and Antwerp. Rottweil's trade was clearly confined to the region of south-western Germany (Ruckgaber [1835-38]; Maurer/Hecht [1980]). On the other hand, among the partners the merchants of Cologne did business with at the Frankfurt fairs, in commodities as well as in financial transactions, only a very few came from northern Germany and the Hanseatic towns. Only the most important cities like Lübeck, Hamburg, Brunswick and Magdeburg are mentioned and some Westphalian towns relatively nearby (cf. Rothmann [1998] maps 6 and 7).

What we see is a clearly defined hierarchy of commercial potential. In the smaller towns this potential was limited or confined to a regional range. Only the large cities in a geographically key position were able to participate directly in the world trade of the time: Lübeck, Cologne, Nürnberg, Gdansk (Danzig), Augsburg and Strassburg.²⁶

But again, some trade companies in smaller towns like the *Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft* in Ravensburg or the *Diesbach – Watt – Gesellschaft* of St. Gall did business with places as far away as Valencia, Lisbon and Barcelona, Genoa and Venice, Danzig, Poznań (Posen), Kraków (Krakau) and Lwów (Lemberg) (Schulte [1923]; Ammann [1928]). But companies like this had to establish offices (*Kontor, Gelieger*) in the large cities like Nürnberg, Augsburg and Prague, and they had to visit the fairs of Frankfurt, Leipzig and abroad. The large cities and the fairs were not only centres of commercial activities but, above all, they were centres of information, indispensable for commercial transactions in commodities as well as in the financial market.

Cologne was not only the commercial heart of medieval Germany, it was also the largest centre of specialised crafts (Irsigler [1979a] 1). Trade and manufacturing were in balance and exporting

products of the Cologne crafts was an important part of Cologne's commercial activities. Nürnberg, Augsburg and Strassburg were similar cases.

All imperial cities and all towns of the Hanseatic League had specialised crafts and many of them were working for export, but there were considerable differences in the various regions of the Empire. Germany's economy was characterised by mining (silver, copper, iron, salt), metalwork and textile production.²⁷ But only one imperial city (Goslar) was a mining town and again only one imperial city (Schwäbisch Hall) and five Hanseatic towns engaged in salt production (Halle/Saale, Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), Lüneburg, Soest and Werl). And anyway mining and the production of salt and their interrelations with the development of towns are a special case, so they are omitted here.

Metalwork manufacturing concentrated in the north-west around the iron-mining districts of Sauerland and Siegerland with Cologne as a leading centre and around Aachen (brass and copper).²⁸ In the south the most important centre was Nürnberg with the iron-mining district of the Upper Palatinate in its vicinity and its highly specialised metalworking crafts, working imported copper (Ammann [1970] 48-70; Stahlschmidt [1971]).

More widely spread was textile manufacturing. Textiles were at the base of export trade in almost all towns of some substance, but in many cases they were of very limited quality and only of regional importance. There were, however, several textile districts, whose towns worked for long-distance export. Centres for the production of woollen cloth were Aachen and the region west of Cologne, Strassburg, Nördlingen (especially *Loden*, a coarse woollen cloth) and the region around Frankfurt, especially to its north (Wetterau), manufacturing cheap cloth of agreeable quality. On the whole, German cloth never reached the quality of the Flemish and English products, but it met the needs of a substantial part of the population and was exported to the East.²⁹

In contrast, German linen weaving was of excellent standards. It concentrated in north-western Germany, especially in Westphalia, in Saxony south-east of Leipzig and in Silesia. The most important linen-producing district, however, was Swabia, with its centres Ulm and Augsburg and the whole region of Lake Constance (Bodensee).³⁰ It was here that in 1368 the production of fustian (*Barchent*) was established, a mixture of linen and cotton. Fustian production became an immediate success, because it was cheap and agreeable to wear.³¹ Even small towns grew into

important manufacturing places of textiles. The small imperial town of Isny, for example, was founded in 1171 on 5 ha of land. Prospering from linen weaving it expanded to 14 ha and was enclosed by walls in 1280. There were 2,000 inhabitants in 1400 and over 3,000 in 1500 and 250 workshops of linen weavers (Cf. Stoob [1973-] I, 5). The imperial city of Biberach (20 ha, 4-5,000 inhabitants) around 1500 had 400 looms for working on fustian, and in Memmingen (over 5,000 inhabitants) there were 242 masters weaving fustian in 1530. These are impressive numbers, considering that in Cologne a limit of 300 looms for weaving woollen cloth was set at the end of the 14th century.³² So the imperial towns of the Swabian textile region were substantial economic powers, although the number of their inhabitants and the area of settlement remained relatively small.

The textile industry in Swabia in particular, but also that in Cologne, was characterised by the fact that merchants (especially clothiers) or weavers of substance commissioned work from other weavers in the town or in other towns or even in the countryside. They bought the raw materials (for example, cotton in the case of fustian), gave it to the weavers and paid them for their labour (*Verlag*). The same was the case with the metal-working crafts, especially in Cologne and Nürnberg.³³ So there was a strong entrepreneurial element in the economy of the late medieval town, especially in the 15th and 16th century. The economic sphere of influence of a city or town as well as its economic power thus may be defined by the influence of entrepreneurial capital on the production in the different crafts of a town and above all on its hinterland and on other towns.³⁴

This entrepreneurial element was stronger in the interior of Germany (especially in the towns on the Rhine and in southern Germany) than in the coastal regions of the north, dominated by the Hanseatic League. It was in existence in the Westphalian towns and in the Saxon towns of the interior (e.g. in Brunswick), but there was very little of it in the Hanseatic coastal towns on the Baltic and the North Sea. The merchants of those towns concentrated on trade, importing goods from abroad and exporting raw materials from home (e.g. grain from Mecklenburg and Pomerania to the Netherlands), and the urban craftsmen, unlike their Rhenish and Swabian counterparts, generally did not manufacture for export.

Crafts and artisans of a town were organised in guilds (*Gilde*, *Zunft*, *Amt*, *Handwerk*, *Zeche*). The medieval guild was an association which served various functions – social and religious, economic as

well as political.³⁵ Like religious fraternities, the guilds used to have patron saints, special feasts and commemorative masses for deceased members. They built guild-halls, where they had meals and dances. The guilds offered assistance in cases of hardship and, in general, mutual support for their members and thus constituted an agency of social integration. But above all, they wielded substantial economic power in the urban society. Only masters of the guild were allowed to exercise the trade in question and to sell its manufactured goods inside the town. The guild controlled the admittance of new masters and in many cases there was a *numerus clausus*. They also laid down the rules for apprenticeship and the examinations of apprentices, journeymen and masters, and set the standards of quality for the crafts-products. In general, the guilds succeeded in establishing a monopoly for their members inside the town, but the urban authorities tried to control prices and quality in the interest of the consumers. Of course the guilds therefore tried to exercise influence in the town's government, and this became the origin of occasionally fierce urban struggles from the end of the 13th to the 16th century.³⁶ In any case the guilds constituted an important factor in urban political life, as did the associations of the merchant class and the patricians.

