MARCO MOSTERT

Urban Culture in the Early Medieval West

The Case of the Episcopal Towns in the German Kingdom

Introduction: German Episcopal 'Cities'

Although the sources for urban culture in the early medieval West are much less abundant than they are for the period from *c.* 1100 CE onwards, it is nevertheless all but impossible to deal with all aspects of 'Civic Identity and Civic Participation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages' for all of the West and for the whole of the period *c.* 500–*c.* 1100 CE in the scope of an article. An attempt can be made, however, to answer the following three questions: Is anything known about how early medieval town dwellers organized themselves? How did they see themselves as a group? And were there continuities in the ways late antique town dwellers and their early medieval successors saw themselves?

These questions may be answered in part by using the sources assembled in the *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*.[1] However, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, among other countries, have not been covered by this selective collection of sources. This hampers an investigation of the third question. This may be remedied by zooming in on episcopal cities, for which there is

This article benefited from a fellowship at the Paris Institute for Advanced Study (France), with the financial support of the French State, programme 'Investissements d'avenir' managed by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR-11-LABX-0027-01 Labex RFIEA+). It would have been impossible to write this article without Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*. Most references to the relevant literature can be found there. In the footnotes, I have tried to give full references to all the relevant sources, in some cases going beyond Hirschmann. For the literature on individual towns, I refer the reader to this thoroughly researched, monumental work of scholarship.

1 *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, vols I–III.2 have appeared. The countries covered to date are Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinavia (vol. I), France and Luxemburg (vol. II.1), England and Ireland (vol. II.2), Austria (vol. III.1), and Hungary (vol. III.2).

Marco Mostert • (m.mostert@uu.nl) is Professor of Medieval History at Utrecht University.

This is an open access chapter made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License
Civic Identity and Civic Participation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Cédric Brélaz and Els Rose, CELAMA 37 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 363–389
BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.CELAMA-EB.5.123827

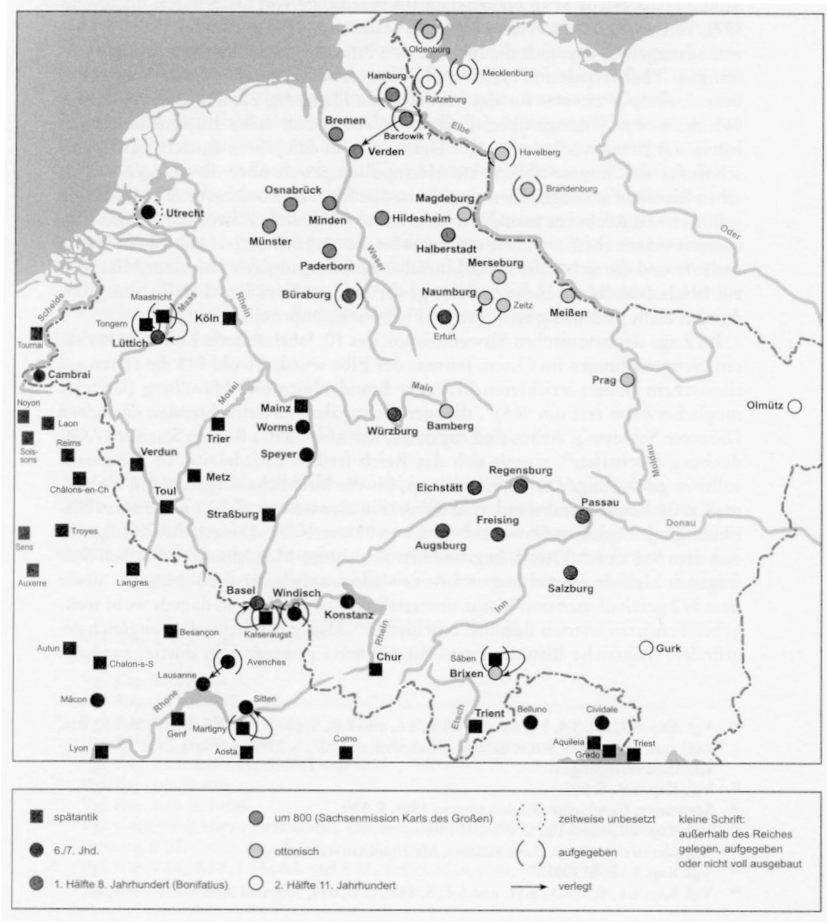

Figure 14.1. Map showing the origins of episcopal towns in the German kingdom from Late Antiquity to the eleventh century, taken from Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa*, III, p. 1025. Reproduced with permission.

an ample literature. Frank G. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa*,[2] chose to deal with the episcopal sees in the German kingdom until the twelfth century. These included both towns and cities with late antique antecedents and later foundations. His study deals inter alia with contemporaries' views on the settlements and their inhabitants. The role of the bishops is pronounced. If one wants to know how the town dwellers

2 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*. Additional information may be gleaned from Rossignol, *Aux origines de l'identité urbaine*.

organized themselves, however, the choice of documents in the *Elenchus* can be taken into account as well.[3]

By combining the approaches suggested by the two publications mentioned above, it is possible to give provisional answers to the three questions that are at the centre of attention in this contribution for what became the German kingdom. The focus will be on those episcopal towns in Germany that had antique origins (see Figure 14.1). This will allow comparisons with many of the other contributions to this volume. For the Carolingian, Ottonian, and, on occasion, later periods, however, data from the later German episcopal towns will be adduced as well. This is justified because of the roughly similar conditions in which many episcopal towns found themselves from *c.* 800 onwards with regard to their relations to the kings and the local bishops. These rulers started to grant written privileges to the inhabitants of towns on a regular basis only from the twelfth century onwards. These texts, in which the rules according to which the urban communes were to organize themselves are spelled out, show marked changes from earlier views on civic identity and civic participation expressed in the (rare) earlier sources. If only to show the apparent discontinuities encountered in the sources, they will be taken into account as well.

The focus in this essay will be on the role of the bishops in 'their' towns. These towns were more likely to thrive, however, if next to the bishops, other members of the secular clergy, and members of the regular clergy, a variety of lay inhabitants could also be found there. Some of them we will encounter briefly in the course of this essay. I will pass over in silence these towns' defences, the occasional royal palaces and the castles of the nobility that could also be found in some episcopal cities, presupposing the presence of secular rulers and their courts.[4] There were markets, including annual fairs, mints, crafts, and long-distance merchants. And all these people needed to be fed and entertained. Bishops, kings, noblemen, the developing communities of citizens, first of all their elites, but on occasion also individuals and *ministeriales*,[5] took part in the embellishment of the towns they lived in through building activities.

---

3 There is a huge bibliography on many of the topics touched upon in this article. For reasons of space, the primary sources had to be privileged over discussions of the sources in current scholarly debate. See the online *Bibliographie für vergleichende Städtegeschichte*, maintained by Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte of the University of Münster. On their website one can also find a yearly published *Auswahlliste von Neuerscheinungen zur Stadtgeschichte*.