It is necessary to say something, very briefly, about the agrarian element in the medieval towns, especially in the imperial cities and Hanseatic towns. All of them were cities in the Weberian sense of the term.³⁷ Perhaps some of the very small imperial towns like Zell am Harmersbach or Bopfingen were (like many other small towns of the Empire) something of an *Ackerbürgerstadt*,³⁸ and even in the middle-sized or larger towns there may have been single citizens who were essentially farmers. That does not matter much in the context of this paper. But it is important to state the fact that most citizens and especially citizens of substance, both artisans and merchants, engaged in agrarian activities. Many citizens owned landed property in the countryside or acquired landed property, held it for a period of time and sold it again, as they did with houses inside the town. They did so for several financial reasons. The most important one was security. They put away money that was not necessarily needed for commercial ventures. Another reason was the ecclesiastical laws on usury, which forbade the taking of any kind of interest. Selling or buying an annuity based on landed property (*Rentenkauf*) was the only lawful way to earn a certain percentage of interest on invested money and a sensible way to avoid the ruinous interest rates of the

Jews, Lombards or Cahorsins (cf. Isenmann [1988] 383-7). Thus a substantial amount of landed property accumulated in the hands of townspeople,³⁹ who in this way earned an additional income from agrarian products and participated in the agrarian economy. Many a baker or brewer also became a grain merchant, or a butcher or tanner a cattle dealer.

In some cases the town's economy was influenced by or even dependent on the agrarian products of the surrounding countryside. Regensburg, for example, was famed for its tanning industry and its leather products. Nuremberg needed enormous quantities of honey, produced in the vast adjacent forests, for the production of its famous gingerbread. But even more striking is the case of Erfurt, which processed woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) cultivated in the surrounding countryside, which was needed for dyeing by the textile industry of southern Germany (Mägdefrau [1973]; Händel [1996]). And of course there were towns dominated by the production of beer (e.g. Einbeck and Wismar, and even in Hamburg brewing was an important part of its economy and its export trade, Cf. Plümer & Stefke [1989]) as well as by the production of wine. Almost all of the smaller Alsatian imperial towns were centres of wine production, and so were cathedral cities like Trier and Würzburg. In this latter city there were 10 guilds of vintners, working the vineyards adjacent to the city.⁴⁰ Thus the agrarian factor of urban economy is not to be neglected, even when dealing with larger towns and especially with the imperial cities.

To conclude this section: the imperial cities played a leading part in the economy of the Empire in the late Middle Ages and in the 16th century. Most of the technical innovations of this period, especially in the field of crafts, were developed in those towns. In the early modern times from the 17th century onwards a decisive change came about. The Hanseatic towns (with the exception of Hamburg and Danzig) and above all the imperial cities (even Cologne) went into decline or remained at least economically stagnant. The Baltic trade now became the domain of the English, and above all the Dutch merchants, who put the Hanseatic merchants out of business. The Hanseatic towns were reduced to secondary and only regional importance.⁴¹ The imperial cities of Upper Germany also lost their leading role in trade and industrial production. This was partly due to a certain petrification of their constitutional life and also to the inability of the craft guilds and of the merchant class to adapt to the changes in the European economy. It was also due to the success of the modern state, with its principles

of absolute monarchy, represented in Germany by the princely territories and not by the cities. The new centres of commercial and industrial activities as well as of technical innovations became the residential towns of the territorial princes, or new territorial towns explicitly founded for economic reasons, like Erlangen or Hanau.⁴²

The Hanseatic League

The Hanseatic League was a confederation of towns in the northern and north-western part of the Empire, established in order to protect commercial privileges granted by territorial princes and, above all, by foreign rulers in countries visited by the merchants of those towns (e.g. Flanders, England, Norway, Novgorod, Smolensk).⁴³ There were also some towns from outside the Empire which had joined the Hanseatic League (in some cases only for a short period of time), e.g. Danzig (Gdansk), Elbing (Elbląg), Königsberg (Kaliningrad), Kulm (Chełmno), Thorn (Toruń), Braunsberg (Braniewo), Krakław, Reval (Tallinn), Riga, Dorpat (Tartu) and 9 other towns of Livonia, and the Swedish towns Kalmar, Stockholm and Visby. Nevertheless all those merchants were called "Merchants of the German Hanse" (*koplude der dudeschen hense*), because the merchant class of the towns in Livonia, Estonia and Prussia, and even in Kraków and partly in Visby, was of German origin. Indeed almost all towns in the eastern regions of Central Europe had been founded by German settlers at the bidding of the indigenous rulers (for example the kings of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary or single Polish dukes or Bohemian nobles) and in the territory ruled by the Teutonic Knights (cf. Higounet [1986], especially 272 ff.).

Originally the term *hansa* applied to unions of merchants, who visited foreign trade centres.⁴⁴ They formed such unions in order to protect themselves against robbery. These unions represented their members before the foreign authorities and were granted privileges, and they acted in defence of those privileges and in the general interest of their members. The term *hansa* was used for the first time in England, to designate organisations of foreign merchants. In the 13th century there was a *hansa* of Flemish merchants and a *hansa* of merchants of Cologne, which owned the *Steelyard* in London and eventually extended its protection to all merchants of German origin and also succeeded in acquiring new, more extended privileges (especially exemption from customs, in addition to self-government and jurisdiction over its members).

Thus the German merchants of the London Hanse, called *mercatores Alemanniae* in the Great Charter of 1303, were placed in a very favourable position, more favourable than other foreign merchants. Similar developments took place in Flanders in the last decades of the 13th century, where the German merchants (mostly Westphalians and citizens of Bremen, Hamburg and Lübeck) had founded a factory (*Kontor*) in Bruges, which became the centre of the Hanseatic merchants' activities in western Europe and which eventually developed into one of the most important trading and banking places of Europe in general. Another *Kontor* of the Hanseatic merchants developed in Bergen (Norway) and again another one, perhaps the most important, in Novgorod, where originally the *Gotländische Gesellschaft* (Association of merchants visiting Gotland), consisting of Gotlandic and German merchants in the 12th and 13th centuries, had acquired privileges comparable to those elsewhere in Europe. In the course of the 13th century, a network of commercial stations emerged on the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea. They enjoyed exceptional trading privileges, were connected by routes, and dominated by German merchants, the *koplude der dudeschen hense*.

Thus *hansa* originally meant unions of associations of single merchants, regardless of their home town. Later it was applied to a confederation of towns, the Hanseatic League. There is a second starting point for this League and it is to be found in the confederations of towns (*Städtebünde*), which came into existence during the 13th century, mainly in order to protect the safety of the trading routes against raids of the nobility, who were trying to build up territories of their own. One of the first confederations was the *Rheinischer Städtebund* of 1256, and we should note that it included not only towns from Westphalia to the Upper Rhine and Franconia, but also territorial princes. But it was preceded, for example, by unions of important Westphalian towns in 1246 (Union of Ladbergen: Osnabrück, Münster and Coesfeld) and 1253 (Union of Werne: Dortmund, Münster, Söst and Lippstadt), and by an even earlier union of Hamburg and Lübeck of 1230, which eventually developed into a confederation of the *Wendish* towns (Lübeck, Hamburg, Kiel, Wismar, Rostock, Lüneburg and later on the Pomeranian towns of Stralsund, Greifswald, Anklam and Stettin), first mentioned in 1280. There were similar confederations in Lower Saxony and in Prussia. They were all concerned with the safety of the roads but they also discussed matters of common interest such as monetary problems.⁴⁵

In the last quarter of the 13th century there was a falling out between the German merchants in Bruges and the city authorities. The German merchants threatened to move to Aardenburg. From the beginning of the 13th century merchants had been backed by their home towns in conflicts of that kind. But now they were backed by a group of towns in northern Germany, from where the majority of them originated, headed by Lübeck. It was those towns that negotiated the peace with Bruges and the count of Flanders, and the towns acted upon the results of mutual consultations as they were used to do in the regional confederations of towns already mentioned (cf. Henn [1989a]). Thus they discovered that they were able to exercise substantial economic and political pressure not only against the territorial princes of their home region but also abroad. On these lines the occasional consultations in times of danger developed into the Hanseatic League, which had its first common assembly (*Hansetag*) in Lübeck in 1358, convoked again to consult over a conflict in Flanders.