4 A royal palace is mentioned in Metz in the Merovingian age; it was taken over by the bishops in the tenth century. The Regensburg palace of the Aigilulfingian dukes was taken over by Charlemagne. Worms also had a royal palace under the Carolingians. See the summary in Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1171–73, and, for the castles of the nobility, pp. 1173–75.

5 As their name, deriving from *minister*, already suggests, *ministeriales* denoted first servants living in their master's household. Through their undertaking ever more important administrative tasks, though legally unfree, they came to form a 'class' whose power became pronounced, e.g. in the bishops' administrations. See Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, pp. 684–87.

The clergy lived cheek by jowl with the towns' laypeople, and also with those laypeople who were less fortunate than the lay town-dwellers just mentioned.

Already around the year 900 Cologne is thought to have numbered 21,000 inhabitants; it had a town wall around its 125 hectares' surface; it had a hospital, a market, an annual fair, and a mint. Around 1150 its inhabitants numbered 49,000, and its surface had increased to 223 hectares; it now had six hospitals, its lay inhabitants were beginning to organize the town community, and it had its own town seal. At the other end of the urban scale, the episcopal town of Utrecht around the year 900 may have had one thousand inhabitants and a wall around its two hectares, but nothing is known as yet of the signs of urban life, such as they were, that Cologne could already boast of. Around 1150, however, Utrecht's population had grown as well, to an astonishing 28,000 inhabitants, and the town covered a surface of 132 hectares. It now had a royal palace and a hospital, it had started to organize its community, and it too now had a market, an annual fair, and a mint. Around 900 the other episcopal 'cities' we encounter were situated somewhere between Cologne and Utrecht; in 1150 Cologne remained the largest episcopal city in the German kingdom, and Utrecht had managed to become the seventh-largest after Cologne, Liège, Metz, Mainz, Regensburg, and Trier, leaving behind it a plethora of lesser cities and towns, with Verden and its one thousand inhabitants being among the smallest episcopal towns making up the rear.[6]

It will be clear that in the period under consideration there were marked differences between the individual settlements that we consider as 'episcopal towns'. These continuously developing differences are reflected not only in the presence or absence at any one moment of the general urban characteristics of the settlements in which bishops had their seats. These characteristics also determined the differences between the individual episcopal towns' identities. On occasion, claims to status could elicit responses from contemporaries that showed a lack of credibility of the episcopal towns' civic identities. The general lack of sources on the civic participation of the laity and the diversity among the episcopal towns in the German kingdom make it all but impossible to arrive at general conclusions about their urban culture; general conclusions about their Christian civic identity fare only slightly better. It is nevertheless interesting to consider what can be known about the individual early medieval German episcopal towns, if only to suggest comparisons with their counterparts elsewhere or with developments later on in the German kingdom.

Sources for the Study of Urban Identities

When we want to address civic identities and civic participation, we need to address the problem of the origin of the sources. In the case of the early

6 Cf. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1340–51.

medieval episcopal towns of what gradually developed into the German kingdom, these sources emanated mainly from the kings, the local bishops, and their clergy. The bishops were the lords of the towns where they resided. Only incidentally do we hear the voice of the non-clerical inhabitants of the episcopal towns. Bernhard Diestelkamp, who edited the sources for the early history of German towns in the *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*,[7] gives as the oldest text a report by Gregory of Tours (*c.* 540–594) about a miracle of Saint Martin on behalf of a merchant of Trier (the term used is *negotiator*), when the latter was staying in Metz to trade in salt.[8] Frank Hirschmann, who was mainly interested in the building history of the episcopal towns, gives surveys of all data known about their history and historiography, which in the case of Trier alone amount to no less than fifty-seven densely printed pages, but in which he relatively seldom gives quotations from the sources. These need to be found through his bibliography.[9]

Clearly, references to ordinary town dwellers are few and far between. This is important, because we may surmise that there were significant differences between the views put forward in texts produced by the episcopal lords of these towns and their clergy, and the views held by their lay co-inhabitants. And even the sources written by the German bishops themselves hardly ever deal explicitly with matters of identity and participation.[10] For the late antique period, there seems to be no evidence of significant strife between the bishops and the local inhabitants of their towns. Considering that the episcopal towns then in existence were embedded in the general urban networks of episcopal *civitates* of Gaul and Germania (see Figure 14.1), we may surmise that (Christian) ideas current in Gaul about citizenship will have been shared among the ecclesiastical elites in the 'German' episcopal towns. These ideas will have been transmitted to the population at large in the form of sermons delivered by the bishops and clergy — as indeed will have been the case in the later Merovingian, Carolingian, and Ottonian periods as well. New sermons may have been committed to writing, but sermons written elsewhere may also have been put to use. Unfortunately, in view of the paucity of evidence about the delivery of the surviving sermons to the bishops' flocks in general,[11] we cannot go much beyond hypotheses.

---

7 'Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt (bis 1250)', in *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, I, pp. 1–277 [hereafter 'Quellensammlung'], a collection of 177 excerpts relating to events dating from [591] to 1254.

8 Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus S. Martini*, ed. by Krusch, IV. 29 (p. 206), in 'Quellensammlung', no. 1, p. 39.

9 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, deals with forty-six episcopal seats in vols I–II, pp. 14–1022. The bibliography in vol. III gives editions of printed sources mentioned (pp. 1367–86) and references to the abundant secondary literature (pp. 1386–1535). Also relevant is Patzold, ed., 'Bischofsstädte als Kultur- und Innovationszentren'.

10 See Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1367–86. The same is true for the other towns and topics he deals with.

11 Cf. Mostert, 'Medieval Sermons as Forms of Communication'.

If we have little direct textual evidence of the urban identities of the local bishops and their clergy, the situation regarding knowledge about the local communes formed by the inhabitants of the episcopal towns generally is even worse. The situation will become better when these communes' legal foundations will become fixed in writing from the twelfth century onwards, thanks to the growing royal interests in the development of urban settlements.

There may also be indirect evidence of urban identities, however. This has to do with the presence of monasteries and other foundations of the regular and secular clergy, with episcopal towns as places where the saints congregate, with the care of the poor and the presence of hospitals, with the way strangers were treated, and possibly with episcopal centres of written culture. Last but not least, there are the images left by contemporaries in descriptions of episcopal towns and the terminology with which they refer to them.

Christian Identities and Exclusion

Before starting our survey, it is important to devote a few words to the definition of 'civic identity'.[12] Clearly, when dealing with episcopal towns, we are considering towns with a pivotal role in the organization of Christian society and Christian identities. However, the inhabitants of these towns did not form a cohesive unity. The late antique episcopal towns inherited populations that were by no means exclusively Christian, and their inhabitants were already divided into those that could be deemed trustworthy because they possessed *fides* and *fama*, and whose word could therefore be accepted in a court of law, and those who did not, due to their *infamia*.[13] This juridical distinction survived the general acceptance of Christianity. Now a process of exclusion on religious grounds was added to the already extant process of exclusion on juridical grounds of some of the towns' inhabitants.[14] These processes were to form the basis of further forms of exclusion later on. The most important 'othered' groups earlier on included pagans, heretics, and Jews; other groups were added to them, including those who were on the verge of poverty, those with physical and mental defects, and those who were engaged in certain suspect professions. Christianity has often been able to invert these apparent defects (e.g. by adopting some kinds of 'poverty' as virtues, especially for monks), and it has a proven record of assisting those who were in need. Nevertheless, there have always been restrictions to charity (e.g. in the distinction made between that offered to one's 'own'

12 The following is inspired by Todeschini, *Au pays des sans-nom*.

13 Todeschini, *Au pays des sans-nom*, pp. 46–52, with references at pp. 310–11.

14 See Bührer-Thierry and Gioanni, eds, *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne*; and Joye, La Rocca, and Gioanni, eds, *La construction sociale du sujet exclu*. See also Zaremska, *Les bannis au Moyen Âge*, pp. 25–64 and notes, pp. 200–204.

poor and the poor who came from elsewhere). This meant that parts of the urban populations had reasons to worry about their exclusion from the town's Christian community. Studies have shown that the Church could also exclude its members from its community from early on — even if it is only in the thirteenth century that *Randgruppen* and *Unterschichten* start to be so clearly defined as to make it almost impossible for some to avoid exclusion. We must be aware of the existence of differences within the late antique and early medieval communities of town dwellers in juridical, religious, economic, and therefore social matters as well, and not to identify the views of the urban community as such with the views of identity and participation preached by a clergy that could be exclusionary as well as inclusive.

Episcopal Seats with Antique Traditions

In the medieval German kingdom, the following episcopal towns had roots in Antiquity: Trier, Metz, Verdun, Toul, Cologne, Mainz, Strasbourg, Chur, and Trento (see Fig. 14.1). The episcopal seat at Tongres, which moved to Maastricht already in Antiquity (with that of Maastricht being moved to Liège later on), did not survive. Säben's episcopal seat likewise did not survive; it was moved to Bressanone. The seat of Kaiseraugst was moved to Basel. With the exception of Chur, Trento, and Säben, these episcopal seats could be found west of the Rhine. They formed part of a network that extended to the south-west and south. The episcopal seats of Cambrai, Constance, and Basel are mentioned before 700; those of Worms and Speyer also had antique roots, but their lists of bishops only start in 614. Utrecht and Liège can be dated as bishop's seats in the late seventh and early eighth century. The other bishop's seats in the later German kingdom are more recent. Their origins have to do with the presence of Boniface († 754), the Carolingian wars with the Saxons, and the Ottonian expansion eastwards.[15]

Above it was suggested that we concentrate on the bishop's seats with antique roots. This is possible only when they are considered as a group, however, as some of them show discontinuities in their existence. Some of these discontinuities may have been caused by the replacements of bishops by Frankish counts in some of the existing *civitates*. This was to prove only temporary, and before long the bishops returned as lords in the episcopal towns.[16] What happened meanwhile with these towns' inhabitants, not to mention the church institutions, however, is not always clear. Continuity is assumed in the cases of Trier and Metz from the late third century onwards;

15 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1023–39, with references to the detailed treatment of individual towns in I, pp. 14–457 and II, pp. 458–1022, with indications of the size of the towns and the numbers of their inhabitants (whenever they can be estimated).

16 'Quellensammlung', p. 8.

Verdun and Chur are thought to have been seats of bishoprics from the fourth century onwards, as well as, also from the fourth century (but with less strong evidence) Cologne, Toul, and Trento. In other cases, it is very likely that there was no continuity between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

Of the late antique episcopal towns, Trier was by far the largest. It measured 285 walled hectares and was the third city in the Roman Empire after Rome and Constantinople. It was an imperial residence and had all the trappings of Roman civilization. In 407 the prefecture of Gallia was moved from Trier to Arles, because of the inroads of 'barbarian' tribes. If anywhere in the later German kingdom, it was in Trier that Roman notions of citizenship would have been known. Ambrose of Milan was born here in 339, in an important family of the senatorial imperial aristocracy.

Cologne and Mainz were capitals of provinces, although less impressively so than Trier. Metz could be compared with the three provincial capitals; the other episcopal towns with antique roots were less impressive.

Metz proved to be the town which witnessed the most continuity. The Latin language survived (in Romance guise), as did Christianity and the episcopal organization. The walls and main churches survived, although the influence of the attacks of 451 by the Huns may have been detrimental. Cologne and Trier also survived to some extent; Mainz was described around 440 as destroyed, and indeed there are gaps both in the written traditions and in the archaeological record. The list of bishops is complete only from the middle of the sixth century onwards. Until the middle of the seventh century, however, the inhabitants spoke a Romance dialect, which suggests some continuity of the region's population.

These few indications of the problematic continuity of the four main bishop's seats with late antique roots will have to suffice. 'Continuity' can best be studied by asking a series of partial questions. Rather than arriving at the conclusion that there was either continuity or not, this may lead to the conclusion that there may have been 'more' or 'less' continuity. The questions that may be asked are the following: Is there continuity of the people involved? Of place? Of time? Of the forms of whatever we want to determine the continuity of? Of function?[17] If we want to know whether there was a continuity of Christianity between, say, the fourth and the sixth century in the towns that, later on, were episcopal towns in the kingdom of Germany, this means asking the following questions: Do the 'Christians' we find in the fourth and sixth centuries belong to the same (social or linguistic) groups? Do we find Christianity in the same place? Are there gaps in the 'Christian' period under consideration? Does Christianity have the same forms? And do those forms have the same functions? When the answer to more of these questions is positive, we can conclude that there is more continuity (in this case: in the Christianity of the later episcopal towns). Clearly, the cases of Trier, Cologne,

17 See Bausinger, 'Zur Algebra der Kontinuität'.

Mainz, and Metz show that the answer cannot be the same for these four towns. And that has implications for our answer to the question of whether it is likely that fourth- or sixth-century Christian notions of civic identity or civic participation could be found in these towns. For each individual town, this question seems even more difficult to answer; for the group of episcopal towns with antique roots as a whole, we can hypothesize that, provided we can suggest sufficient continuity in their Christian character, they shared in the ideas of Christian civic identity and participation that can be shown to have been current elsewhere in Christian Europe.