This new Hanseatic League of towns and cities was not a union of the already existing regional confederations, for the latter continued to exist. It is doubtful if we should regard the Hanseatic League as a formal confederation at all. Lawyers of the 17th century doubted it and the contemporaries of the 15th century were very careful indeed in defining its legal nature. In 1450 the Hanseatic League sent a letter to the king of England and gave a very circumstantial definition: *dat de stede van der hense ... sin wol en corpus in etliken vruntscoppen unde vorbuntnissen, darinne se myt en overenkomen* ("the Hanseatic towns are a corporation consisting of friendships and confederations with the help of which they reach agreements").

There was no founding charter and no formal membership. Lübeck was regarded as its head (*caput omnium*) and conducted its business between assemblies, but the only constitutional agency was the *Hansetag*, where the representatives of the towns (*Rat-sendeboten*) met, who regarded themselves as members of the Hanseatic League. There was a common treasury, but many member towns failed to contribute for a longer or shorter period of time, although regarding themselves as members of the League rightfully enjoying its privileges (Henn [1989b]).

There were almost 200 member towns but only about 70 can be regarded as active and influential members. Many of the smaller towns were represented by a neighbouring town at the *Hansetag* and only contributed financially.⁴⁶ There was no firm organisation, although Lübeck during the 15th and 16th

centuries tried very hard to achieve just that. Already in 1347 the *Kontor* of Bruges divided the towns doing business there into *Drittel* (thirds): the first were the Rhenish, the Westphalian and Prussian towns; the second the Wendish and Saxon towns; and the third *Drittel*, the towns of the north-eastern Baltic (Sweden, Livonia and Estonia). Later on, in the beginning of the 16th century, the League accepted a subdivision into *Viertel* (quarter), but that did not change much. There was, however, a certain regional organisation of mutual consultation among groups of towns usually headed by a larger one. Thus in Westphalia there was the *Brämquartier* (Vreden, Bocholt, Borken, Dülmen, Haltern) headed by Cösfeld and the *Dreinquartier* (Rheine, Telgte, Werne, Ahlen, Beckum) headed by Warendorf, and the centre of both organisations was Münster. They were all Hanseatic towns, but they were organised on a territorial basis, all of them being towns of the bishop of Münster as a territorial prince.

That should remind us that most of the towns in the Hanseatic League were territorial towns, but not imperial or free cities (for that applied only to Cologne, Hamburg, Lübeck, Dortmund, Goslar, Nordhausen, Mühlhausen and in a certain sense Bremen). In many cases their autonomy was limited and even larger cities who enjoyed extensive liberties had to show consideration for the politics of their territorial princes. In any case the territorial princes were part of the general framework with which the Hanseatic League had to deal.

Despite the deficiencies in its organisation the Hanseatic League wielded considerable power. Its weapons were boycotts directed against its external adversaries, and exclusion from the Hanseatic League (*Verhansung*) of those members which would not toe the line. Cologne, for example, was excluded in 1471 for five years, because it did not support the alliance of the Hanseatic League, Denmark and Poland against England, but tried to extend its own liberties in the English kingdom and in Burgundy and to turn the situation to its own advantage without consideration of Hanseatic interests. The exclusion achieved its intended effect and at the *Hansetag* of Bremen in 1476, Cologne had to submit to the conditions of the League and to pay a large sum to be readmitted.⁴⁷

Sometimes the Hanseatic League even waged war, as was the case in the 1360s, when King Waldemar Atterdag of Denmark conquered Gotland and seized ships of Prussian merchants in the Sund. The Hanseatic towns met in Cologne in 1367 and formed an alliance for five years which was a real confederation

(*Kölner Konföderation*). This confederation also went into alliance with Mecklenburg, Sweden, Holstein and parts of the Danish nobility: the war was a triumph of the Hanseatic League and King Waldemar was humiliated at the peace negotiations at Stralsund in 1370 (Götze [1970]).

The peace of Stralsund represents the climax of the power of the Hanseatic League, and it may seem as if the members of the League were a unified whole, always acting together. The interests of the towns united in the Hanseatic League, however, sometimes differed considerably. The case of Cologne in 1471 is very telling. In the war of the 1360s the core of the Hanseatic towns, the Wendish towns, succeeded in uniting all towns in order to achieve one of the main objectives of the League: to keep safe the routes between the Baltic and the North Sea. That was not always the case.

The second main objective of the League, especially of the Wendish towns, was to preserve the monopoly of trade in the Baltic for towns of the Hanseatic League, i.e. to keep the English and Dutch merchants out of the Baltic at all costs. Its monopoly was under threat in the 16th century, because England and the Netherlands prospered as a result of changes in the world economy brought about by the discovery of the New World in the years around 1500. The Wendish towns who depended most on this monopoly lost the support of the Hanseatic towns of interior Germany. Cologne, for example, ceased to attend the *Hansetag* in the period from 1606 to 1628. Furthermore the emerging modern state showed a tendency toward abolishing the privileges of foreign merchants. Ivan III closed the Hanseatic *Kontor* at Novgorod as early as 1494 and Elizabeth I closed the London *Steelyard* in 1598. Thus the Hanseatic League gradually lost its influence and the last *Hansetag* met in 1669. The League had ceased to exist.

To sum up: the Hanseatic League was certainly not a city-state, it was not even a confederation of city-states. Its members were towns of very different standing, of very different economic potential, and only a small number of them enjoyed liberties and an autonomy that equalled the liberties and the autonomy of imperial cities. The liberty of most of them was restricted by their territorial lords in the 17th century (e.g. Münster, Brunswick, Magdeburg) (cf. above, p. 297). There was nothing comparable to the Hanseatic League in southern Germany. There were a number of confederations of towns (*Städtebünde*), especially at the end of the 14th and in the 15th century. Their objectives were political, and they never developed

the political and economic power of the Hanseatic League in its heyday, although they were much better organised (cf. Isenmann [1988] 121-7).

Self-Government

Almost all towns of the Empire, however small, had a sort of self-government, and certainly the imperial cities were legislative, administrative and judicial units and possessed "internal sovereignty". So did many territorial towns of substance which had been granted liberties by their princely lords (see above, p. 297 and note 13).

The government of the imperial cities as well as the territorial towns⁴⁸ was exercised by the city's council (*Stadtrat*), which in most cases was headed by two mayors (*Bürgermeister*). The number of councillors (*Ratsherren*) varied from town to town and so did the ways of electing them. The city's council as the governing body of the town emerged in the 12th century and remained the central institution of the town's constitutional life to the end of the Holy Roman Empire. I shall not go into the details here but only give a sketch of the general lines of development. The urban communes of the cathedral cities gained emancipation from their lords in fierce struggles during the 12th and 13th centuries. This was achieved mainly by the urban elites: *ministeriales* of the city's lord, moneyers and merchants. The development in the old cathedral cities set the pace in many respects. Similar elites existed in the imperial cities, which from the beginning had administered the king's towns. Those old families monopolised the control of town councils for a long period of time and formed an exclusive upper layer of the town's society, sometimes even a sort of urban nobility. There were various terms applied to this social group: patricians, *Junker*, *Hausgenossen* etc., the most common was *Geschlechter*. For simplicity's sake I will use here the term "patricians", even if this is considered as incorrect by most constitutional historians who hold that the term should only be applied to the governing families of Nürnberg (cf. note 19).

Patricians dominated the city's council by right of birth and did so unchallenged in most imperial cities and territorial towns enjoying autonomous status until the end of the 13th century or even into the 14th century. Around the turn of the 14th century new social groups (wealthy merchants, who did not belong to the patricians, as well as the leading artisans of the craft-guilds) began to demand a share of the council's

power, a share in the control of the council's activities and in particular in the administration of the town's finances often strained by the territorial policy of the council (cf. above: Territory). They sometimes also demanded a reformulation of the town's constitution. Thus the internal urban history of the period between the end of the 13th century and the Reformation is characterised by internal conflicts. We know of 210 such conflicts in 40 towns, but there must have been many more.⁴⁹

In most towns the guilds were at the heart of the struggles and succeeded at least partly in transforming the governing body. Their representatives were admitted into the council or even gained a majority of seats. Only Nürnberg kept its patrician-dominated government up to the end of the Holy Roman Empire. But even in the towns, where the guilds succeeded in seizing power, the governing body remained in the hands of an oligarchy, because only wealthy citizens were able to perform as councillors (Weber's principle of "*Abkömmlichkeit*"). The citizens' conflicts of the Middle Ages did not bring about a sort of democracy and not all social groups, not even all of the guilds, were represented in the councils. But it is a notable fact that those struggles nowhere in Germany resulted in a "signoria" or tyranny as they did in the Italian city-states (Boockmann [1983]). This stability of oligarchies continued into the early modern period both in the imperial and in the territorial cities (Isenmann [1997]; Blockmans [1994]). In the territorial cities the oligarchies and urban elites increasingly included civil servants of the princes. The autonomy of these cities was frequently diminished by the princes and many of their privileges partly revoked or cancelled in total. But the town council, which in the course of time had developed from a representation of the community into a ruling body with almost autocratic traits (*Obrigkeit*) was still dominated by the same elites, who saw the profits which were to be gained by submission to their princely lords. The self-government of the territorial cities changed in a long-term perspective from autonomous to authorised self-government ("von freier zu beauftragter Selbstverwaltung") (Wiese-Schorn [1976]).

Defence

The medieval towns had fortifications, at least ramparts and moat, but in most cases also walls and towers.⁵⁰ Both walls and towers, as well as the fortified gateway were considered a dominant feature of the urban image and developed into an urban symbol.

The emerging communes of the 12th century chose this very symbol for their seals rather than an image of the townhall or a symbolic abbreviation of the city's council. The latter happened only in a few French towns (Johanek [1999a] esp. 34 with note 57).

The citizens in principle had to do military service, both in manning and maintaining the walls for defence, as well as in the town's levy against external enemies. But the military duties usually collided with the pursuit of the citizens' professions. The medieval urban citizens, and even more those of the early modern period, did not constitute a warriors society, as for example the nobility did. With perhaps a few exceptions in the patriciate, citizens did not train regularly for military activities. Therefore, at least from the 14th century, the towns had to rely on the services of mercenary troops.⁵¹ This was a weakness of the cities' political and constitutional life above all, the financing of defence and military activities very often caused internal conflicts. On the other hand, most of the technical military innovations of the late Middle Ages, such as the development of firearms and the modernisation of fortification around 1500, were achieved in an urban setting.⁵²

Citizenship and Urban Identity

Citizenship was indeed the central aspect of the constitution of a medieval city.⁵³ Only citizens were entitled to exercise full political and economic rights. Citizenship also determined a person's status in court.

Of course not all persons who lived in a town were also its citizens. Many of them were mere inhabitants (*inwoner*, *Beisassen*) or guests. They were not allowed to enter a guild and consequently were not permitted to carry on a trade as craftsmen (journeymen being excepted). On the other hand, the "guests" were allowed to perform commercial activities, and many foreign merchants would choose to live in a certain town without acquiring citizenship. Inhabitants without citizenship and guests were not eligible for the city's council. In principle, citizenship was regarded as a "*coniuratio*" for the maintenance of law and order in the city. Thus oath-taking was the central urban ritual when a person was admitted into citizenship, and in most cities the ceremony of oath-taking was repeated annually by the community of the citizens as a whole (*Schwörtag*).⁵⁴

The community of citizens was in principle a community of house-owners, and thus the possession of a house inside the city's walls ("*Haushäblichkeit*") was a condition for being admitted into citizenship. On the

other hand, a person who had acquired a house in town was expected to apply for citizenship. The new citizen also had to pay an admission fee. He was, in fact, "buying" the citizenship, thereby ensuring that he was in possession of sufficient means and would be expected not to become a burden to the public. Towards the end of the Middle Ages there were many towns in which ownership of a house was no longer considered a precondition for citizenship, but it remained the requirement that a citizen should be the head of an independent household ("*eigenes Feuer und Rauch*"). Unmarried men and women possessed citizen status only through the citizen rights possessed by the head of the family. Eventually the town's authorities became inclined to give citizenship to as many inhabitants as possible in order to secure their loyalty. Even before that time many towns had practised the taking of an oath by all inhabitants in periods of crisis (*Beisasseneid*).

The legal and ceremonial framework for admittance into citizenship was identical in imperial and in territorial towns. Some groups were excluded from citizenship. Thus the inhabitants of the urban territories were not citizens but subjects (cf. above Settlement Pattern). Jews were admitted into citizenship in the period before the pogroms in connection with the Black Death of 1348/50. They were, however, never eligible for the city's council and thus did not participate in the exercise of political power. Jews took a special oath (*Judeneid*) and formed a separate community inside the town with their own council and internal jurisdiction. After 1348/50 they were in many cases readmitted with a reduced legal status, but in most towns they were expelled in the 15th century, definitively between 1490 and 1520.⁵⁵

A special problem were clerics. In many towns – both imperial towns and free towns – ecclesiastical communities had developed immunities, i.e. special districts inside the city's walls but outside the jurisdiction of the city's authorities. Their inhabitants, both clerics and laymen, were not citizens, they did not pay taxes and the urban laws concerning the activities of crafts did not apply to them. The ecclesiastical immunities were a constant cause of frictions between the urban authorities and the church, and sometimes resulted in riots (*Pfaffenkriege*).⁵⁶ The Reformation solved that problem in most of the imperial and territorial cities which turned Protestant, but even then a few Catholic ecclesiastical institutions survived in Protestant cities (e.g. the Teutonic order in Nuernberg or the collegiate church of St. Patrokus and the convents of the Greyfriars and Augustinian nuns in

Soest). In the Catholic towns the frictions between town council and ecclesiastical immunities by no means disappeared completely, but the disputes no longer took violent course, as they did so often in the Middle Ages (cf. Schilling [1993] 94-103).