Monasteries as Indications of Christian Urban Quality

There are several non-textual indicators of Christian urban quality. One of them is the presence of monasteries and other foundations of the secular and regular clergy. The Benedictines were among the first to establish themselves in episcopal towns. According to St Augustine, there were followers of St Anthony and the Egyptian monks at Trier in the time of Emperor Gratian (375–383); possibly this community went back to Athanasius of Alexandria, who was in Trier around 335.[18] Gregory of Tours mentions *monachi basilicae* in Trier around 585; he also mentions *abbates* in the circles of Bishop Magnerich there (after 561 – after 587).[19] How these communities functioned in (or just outside) the town, is unknown. Between 634 and 698, the monks of the monastery of Saint-Maximin of Trier lived according to an Irish-Benedictine mixed rule. Under Bishop Hetti (814/16–847) the monastery accepted the *Rule* of St Benedict.[20] In 778 an Irish-Scottish community appeared in Mainz, in a church close to the Altmünster; it is not heard of again.[21] In 836/38 Bishop Frothar of Toul imposed the *Rule* of St Benedict on the monastery of Saint-Evre, which had been in existence since the seventh century.[22]

For the next century, more Benedictine monasteries appeared, although their number remained relatively small. All of them were founded to the west of the Rhine or south of the Danube, and more than half of them were situated in Romance-speaking areas. In all recorded cases, the bishops took an active part in attempts to found monasteries; apparently, they hoped for a spiritual, but possibly also an economic injection into the life of their episcopal towns. From about 940 onwards there was an intensification in the founding of Benedictine monasteries in episcopal towns, and not only

18 Gauthier, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, pp. 87–88.

19 Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. by Krusch and Levison, VIII. 21 and IX. 10 (pp. 388 and 425).

20 Anton and Haverkamp, eds, *Trier im Mittelalter*, pp. 47–48, 63–66, 101.

21 *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Stimming, no. 126 (p. 68).

22 *Les actes des évêques de Toul*, ed. by Schoellen, no. 1 (p. 51); see also Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, I, p. 145.

in those with antique roots. Metz counted no less than four of them by the middle of the tenth century, and Bishop Thierry I founded a fifth Benedictine monastery for men on the island in the Moselle, Saint-Vincent, in 967.[23] Clearly, Benedictine monks were thought to contribute to the identity of episcopal towns. Conversely, some later bishoprics, such as Magdeburg, were founded with an already extant Benedictine monastery within their walls.[24] By the middle of the twelfth century no less than twenty-seven episcopal towns had at least one Benedictine monastery. Next to the so-called *Schottenklöster*, these were among the oldest ecclesiastical foundations in the bishops' towns. But they were by no means to remain the only ones.

The importance of the monasteries for the identity of episcopal towns is suggested also by the monastic reform movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which show a preponderance of monasteries in or close by episcopal towns taking a leading part. Gorze was situated near Metz; Saint-Maximin, in Trier. The reform movement of Saint-Vanne of Verdun was also influential. The bishops also had their Benedictine monasteries reformed, no doubt hoping to gain thereby in spiritual capital. Bishop Gauzlinus of Toul, for instance, had Saint-Evre follow the reform movement of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire).[25] Even more influential was the influence of Cluny on the Benedictine monasteries in almost all episcopal towns.

Similar to the influence of the Benedictine monasteries was that of the collegiate churches (*Kollegiatsstifte*). Here, the spiritual proved less important than in the case of the monasteries. Whether the canons could be seen as equal to the monks was an issue on which views were divided. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, a perceived lack of spirituality could be remedied by transforming collegiate churches into monasteries. In Verdun the lack of a monastery was felt in the middle of the tenth century, and Saint-Vanne was transformed by Bishop Berengar into a Benedictine monastery in 951–952.[26] In Liège, Bishop Balderich (1008–1018) decided on the foundation of the monastery of Saint-Jacques because the church of Liège could afford it, and because monks could live a more rigorous life than canons, as they did not have to take on the administrative burdens of the secular clergy.[27] According to Bishop Burchard of Worms (1000–1025), however, monks, canons and laymen all had their place in the '*familia in ecclesia Dei*' (the family in the Church of God), because '*non omnia possumus omnes*' (all cannot do everything).[28] Canons played a role as early as 626–627 in Saint-Evre, in Toul; halfway through the seventh century in the church of the Apostles (the later Saint-Arnoul) in Metz; and at unknown early dates at Saint-Gereon in

23 *Vita Deoderici*, ed. by Pertz, p. 473.
24 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, II, pp. 844–45.
25 *Les actes des évêques de Toul*, ed. by Schoellen, no. 9 (p. 71).
26 *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, ed. by Waitz, p. 45.
27 *Anselmi gesta episcoporum*, ed. by Koepke, p. 207.
28 *Vita Burchardi episcopi*, ed. by Waitz, p. 840.

Cologne and Saint-Paulin in Trier. But although they did useful work, their spirituality was different, and somehow to outsiders less obviously powerful, than that of the monks.[29]

Monasteries for women are also mentioned very early on. Bishop Modoald of Trier (614/20–646/47) founded Saint-Symphorian to the north-west of Trier. His successor, helped by St Modesta, founded a second monastery for women, dedicated to the Virgin Mary; it was situated in an ancient Roman *horrea* ('granary'), hence it got its name Ören.[30] Bishops teaming up with pious women were also responsible for the foundations of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains in Metz (middle or end of the seventh century) and Saint-Mary in Mainz (end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century). In the middle of the twelfth century, twenty-one episcopal towns possessed one or more monasteries for women; Metz and Cologne even had four each.

From the eleventh century onwards, monasteries that followed other rules than that of St Benedict were also founded in episcopal towns: Augustinian canons and orders of knights are mentioned. The number of monasteries in the individual episcopal towns in Germany was considerably larger than in other regions in Western Europe, with the exception of Rome. This does not mean that the German bishops were more interested in monasteries as places of spirituality, congregations of the saints, centres of learning, institutions of charitable work, or indeed units of production and consumption, together giving prestige to their towns and making them into holy places. Rather, German bishops, as lords of their own towns, were simply better able to amass the riches needed to maintain their spiritual infrastructure.