There were no ethnic problems in the imperial and free cities of the Empire, but in the towns of the Eastern Baltic and in German-dominated towns in Poland and Bohemia a substantial part of the inhabitants were of non-German extraction (*Undeutsche*). That was also the case in a number of towns in north-eastern Germany between the rivers Elbe and Oder. In many cases the non-Germans were not admitted into citizenship nor into the craft-guilds.⁵⁷ But very often the reality of everyday life was not as harsh as the letter of the law, and sometimes even the urban laws allowed for exceptions. In the 16th century, for example, the urban authorities of Teschen in Upper Silesia ruled on behalf of the statutes of the bakers' guild, which excluded Poles, Czechs and Slovaks from membership: "But because our entire principality is situated in Silesia, the sons of the town's population shall not – although they are not familiar with the German language – be excluded from the guild" (Landwehr von Pragenau [1976] 27).

The civic oath usually focused on the concepts of peace and harmony among the citizens (*harmonia civitatis, civium unitas*). External peace, i.e. the safety of the roads and trade, the integrity of the towns' liberties, as well as internal peace and harmony and the common weal (*bonum commune, salus publica, gemeiner nutz*) were considered to be the central civic values of the medieval and early modern urban population, and strongly influenced the urban mentality.⁵⁸ There is no doubt about the existence of a special urban consciousness – a "*conscience urbaine*" (cf. Kammerer [1999]) – constituted by the central values just quoted and which separated the urban citizens from the nobility on the one side and the agrarian population, the peasants, on the other. This consciousness was deeply rooted in history and tradition. The German towns, especially the imperial cities, developed a copious, even abundant urban historiography, unlike, for instance, the towns of Western Europe.⁵⁹ This historiography looked for legitimisation in a glorious past, a noble origin or descent (*Herkommen*) and powerful privileges. It also told of the preservation of the urban liberties and central urban values achieved by external feuds and successful mastering of internal conflicts. The historical experience and the concepts of central urban values were also displayed in a wealth of symbols,

monuments, pictures, ceremonies and rituals.⁶⁰ These media always stressed the ideal of communal government, and especially in the early modern period there are certain traits of republicanism.⁶¹ I shall leave it at that, though much more could be said about urban mentality (cf., e.g., Fleckenstein & Stackmann [1980]).

Conclusion

Were the towns of the Empire in the Middle Ages and in early modern times city-states? I do not know. Certainly not all of them were, of those 3-4,000 towns in existence. But I have my doubts even about the towns discussed here: the 99 largest towns of the Empire, the imperial towns of smaller size and the sometimes very small towns that were members of the Hanseatic League. We have had our criteria laid down by our symposiarch, and I think they are very good criteria to go by. There is only one point where I disagree. He has pointed out: "a city-state is a self-governing community, but not necessarily an independent and autonomous state" (*supra* 18). I do not think that it is enough that a city has "internal sovereignty". That is the case with almost all medieval towns, even very small territorial towns of 500 inhabitants. But in almost all other respects they are at the will of their territorial lord. I am even reluctant to see the large territorial towns with very extensive urban liberties, such as Brunswick or Lüneburg, clearly defined as city-states. They have no territory as the imperial cities have; they are able to exercise only informal control outside the city's walls. Even the imperial cities sometimes have no territory to speak of and if there is one, even a substantial one, as in the case of Nürnberg and Ulm, the cities seem not so very keen to enlarge it.

Furthermore, the imperial cities, which in my opinion come closest to the definitions of city-states, are not a prominent element in the constitutional structure of the Empire. They are interspersed among the princely territories. They exercise financial power and economic influence, but they have no decisive influence in the Empire's policy-making. The political culture of the Empire in the late medieval and early modern period is still characterised by the nobility and feudal structures. It is a culture of princely courts. Thus the imperial cities are a special case not only in the constitutional history of the Holy Roman Empire but also in the history of city-states.



Fig. 1. Imperial cities.

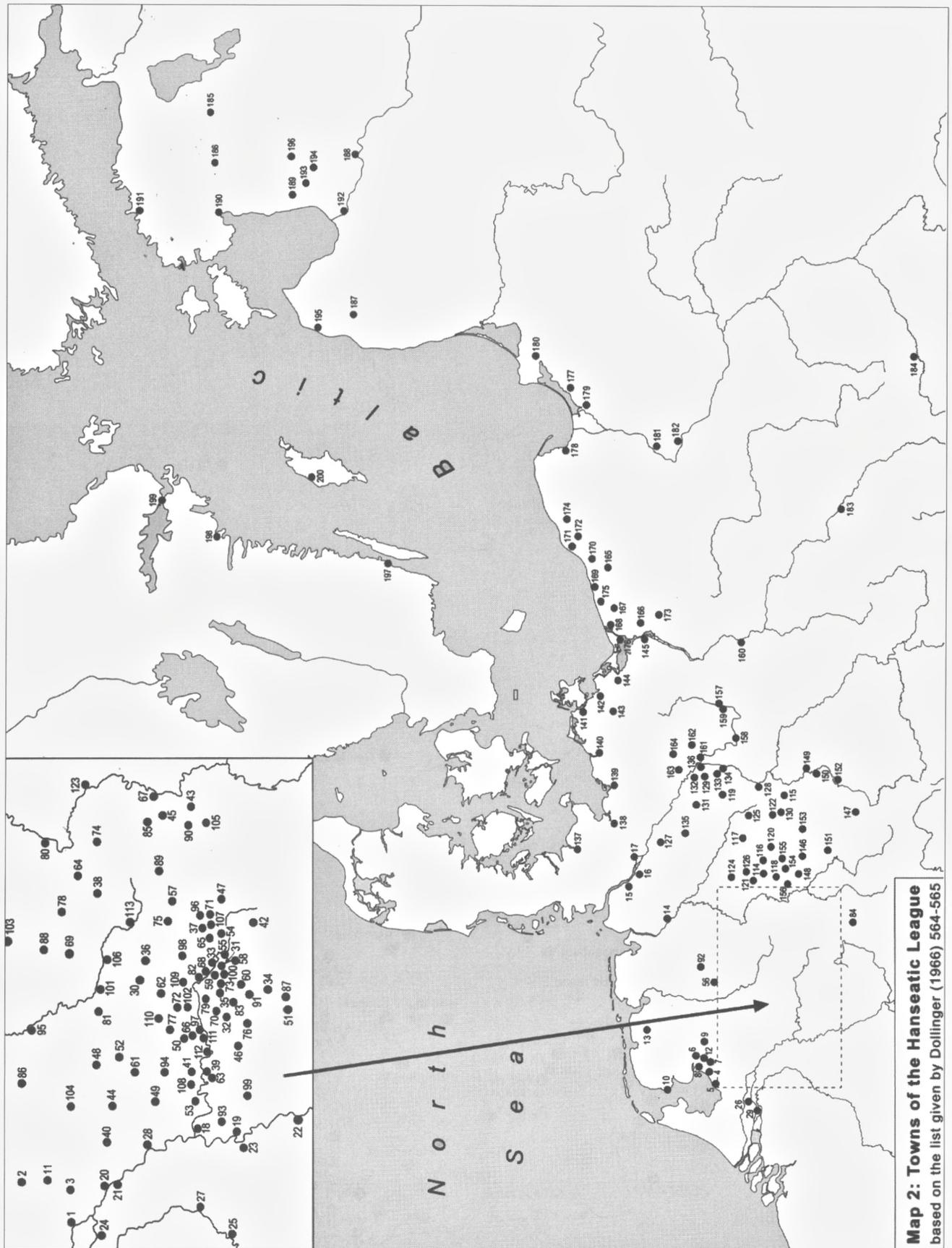


Fig. 2. The Hanseatic League, see Appendix 2 *infra* 311-13.