Episcopal Towns as Congregations of Saints

To get an idea of the spiritual riches of the bishop's towns, we have to add to the monastic foundations and their inhabitants the saints, who congregated there as well. These towns boasted the graves of saints, relics, and the patronage by saints to whom churches were dedicated, even if no relics of those saints could be found there. All the main saints of Christendom can be found as patrons in the dedications of the cathedrals and minor churches and altars in the episcopal towns. The Virgin Mary, the Saviour, Saints Paul, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Lawrence, Peter, Stephen, and the Holy Cross — to name but a few — occur repeatedly in dedications, as do local saints in those regions where they were venerated, as do saints who were venerated by the rulers. From the sixth and seventh centuries onwards, to give but one example, St Martin became a patron saint of the Franks. Bishop Magnerich of Trier founded the oldest church in honour of this saint in the territory of

29 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, p. 1068.
30 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, I, pp. 30–31.

the later German kingdom.[31] In the Carolingian period Martin's cult crossed the Rhine, and Martin became the patron saint of several bishop's churches in Saxony. In Bavaria, however, no dedications are known, whereas to the west of the Rhine his *patrocinium* is only absent in Verdun.[32]

Many saints were present in their relics. The smallest particle of their bones could defend against damage. Smaller relics are found from the eleventh century onwards; in the tenth century the body of the saint was still left intact. Only a few saints present in German episcopal towns were formally canonized before the middle of the twelfth century. Among them were five local bishops, starting with Ulrich of Augsburg (in 993) and finishing with Godehard of Hildesheim (in 1131). The bishops in the west were blessed, different from their colleagues in Saxony, with many bones of their predecessors. They brought these relics to the borders of their dioceses, to bind the ecclesiastical institutions there to their cathedral churches. Sometimes they needed to move the relics to save them, for instance in 955 from the Hungarian danger.[33] Sometimes the saint was able to help his town to victory. In 1141, St Lambert, considered the first Bishop of Liège, was taken, together with a relic of the Cross, to help in taking the castle of Bouillon. The saint's presence indeed resulted in the hoped-for victory.[34]

When Bishop Gerhard I of Cambrai dedicated his new cathedral in 1030, the saints of the whole diocese were brought into the cathedral, where they were arranged under the 'presidency' of the first Bishop of Cambrai, St Gaugericus. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* go into detail about the placement of the other confessors and virgins, all according to their rank. So many people came to Cambrai that there was no place for all of them within the walls. The event allowed the solemn religious integration of the whole of the town's population, in all its corporative organization, under the ecclesiastical authority over the town.[35] Gerhard I was accompanied by Abbot Richard of Saint-Vanne of Verdun, who augmented the treasury of relics of his abbey (and thereby of Verdun) through buying, extortion, robbery, digging up, and sheer invention. He was, next to the Bishops of Cologne and Metz, one of the most important relic collectors of the age.[36]

Trier had the largest number of holy bishops: twenty-five. Most of them were buried in the cemeteries to the north of the town. At least twenty of them ended up in the town's monasteries. Metz and Verdun also had sizeable numbers of holy bishops. Saint-Clément of Metz boasted no less than six

---

31 Ewig, 'Der Martinskult im Frühmittelalter', p. 384.

32 All patron saints of cathedrals, churches belonging to the cathedral (including chapels and crypts), monasteries, and churches (including chapels, hospitals, and secondary patrons) up to the twelfth century have been entered by Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1112–21 in a table.

33 *Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, ed. by Trillmich, p. 44.

34 *Triumphus Sancti Lamberti*, ed. by Arndt, p. 506.

35 *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. by Bethmann, p. 483.

36 Wagner and Goullet, 'Reliques et pouvoirs', p. 87.

holy bishops. Verdun had ten of them, as well as an imported saint. Cologne merely had two holy bishops from Late Antiquity or the early Middle Ages, St Severin and St Cunibert respectively. But Cologne had St Gereon, the leader of the Thebaic legion, and St Ursula with her 11,000 virgins. And in Saint-Severin could be found the two Ewalds from the retinue of Willibrord, who had lost themselves in the Saxon mission and were brought to Cologne by King Pippin II. The list is all but endless.[37] It is important to realize that this presence of the saints was seen as very real, and that they were considered able to act on behalf of a bishop's town in death as they had been in life. As the dedication of the cathedral of Cambrai shows, the arrangement of the saints' reliquaries in the newly finished church would have mirrored the placing of the guests had they still been alive. The saints were as much a part of the community of the town as were the bishop, his canons, the monks and nuns, and the lay people of various ranks. With the exception of those who had been excluded from the community (and who were not named because they had lost the right to be named), together, alive and dead, they shared in the town's identity and participated in its civic life.

Assistance to the Poor and Hospitals

From Late Antiquity onwards, bishops were obliged to take care of the poor, the weak, the sick, and the homeless — and provided these disadvantaged people formed part of the Christian community, they acquitted themselves of this task as best they could. The *Rule* of St Benedict prescribed welcoming pilgrims and the poor to the monasteries.[38] The bishop's charity extended, according to Gregory the Great, to the *cura exteriorum* which he had to exercise as *pater pauperum*.[39] In the Carolingian capitularies the bishop's charitable duties were reiterated — and the bishop was to share them with the king.[40] The financial burden was on the bishops, who, according to the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* of 818–819, needed to reserve up to two thirds of church income to helping the poor.[41] In the eleventh century, however, monastic reformers such as Otloh of Saint Emmeram observed that the bishops of his day no longer used tithes to help the poor.[42]

There are references to bishops who took their charitable functions seriously, although most of these mentions refer to holy bishops. Gregory of Tours mentions

37 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1135–38, lists for all bishop's towns the holy bishops, the other local saints, and the imported saints whose remains were kept. Patrons of the cathedral, monasteries, or other church foundations are printed in bold.

38 Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, ed. by de Vogüé and Neufville, c. 53 (II, pp. 611–16).

39 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, ed. by Adriaen, XX. 3 (II, p. 1004).

40 This royal duty was to continue long afterwards. See Aladjidi, *Le Roi père des pauvres*.

41 *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, ed. by Boretius and Krause, c. 4 (p. 276).

42 Heckmann, 'Pater pauperum Christi', p. 46.

that Bishop Nicetius of Trier (525–560) was very much concerned about the poor and the weak;[43] and, according to his *Life*, Bishop Arnulf of Metz not only maintained an *ospicium* where he distributed alms, there was also a community of the poor (*matricularii*[44]) who were distinguished from the poor generally — which may be a first distinction between 'our' poor and the poor in general.[45]

Hospitals that can be shown to have been in operation for a long time are mentioned in Bremen for Archbishop Ansgar (847–865), who founded a *hospitale pauperum*, in which the sick were also cared for,[46] and Archbishop Adaldag (937–988) increased its endowment so that henceforth twenty-four poor people could find a place there.[47] Almost at the same time, in 965, the Cologne hospital of Saint-Quirinus (near Saint-Panthaleon) may be meant in the testament of Archbishop Bruno.[48] But by the middle of the tenth century hospitals can be found in only seven out of slightly under forty episcopal towns. By the middle of the twelfth century, their number has grown to fifty-two in thirty episcopal towns. By then, episcopal foundations were getting competition from the communal hospitals founded by lay town dwellers. In Metz one finds the hospital of Saint-Nicolas-en-Neufbourg,[49] in Cologne the hospital of Saint-Bridget (led by a layman, who was appointed by the Abbot of Gross-Sankt-Martin),[50] in Strasbourg the Old Hospital, which was supported by lay town dwellers,[51] and in Verdun Saint-Nicolas-de-Gravière was a lay foundation, but within the province of the bishop.[52]

In the matter of hospitals, the lay inhabitants seem to take over whenever the bishops were felt to leave something to be desired. Care for the poor and the sick was not worthy of mention everywhere, and if it was considered important, it did not necessarily lead to the bishops' taking sufficient measures as only they, as the towns' lords, would have been capable of doing. Hospitals were either taken for granted, and therefore went unnoticed in the written texts at our disposal, or their existence was not indispensable for the Christian identity of a bishop's town. Had it been, then long before the middle of the twelfth century all towns would have boasted at least one hospital.