Appendix 1

List of imperial towns

Based on the *Reichsmatrikel* of 1521 (Zeumer [1913] 317), which stated the claims of the emperor on the towns, which were considered as imperial towns. Imperial towns had to contribute to the Empire's host in soldiers on horses, foot soldiers and money; the numbers are listed here. The *Reichsmatrikel* claimed several towns, which were in fact certainly not imperial towns; those are omitted here. Doubtful cases included in the *Reichsmatrikel* are Basel, Besançon and Cambrai; they are omitted from the list and Fig. 1.

Soldiers on horses	Foot soldiers	Towns	Money (florins)
20	112	Regensburg	120
40	250	Nürnberg	600
10	90	Rothenburg/Tauber	180
4	8	Weißenburg (Franconia)	50
4	36	Donauwörth	90
5	36	Windsheim	180
5	36	Schweinfurt	120
3	13	Wimpfen	130
6	60	Heilbronn	240
10	80	Schwäbisch Hall	325
10	80	Nördlingen	325
5	58	Dinkelsbühl	240
29	150	Ulm	600
25	150	Augsburg	500
2	13	Giengen	60
1	9	Bopfingen	50
2	18	Aalen	70
5	45	Schwäbisch Gmünd	150
10	67	Esslingen	325
6	55	Reutlingen	180
2	18	Weil der Stadt	120
3	40	Pfullendorf	75
4	68	Kaufbeuren	90
10	78	Überlingen	325
2	18	Wangen	110
4	22	Isny	100
2	18	Leutkirch	90
10	67	Memmingen	325
3	36	Kempton	120
–	10	Buchhorn (now Friedrichshafen)	60
4	67	Ravensburg	180
6	55	Biberach	180
6	72	Lindau	200
6	72	Konstanz	125
40	225	Straßburg (Strasbourg)	550

Soldiers on horses	Foot soldiers	Towns	Money (florins)
3	18	Kaysersberg	60
5	39	Colmar	180
7	58	Schlettstadt (Sélestat)	180
6	27	Mülhausen (Mulhouse)	120
3	122	Rottweil	180
8	36	Hagenau (Haguenau)	180
2	22	Weissenburg (Wissembourg)	125
3	31	Oberehnheim (Obernai)	110
1	9	Rosheim	60
3	99	Speyer	325
10	78	Worms	325
20	140	Frankfurt/Main	500
–	22	Friedberg	90
3	31	Gelnhausen	70
–	31	Wetzlar	40
30	322	Köln (Cologne)	600
20	90	Aachen	260
40	250	Metz	500
7	61	Toul	120
10	45	Verdun	120
–	45	Offenburg	150
–	36	Gengenbach	
–	22	Zell am Harmersbach	
2	22	Landau	100
7	45	Schaffhausen	90
21	177	Lübeck	550
20	120	Hamburg	325
20	100	Dortmund	180
–	78	Mühlhausen (Thuringia)	180
–	78	Nordhausen	180
–	130	Goslar	205
1	9	Türckheim (Turckheim)	60
–	–	Münster im St. Gregoriental (Munster)	60

Appendix 2

The towns of the Hanseatic League

The list is based on Dollinger (1966) 564-5. Included is Höxter (Westphalia), which was omitted by Dollinger, but cf. Rütting (1986) 216.

This is the widely accepted list of Hanseatic towns, cf. e.g. Bracker (1989) 682. But it must be emphasised that only about 70 towns are to be considered as active and influential members. Many of the towns were small and only occasionally mentioned in connection

with the Hanseatic League and its activities. Especially striking is the large number of Westphalian towns listed here. Some of them were mere townlets or markets with restricted liberties (*Freiheiten/ Wigbolde*). So it is very doubtful if they are to be considered as “Hansestädte”.

The problems of the membership in the Hanseatic League are not discussed here, but the fact that so many Westphalian places claimed membership or were thought to be members demonstrates the economic importance of the Westphalian region.

List of the Hanseatic Towns (Fig. 2)

Region of the River Ijssel and Zuiderzee:

1 Arnhem, 2 Deventer, 3 Doesborg, 4 Elburg, 5 Harderwijk, 6 Hasselt, 7 Hattem, 8 Kampen, 9 Ommen, 10 Stavoren, 11 Zutphen, 12 Zwolle.

North Sea coast:

13 Groningen, 14 Bremen, 15 Stade, 16 Buxtehude, 17 Hamburg.

Lower Rhine:

18 Duisburg, 19 Düsseldorf, 20 Emmerich, 21 Grieth, 22 Köln, 23 Neuß, 24 Nijmegen, 25 Roermond, 26 Tiel, 27 Venlo, 28 Wesel, 29 Zaltbommel.

Region between Rivers Rhine and Weser:

30 Ahlen, 31 Allendorf, 32 Altena, 33 Arnsberg, 34 Attendorn, 35 Balve, 36 Beckum, 37 Belecke, 38 Bielefeld, 39 Blankenstein, 40 Bocholt, 41 Bochum, 42 Bödefeld, 43 Borgentreich, 44 Borken, 45 Brakel, 46 Breckerfeld, 47 Brilon, 48 Coesfeld, 49 Dorsten, 50 Dortmund, 51 Drolshagen, 52 Dülmen, 53 Essen, 54 Eversberg, 55 Freienohl, 56 Fürstenau, 57 Geseke, 58 Grevenstein, 59 Hachen, 60 Hagen, 61 Haltern, 62 Hamm, 63 Hattingen, 64 Herford, 65 Hirschberg, 66 Hörde, 67 Höxter, 68 Hüsten, 69 Iburg, 70 Iserlohn, 71 Kallenhardt, 72 Kamen, 73 Langscheid, 74 Lemgo, 75 Lippstadt, 76 Lüdenscheid, 77 Lünen, 78 Melle, 79 Menden, 80 Minden, 81 Münster, 82 Neheim, 83 Neuenrade, 84 Neustadt (Hassia), 85 Nieheim, 86 Oldenzaal (Netherlands), 87 Olpe, 88 Osnabrück, 89 Paderborn, 90 Peckelsheim, 91 Plettenberg, 92 Quakenbrück, 93 Ratingen, 94 Recklinghausen, 95 Rheine, 96 Rüthen, 97 Schwerte, 98 Soest, 99 Solingen, 100 Sundern, 101 Telgte, 102 Unna, 103 Vörden, 104 Vreden, 105 Warburg, 106 Warendorf, 107 Warstein, 108 Wattenscheid, 109 Werl, 110 Werne, 111 Westhofen, 112 Wetter, 113 Wiedenbrück.

Region between Rivers Weser and Elbe (Lower Saxony):

114 Alfeld, 115 Aschersleben, 116 Bockenem, 117 Braunschweig, 118 Einbeck, 119 Gardelegen, 120 Goslar, 121 Gronau, 122 Halberstadt, 123 Hameln, 124 Hannover, 125 Helmstedt, 126 Hildesheim, 127 Lüneburg, 128 Magdeburg, 129 Osterburg, 130 Quedlinburg, 131 Salzwedel, 132 Seehausen, 133 Stendal, 134 Tangermünde, 135 Uelzen, 136 Werben.

Central Germany (Region South of the Harz Mountains and between the Upper Weser and the River Saale):

146 Duderstadt, 147 Erfurt, 148 Göttingen, 149 Halle, 150 Merseburg, 151 Mühlhausen (Thuringia), 152 Naumburg, 153 Nordhausen, 154 Northeim, 155 Osterode, 156 Uslar.

Brandenburg:

157 Berlin, 158 Brandenburg, 159 Cölln a. d. Spree, 160 Frankfurt a. d. Oder, 161 Havelberg, 162 Kyritz, 163 Perleberg, 164 Pritzwalk.

Baltic Coast, Mecklenburg and Pomerania:

137 Kiel, 138 Lübeck, 139 Wismar, 140 Rostock, 141 Stralsund, 142 Greifswald, 143 Demmin, 144 Anklam, 145 Stettin (Szczecin), 165 Belgard (Białogard), 166 Gollnow (Goleniów), 167 Greifenberg (Gryfice), 168 Kammin (Kamień Pomorski), 169 Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), 170 Köslin (Koszalin), 171 Rügenwalde (Darłowo), 172 Schlawe (Sławno), 173 Stargard/Pom. (Stargard Szczeciński), 174 Stolp (Słupsk), 175 Treptow a. d. Rega (Trzebiatów), 176 Wollin (Wolin).

Prussia, Silesia and Poland:

177 Braunsberg (Braniewo), 178 Danzig (Gdańsk), 179 Elbing (Elbląg), 180 Königsberg (Kaliningrad), 181 Kulm (Chełmno), 182 Thorn (Toruń), 183 Breslau (Wrocław), 184 Krakau (Kraków).

Livonia:

185 Dorpat (Tartu), 186 Fellin (Viljandi), 187 Goldingen (Kuldīga), 188 Kokenhusen (Koknese), 189 Lemsal (Limbaži), 190 Pernau (Pärnu), 191 Reval (Tallin), 192 Riga (Rīga), 193 Roop (Straupe), 194 Wenden (Cēsis), 195 Windau (Ventspils), 196 Wolmar (Valmiera).

Sweden:

197 Kalmar, 198 Nyköping (?), 199 Stockholm, 200 Visby.

Concordance of non-German place-names:

Białogard – Belgrad
 Braniewo – Braunsberg
 Cēsis – Wenden
 Chełmno – Kulm
 Darłowo – Rügenwalde
 Elbląg – Elbing
 Gdańsk – Danzig
 Goleniów – Gollnow
 Gryfice – Greifenberg
 Kaliningrad – Königsberg
 Kamień Pomorski – Kammin
 Kołobrzeg – Kolberg
 Koknese – Kokenhusen
 Koszalin – Köslin
 Kraków – Krakau
 Kuldīga – Goldingen
 Limbaži – Lemsal
 Pärnu – Pernau
 Sławno – Schlawe
 Słupsk – Stolp
 Stargard Szczeciński – Stargard/Pom.
 Straupe – Roop
 Tallin – Reval
 Tartu – Dorpat
 Toruń – Thorn
 Trzebiatów – Treptow a. d. Rega
 Valmiera – Wolmar
 Ventspils – Windau
 Viljandi – Fellin
 Wolin – Wollin
 Wrocław – Breslau

Notes

1. Bibliographical information is kept to a minimum in this paper. For the constitutional history and the political structure of the Empire in general cf. Moraw (1985); Schubert (1979); Schubert (1996); Moraw (1995); Moraw (1997) 27-59; Jeserich *et al.* (1983); Mitteis & Lieberich (1988); Willoweit (1990); Duchhardt (1991); Schindling & Ziegler (1996).
2. General information on the towns: Ennen (1972); Stob (1985); Engel (1993); Isenmann (1988); Moraw (1994); Boockmann (1986); Gerteis (1986); Schilling (1993); Ehbrecht *et al.* (1986/1996); Keyser & Stob (1939-1974); Stob (1973 sqq.); Ennen *et al.* (1972 sqq.); Stob & Ehbrecht (1975 sqq.); Banik-Schweitzer *et al.* (1982 sqq.); Šmahel *et al.* (1995 sqq.); Czacharowski (1993 sqq.); Stercken (1997 sqq.); Behringer & Roeck (1999).
3. Metz (1965) 29-54; Sydow (1968) 281-309; Pfeiffer (1974) 201-26; Isenmann (1979) 9-223; Moraw (1979) 385-424; Fahlbusch (1983); Heinig (1983); Herborn (1983) 658-79; Isenmann (1988); Press (1987) 9-27; Duchhardt (1999); Brady (1985); Schmidt (1984); Schilling (1993) 81-7, 91f.; Press (1985) 9-59.
4. Cf. Zeumer (1913) nr. 181, p. 317, nr. 220, p. 554 sq. (see also Annexe 1); Leiser (1985) 2 sq.; Isenmann (1988) 111.
5. Catholic: Aachen, Buchau, Buchhorn, Gengenbach, Kaysersberg, Köln (Cologne), Oberehnheim (Obernai), Offenburg, Pfullendorf, Rosheim, Rottweil, Schlettstadt (Sélestat), Schwäbisch Gmünd, Türckheim, Überlingen, Wangen, Weil der Stadt, Zell am Harmersbach; mixed: Augsburg, Biberach, Colmar, Dinkelsbühl, Hagenau, Kaufbeuren, Ravensburg. Cf. Enderle (1988) 228-69.
6. E.g. *Nostra et sacri imperii civitas*, cf. Pfeiffer (1974) 201.
7. *Ewer und unser rechter, natürlicher und ordentlicher herr*, cf. Schubert (1979) 291.
8. Isenmann (1988) 109 sq.; Schilling (1993) 38-45; Johaneck (1994) 9-25; Czoya (1999) 75-89.
9. There is no general survey of the size and number of inhabitants of German towns in pre-modern times. Estimations of the number of inhabitants for single years are to be found in Keyser & Stob (1939/79). For general orientation, see Ammann (1956) 415-22; Isenmann (1988) 29-32; Irsigler (1983) 81ff.; Johaneck (1994) 11-13.
10. Again there is no general survey, cf. Leiser (1975); Wunder (1979) 79-91; Blessing (1979) 5; Isenmann (1988) 236-42; there are 2 useful maps for the south-west of the Empire in Schindling & Ziegler (1989/96, vol. 5) 194 resp. 214.
11. Cf. Isenmann, (1988) 231-44. Sydow (1968) 300; Schulze (1985).
12. For *Landwehren* in general cf. Knepe (1999) with a good bibliography; an instructive example: Knepe (1997).
13. Cf. for the case of Lüneburg, Behr 1964.
14. Graßmann (1989) 353-470; Wunder (1979) 82 ff.
15. Luntowski *et al.* (1994) 92-5; as early as 1286 Dortmund had bought a third of the jurisdiction in this county and 1320 half of the territory.
16. Kießling (1979) 186 sq.; cf. in general Kießling (1989) passim; Engel (1993) 271-8.
17. Cf. Ennen (1972) 199-204; Stob (19852) 153-6; Isenmann (1988) 29-34; Schilling (1993) 4-17.
18. Based on the map in Stob (1985) 155.
19. For the patriciate in the German towns cf. Rössler (1968); Bátori (1975); Hauptmeyer (1979); Endres (1988); Isenmann (1988) 269-83; the latest case study: Loibl (1999); for its origins in the urban ministeriality see the seminal work of K. Schulz (1968) and Maschke & Sydow (1973); Engel (1993) 47 sq.; an opposing view now in Derschka (1999) 441-89; for the interrelation of nobility and town in general: Brunner (1956); Weigl (1989); Schulz (1991); Diefenbacher (1993); Zotz (1993); Ranft (1993); Hufschmidt (1996); Mindermann (1996); Johaneck (1998).
20. Isenmann (1988) 98 sq.; Zotz (1993) 31 sqq.; an instructive example is Cologne, cf. Domsta (1973).
21. The founding of towns is to be regarded as one of the most powerful instruments in territory-building in the decisive period of the 13th-14th century, cf. Stob (1959); Störmer (1973); Ehbrecht (1979); Ehbrecht (1987); Johaneck (1994) especially n. 14 and 27.
22. For the Hanseatic League see below with notes 43-7.
23. La Foire (1953); Johaneck & Stob (1996); Rothmann (1988) with extensive bibliography.
24. Cf. in general Aubin & Zorn (1971); Henning (19854); Kellenbenz (1986); Isenmann (1988) 357-380 with extensive bibliography.