---

43 Gregory of Tours, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed. by Krusch, XVII (pp. 277–83).

44 The *matricularii* were individuals who were on the list of those poor receiving doles from the church permanently. These poor men could act as servants for the upkeep of the church. Cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, pp. 662–63.

45 *Vita Sancti Arnulfi*, ed. by Krusch, p. 438.

46 Rimbert, *Vita Anskari*, ed. by Trillmich, p. 112; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. by Trillmich, pp. 202 f.

47 Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, ed. by Trillmich, p. 244.

48 *Ruotgeri Vita Brunonis*, ed. by Ott, c. 49 (pp. 51–52), does not, in fact, mention the hospital. Cf. Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, p. 1141, referring to I, pp. 180–81.

49 Mentioned in Hecelinus, *Miracula recentiora*.

50 *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, ed. by Rheker-Wunsch, Rusen, and Witler, no. 58 (p. 525).

51 Pauly, *Peregrinorum, pauperum ac aliorum transeuntium receptaculum*, p. 175.

52 Girardot, *Le droit et la terre*, p. 96.

Outsiders and Jews

'Outsiders' do not appear very often in the sources for the episcopal towns of Germany. Most outsiders mentioned had jobs in the building industries. Already in the sixth century, in Trier, Italian builders are present, who had been hired by Bishop Nicetius from the Bishop of Sion (Sitten).[53] Other representatives of immigrant groups are the Frisians (*Frisiones*), mentioned as inhabitants in the Mainz port area[54] and at Worms in the last quarter of the ninth century.[55] They were occupied as merchants, in the Rhine trade. At Merseburg, King Henry I (*c.* 876–936) settled a kind of penal battalion made up of thieves and robbers, who were meant to help fight the Slavs.[56] This must have seemed an excellent way of dealing with criminals. Later on, there are more mentions of strangers. Prague, for instance, suffered from German immigrants, and Duke Spytihněv had them expelled in 1055.[57] His successor Vratislav II (1061–1092), however, welcomed them back and issued a privilege for them in which they were put on the same juridical footing as Jews, Romance-speakers, and Slavs.[58] There must also have been immigrants from the Mediterranean in Prague. In the early twelfth century, inhabitants from Holland were enticed to Bremen to drain swamps,[59] and around 1150 they possibly came to neighbouring Verden, as builders of the church of Saint-John.[60] Finally, until the later Middle Ages the *Schottenklöster* in Regensburg, Erfurt, Würzburg, Constance, and Eichstätt were exclusively meant for Irish monks.

Clearly, immigrants were mentioned mainly when they came in groups to the bishops' towns in Germany, and this seems to have happened ever more often from the Ottonian period onwards. Apart from the builders who came in smaller groups or, one may assume, individually, no mention is made of individual immigrants who came to the towns in search of a better life. People who, at least initially, belonged in the amorphous groups of the *Unterschichten*, were not mentioned by name or origin — although others were. And yet they must have made up a constant trickle of immigrants, as without input from the countryside the towns were not able to maintain the numbers of their inhabitants. The penal battalion of Henry I provides the only explicit mention of the (forced) settlement of people belonging to *Randgruppen*; the relatively rich towns of the bishops must have attracted

53 *Epistolae Austrasiacae*, ed. by Gundlach, no. 21 (pp. 133–34).
54 *Annales Fuldenses*, ed. by Rau, s.a. 886 (p. 126).
55 *Annales Wormatienses*, ed. by Pertz, p. 37.
56 Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. by Hirsch and Lohmann, p. 69.
57 Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, ed. by Bretholz and Weinberger, c. 14 (p. 103).
58 See *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, ed. by Friedrich, no. 290 [1174–1178] (pp. 255–57), and Moraw, 'Das Mittelalter', p. 50.
59 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Ehmck and von Bippen, no. 27 (p. 28).
60 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, II, p. 791.

many more marginal people, who, because they were merely marginal, were not mentioned by name in the sources.

The presence of Jews also merits a few words. When exactly they came to the realms of the Franks and, more in particular, to those regions that later formed the German kingdom, is not clear.[61] With some certainty a large building in Cologne, which used the remains of an antique predecessor, can be interpreted as an (early) ninth-century synagogue. In the tenth century there was also a ritual bath (*mikveh*) to be found there, by the market. A Jewish quarter is first mentioned in Cologne in 1091 as *inter Iudeos* (among the Jews), and a Jewish cemetery in 1096.[62] Somewhat later than Cologne, Metz had a Jewish community (first mentioned 888),[63] then followed Mainz (937), Worms (960), and the Ottonian towns in the eastern border area of the kingdom (Magdeburg before 965–1096; Merseburg 980–1096), and in the south (Regensburg 981). Trier (1066) and Speyer (1084) are relatively late.[64]

A pogrom took place in 1096, at the time of the First Crusade. Because of the persistent presence of the Jews in the trinity of the enemies of Christianity, that is, pagans, Jews, and heretics, the attitude of the bishops during the pogrom is highly relevant here. It suggests how ideas which ought to have led to the exclusion of the Jews were variously interpreted by those who ought to have been guided by them. In Mainz, the Jews fled into the palace of Archbishop Ruthard; he and his retinue left the town, and left the Jews to be killed by the mob.[65] In Worms, too, the bishop's palace did not provide security.[66] In Trier, on the contrary, Archbishop Egilbert took the Jews into his palace, the *asylum Treverorum* or *palajs*, and delivered a sermon in the Porta Nigra in favour of the Jews. Because he had little influence on the mob of would-be crusaders, however, two weeks later he persuaded the Jews to be baptized and saved many of them in this way.[67] In Metz, too, many Jews let themselves be baptized.[68] In Speyer, Bishop John took most of the Jews to safety in his palace.[69] Whenever the bishops are mentioned, they do what they can (with the notable exception of the Archbishop of Mainz): they offer safety in their palaces and/or persuade the Jews to be baptized. According to the mobs, forced baptism made the Jews into Christians; they at least saved their lives. But there is also the well-documented case of Isaak ben David of Mainz, who had been forced to be baptized, then had to set the synagogue alight, and when he found out his wife had meanwhile been

61 See Battenberg, *Das europäische Zeitalter der Juden*, I, pp. 45–65.
62 Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, I, pp. 169, 173, 228.
63 *Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden*, ed. by Aronius, no. 119 (p. 51).
64 Other towns include Prague (960s, 1090), Verdun (1096?), Würzburg (before 1147), and Olomouc (twelfth century?). The presence of Jews in Cambrai in 1096 is uncertain.
65 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, pp. 290, 300, 374.
66 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, pp. 280, 284, 288.
67 *Gesta Treverorum*, ed. by Pertz, pp. 190–91; *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, pp. 26, 131 f.
68 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, p. 480.
69 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, p. 492.

murdered, committed suicide together with his mother and children.[70] When the bishops are not mentioned, some other helpers are. In Prague, for instance, allegedly five hundred armed Jews defended themselves and were helped to safety with the aid of ducal forces (probably they were taken to Vyšehrad, the castle to the south of Prague's centre, the area where the richest Jews, merchants, and moneychangers lived).[71] It is unknown why the bishop did not help them. But the attitude of the bishops generally during this kingdom-wide pogrom seems to show up an anomaly in the idea according to which only Christians could participate in a Christian society. In practice, many Christians believed their Jewish neighbours worth saving; unfortunately, many others believed the message about a Christian society without Jews. This meant that, even if some or most of the Jews in a particular town were saved, just as others in the margins of society, they must have felt the unease and insecurity that comes from being considered at best as second-rate citizens.

Episcopal Seats as Centres of Written Culture

We can be very short about literacy and learning as an ingredient of the bishops' towns' identity. There is growing evidence about the use of writing outside the ambit of the clergy, and nobody was without at least some notion of what writing could do.[72] There is some evidence of continuity in the use of funerary inscriptions, which continued to be made,[73] although many town dwellers must have gone without epitaph.[74] We may assume, however, that most registers of literacy were important mainly to the clergy. In the tenth century most cathedrals had a school.[75] Although they were meant in particular for the formation of the clergy and the choirboys, at Paderborn Bishop Badurad (815–862) admitted also pupils of lower condition to the cathedral school: '*pueros tam nobilis quam inferioris conditionis*' (boys both of noble and lower condition).[76] Reading and writing were necessary skills for the clergy, but outside the rarefied circles of the literates, the possession of a school of renown was not, as yet, something of importance for a town's identity. The writing that went on outside the ranks of the clergy must have been considered at best as a skill as any other, and not worthy to mention.

---

70 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, pp. 350f, esp. p. 380.

71 *Hebräische Berichte*, ed. by Haverkamp, p. 482.

72 See, e.g., Mostert, 'News from Early Medieval Utrecht', on finds of writing utensils which must have been in use among farmers and merchants already before the installation of the bishopric at Utrecht at the end of the seventh century.

73 Favreau, *Épigraphie médiévale*, pp. 291–99, and the editions mentioned at pp. 10–13.

74 See Mostert, 'Beyond the Pale'.

75 The exceptions are Chur, Bressanone, Trento, Merseburg, Meissen, and Olomouc; there are no mentions of cathedral schools before the middle of the twelfth century.

76 *Vita et translatio anonymi Paderbornensis*, ed. by der Vry, p. 195.

Towns as Seen by Contemporaries

Already in Antiquity, *laudes urbium* ('praises of towns') had been written, poems which in their choice of praiseworthy things show how their authors and audience thought about particular towns. They had dealt with the climate, the advantageous position of a town, the presence of saints, religious amenities, the arts and sciences, trade, the virtues of the inhabitants, and comparisons with other towns (especially with Rome). Only a few *laudes urbium* have been produced in the area that was to become the German kingdom. After 392 Ausonius wrote a short *laus* on Trier, in which its role as a centre of the Christian faith is not mentioned.[77] Around 770, Arbeo of Freising praises Regensburg for its defensibility.[78] Alcuin praises Salzburg only for its cathedral and its many altars.[79] The *Translatio* of St Liborius to Paderborn, written at the end of the ninth century, mentions, apart from classical clichés, the health-giving source of the Pader.[80] More interesting is the lasting abhorrence of pagan cults mentioned by Adso of Montier-en-Der in his depiction of Toul in the *Vita* of St Mansuetus (written 974–992).[81] Abbot Gerhard of Seeon, at the beginning of the eleventh century, writes an over-the-top praise of Bamberg, calling it the '*caput orbis*' (the head [or: capital?] of the world) and better than Athens, which once had also been a town of book-learning.[82] Liège, too, is the beneficiary of a *laus*, contained in a letter of *c.* 1065 of Gozwin, the leader of the cathedral school of Mainz, who praises Liège for its learning.[83] Other, later *laudes* are similarly laudatory of their chosen towns, and are similarly unhelpful in the search for information on the way contemporaries saw the bishops' towns.[84] It is of interest to note that the towns' inhabitants are not mentioned as such in these *laudes*, with one exception: the *Vita* of St Martin, which was written just after 1129 by Richer of Metz, contains a description of Metz in which we find a cameo of the market and a list of the wares bought and sold there — before the author returns to antique topoi and a list of saintly protectors.[85]

Some information can also be gleaned from travel literature, the most famous example of which is the text written by Ibrahim Ibn Ya'qub, an Arabic-educated Spanish Jew, who travelled in 965–966 to Prague, Paderborn,

77 Edition in Heinen, *Trier und das Trevererland*, pp. 254–55.
78 Arbeo of Freising, *Vita Haimhramni*, ed. by Krusch, p. 476.
79 Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Dümmler, no. 109 (pp. 335–40).
80 *Vita et translatio anonymi Paderbornensis*, ed. by der Vry, pp. 190–91.
81 Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Vita et miracula Mansueti episcopi Tullensis*.
82 'Preislied Gerhards von Seeon'.
83 *Gozechini scholastici epistola*, cols 888–89.
84 Regensburg in the *Translatio* of St Denis to Saint-Emmeram (1080s), in which the three parts of the town, of which one is that of the merchants, are mentioned; Metz in the *Vita* of Bishop Thierry I by Sigebert of Gembloux (between 1065 and 1070); and Trier, in the *Vita sancti Willibrordi metrica* of Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (end of the eleventh century).
85 Richer, *Vita Sancti Martini*, ed. by Decker, p. 3.

Table 14.1. Nouns for German episcopal towns[a]

urbs	'town'	*urbs regia*	Regensburg
		principalis urbs Sclavorum	Prague
		urbs metropolitana	Prague
		maxima urbs huius regionis	Prague
civitas	'city'	*civitas regia*	Regensburg
		civitas publica	Worms
		civitas metropolitana	Prague
		civitas maxima, totius Germaniae metropolis	Cologne
arx	'stronghold'	*arx regni*	Worms
metropolis	'capital'	*metropolis Norici regni*	Regensburg
		metropolis et sedes ducatus	Regensburg
		provinciae metropolis	Prague
		metropolis Boemie urbs	Prague
		Theutonum noua metropolis	Magdeburg
		tocius Gallie Germaniaeque metropolis	Trier
		metropolis Germaniae	Speyer
caput (*regni*)	'capital (of the kingdom)'	*Bawarii caput regni*	Merseburg
		Caput Boemiae	Prague
		see above, under *civitas*	Cologne

[a] For references to the sources, see Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1246–52.