25. Around 1300 Attendorn was a town of about 15 ha and perhaps 2000 inhabitants, cf. Stooß (1975 sqq.) II.1.
26. For a general survey cf. Graßmann (1989); Irsigler (1979a); Pfeiffer (1971); Ammann (1970); Stark (1973); Cielak (1982); Kießling (1971); Kellenbenz (1980); Gottlieb (1985); Reinhard (1996) with extensive bibliography; Livet & Rapp (1981).
27. For the early modern period see the excellent survey of Reininghaus (1990); there is nothing comparable for the Middle Ages, and one is left with the short paragraph in Isenmann (1988) 341-56, cf. also Stromer (1986), Holbach (1987) and the map in Engel (1970) 124 sq. for the time around 1500.
28. Irsigler (1979a); Johanek (1992); Peltzer (1909); Kellenbenz (1970).
29. Ammann (1954); Irsigler (1979a); Prieur & Reininghaus (1983); Schmoller (1879); Kießling (1989) especially 213-33; Ammann (1958); Dascher (1968).
30. Aubin (1964); Aubin & Kunze (1940); Zimmermann (1885); Kießling (1989); Clasen (1981); Ammann (1953); Reininghaus (1990) 26-9.
31. Stromer (1978); Funk (1965); Kellenbenz (1983); Kießling (1989).
32. Funk (1965) 71 sqq.; Kießling (1989) 481; Irsigler (1979a) 43.
33. Furger (1927); Kirchgässner (1974); Irsigler (1979a) 45 sqq.; Isenmann (1988) 353-6; Holbach (1985); Holbach (1994); Kießling (1996).
34. Cf., e.g. for Cologne, Irsigler (1979b) especially maps 1-5.
35. Isenmann (1988), 299-335; Engel (1993), 142-72; Oexle (1979); Oexle (1982); Schweineköper (1985), Johanek (1993); Reininghaus (1981); Reininghaus (1990), 15f., 49 ff.; Puschner (1987); Fischer (1955).
36. cf. below "Self-government" and note 49.
37. Weber (1922) 513 sq; cf. also Ay (1993) especially 74 sqq.
38. Cf. for this term Bockholt (1987) and Johanek (1994), 14 sq. 24 sq.
39. Cf. above "Territory" with n. 12.
40. Ammann (1955) 102 sqq.; Clemens (1993); Hoffmann (1940) 50 sq., 140; Irsigler (1971) 370, 390 sq.
41. Cf. the account by Dollinger (1966), 401 sqq.; Graßmann (1998).
42. Cf. e.g. Press (1987) 16 sqq.; Schilling (1993) 67 sqq.
43. General works on the history of the Hanseatic League: Dollinger 1964 (1966); Wernicke (1983); Bracker (1989); Friedland (1991); Stooß (1995).
44. The following account is mainly based on Dollinger (1964), (1966).
45. Isenmann (1988) 121-7; Raabe (1971); Engel (1975); Voltmer (1986); Berns (1991); Puhle (1996b).
46. Stein (1913-1915); see also the list here (Appendix 2 and Fig. 2) based on Dollinger (1966) 564 sq.; for Westphalia cf. Fahlbusch (1994).
47. Dollinger, (1966) 394-8; Buszello (1971); Hemann (1988).
48. Cf. in general Herborn (1983); Isenmann (1988) 131-209; Engel (1993) 55-116; Schilling (1993) 72-81; Stolleis (1991); Ehbrecht (1994); Isenmann (1997).
49. Maschke (1959); Maschke (1974) especially 40; Ehbrecht (1974); Blickle (1988); Isenmann (1988) 190-8; Engel (1993) 117-41; Ehbrecht (1996); Johanek (1997); Moraw (1998).
50. Isenmann (1988) 48-50; Haase (1978); Isenberg & Scholkmann (1997).
51. Cf. in general Isenmann (1988) 148-52; Kirchgässner & Scholz (1989); two recent studies with extensive bibliography: Wübbecke (1991); Wübbecke-Pflüger (1996); see also Braun (1987).
52. The most important source is Albrecht Dürer's book on fortification (Dürer [1527]); cf. also Herrmann & Irsigler (1983); Eimer (1961); Stooß (1988).
53. Cf. only Isenmann (1988) 93-102, and the collected essays of Gerhard Dilcher which laid the foundation of our understanding medieval citizenship (Dilcher [1996]).
54. Ebel (1958); Isenmann (1988), 90-3; an outstanding example is the "Schwörtag" of Ulm, cf. Specker (1997).
55. Isenmann (1988) 100 sq.; Wenninger (1981); Schilling (1993) 103-6; important case studies are Schnurrer (1987); Ries (1994) with extensive bibliography.
56. Störmann (1916) (fundamental); Isenmann (1988) 210-30; Schubert (1988); Hergemöller (1989).
57. Johansen & von zur Mühlen (1973); Engel (1993) 158; Schich 1994.
58. Meier (1994); Rogge (1996); Johanek (1997) 46-50.
59. Schmidt (1958); Du Boulay (1981); Johanek (1991); Johanek (2000).
60. Cf. e.g. Graf (1989); Meier (1996); Meier (1998); Johanek (1999b).
61. Schilling (1988) 89-93; Blickle (1996); Blickle (1998).

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