Utrecht, and Mainz. In his description of Prague, he mentions the presence of Muslim, Jewish, and Turkish merchants, who would seem to have been left unmolested by the Christian community of the town.[86] This suggests that trade was more important than fighting the enemies of Christianity.

The ways in which bishop's towns are given epithets may also suggest something of their standing in the eyes of those who could compare them with other towns. I give only a few examples in Table 14.1. All these epithets stress the political role of individual bishop's towns. There does not seem to be any strictly observed hierarchy in their use, as some towns may take several of these epithets according to the context in which they are named. Some of the smaller episcopal towns might simply be called *civitas*, *urbs*, *oppidum*, *castellum*, *vicus*, or *locus*, without second thoughts.

Bishop's towns can also be adorned with appropriate adjectives. A few examples are provided in Table 14.2. The bishops, as lords of their towns, seem to have had a certain preference for stressing the holiness of their towns on their seals and their coins, small objects whose inscriptions could reach relatively large numbers of people.

86 'Der Reisebericht des Ibrahim ibn Jacqub'.

Table 14.2. Adjectives for German episcopal towns

sancta	'holy'	*sancta Colonia*	Cologne, on bishop Pilgrim's seal
		sancta Ledgia	Liège, on coins
		sancta civitas	Prague
		sancta Treveris civitas	Trier, on coins
sacra	'holy'	*sacra civitas*	Prague
aurea (*-um*)	'golden'	*aurea Colonia*	Cologne
		aureum regni caput	Mainz

Finally, the ties with Rome are stressed, as on the town seal of Mainz: '*Aurea Magontia Romanae ecclesie specialis filia*' (Golden Mainz, the special daughter of the Church of Rome). Cologne called itself in passing '*Roma secunda*', but in Trier the title stuck longer, being inscribed on coins.[87]

Negative characteristics are mentioned as well. Walther, the later Bishop of Speyer, as schoolmaster at the cathedral school called his town a '*vaccina*' (cow village) in the 970s.[88] Toul, halfway through the eleventh century, was a '*paupercula civitas*' (poorly city),[89] and Basel was, according to some, a village rather than a town.[90] Speyer was unhealthy, especially in the summer, according to Meinhard, teaching at Bamberg cathedral (*c.* 1064): fever was endemic then.[91] Sextus Amarcius, writing some forty years later, wants to derive the name Speyer from its 'bad air'.[92]

New Identities: The Development of Urban Communes

Already in the second half of the tenth century, the lay inhabitants of the bishop's towns began to receive royal privileges. In the eleventh century they became important in the kingdom's (and empire's) politics, and the inhabitants could request further rights for their developing communes (*communitas*, *communia*, *commune*).[93] The position of the towns' lords, in our case the bishops, came under pressure from the inhabitants as well, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An urban identity developed in which Christianity became less prominent, and the pride of the lay town dwellers in their community became ever more based on their own organizations. Christianity did not become

87 For references, see Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, pp. 1252–53.
88 'Walther von Speyer', ed. by Strecker, p. 12.
89 Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier*, ed. by Lot, p. 254.
90 *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Basel*, ed. by Wackernagel, no. 14 (p. 9).
91 'Weitere Briefe Meinhards', ed. by Erdmann, no. 31 (p. 220).
92 Sextus Amarcius, *Sermones*, ed. by Manitius, p. 128.
93 Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, pp. 220–24. See also Pitz, *Europäisches Städtewesen und Bürgertum*, pp. 325–27, 360–70.

unimportant — emphatically not, and the history of the medieval towns of the later Middle Ages can be written as one of Christian communities just as their earlier history can be. But there was now more attention in the surviving documents for the lay town dwellers themselves, who in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were even to take over the town schools, by then as useful to the merchants as they had been to the clergy from these schools' beginnings.[94] A new identity could develop. How this identity was formed is a topic that cannot be dealt with in this chapter. I will, however, outline some of the differences that existed between the earlier civic identities and the later ones.

Quite early on, the kings occupied themselves with the inhabitants of developing towns, whether they were in the hands of ecclesiastical lords, such as bishops, or not. In 940, Corvey, a daughter of the monastery of Corbie, was given the *bannum* ('royal authority') by Otto I, especially over the people who had to use the monastic *coenobium* and *civitas* that had been built as a refuge.[95] Six years later Otto gave the same monastery rights as lord of the town that was developing around the monastery: '*nullus iudex publicus* [...] *ullam exerceat potestatem judiciariam nisi prefati legitimus advocatus abbatis*' (no public judge will exercise any judicial power except the lawful advocate of the abbot aforementioned).[96] The same kind of right will be encountered later on in the charters of rights issued on behalf of the developing urban communities by the kings or by the lords of their towns.

By the middle of the twelfth century, eighteen bishop's towns were either in the process by which their lay inhabitants would form communities with their own legal identity or they had already finished this process. Nine non-episcopal urban settlements, almost all in the Low Countries, were also developing such communities or communes.[97] One of the oldest municipal laws of Germany is that of Freiburg. Originally promulgated in 1120, it received additions at several moments later on. The two versions of this municipal law and their additions show how the town dwellers tried to arrive at ever greater clarity in organizing their lives.[98] The short excerpts quoted below are meant to give an impression of the kinds of matters lay town dwellers found important enough to include in their own law. '*Nullus de ministerialibus vel hominibus domini in civitate habitabit vel jus civile habebit, nisi de communi consensu burgensium*' (None of the servants or men of our lord [the bishop] shall live in town or have citizenship, unless by the common consent of the burghers).[99] The apparatus of the town lord is excluded from the town; the

94 Mostert, 'Some Thoughts'.
95 Otto I, *Diplomata*, ed. by Sickel, no. 27 (pp. 113–14).
96 Otto I, *Diplomata*, ed. by Sickel, no. 77 (p. 157).
97 See the map in Hirschmann, *Die Anfänge*, III, p. 1203.
98 I use the edition in 'Quellensammlung', no. 55 (pp. 82–102).
99 'Quellensammlung', no. 55.16 (p. 90). The rights of the towns' inhabitants were determined by the content of the privileges granted by the lord of the settlement. The inhabitants were given some form of autonomy, which included the right of the community to develop some

bishop all but suffers exclusion from his own flock.[100] No lord may choose his (parish) priest, '*nisi qui communi consensu omnium civium electus fuerit et ipsi presentatus*' (unless he be elected by the common consent of the citizens and be presented to him [i.e. the lord]).[101] The burghers elect their own bailiff (*scultetum*).[102] They will be responsible for their own possessions; they make rules for inheriting from one's parents; men and women are equal before the town law[103] — and so it goes on.

The Freiburg municipal laws are no exception. The content, style, and purpose of the urban sources published in the *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae* change from the twelfth century onwards. It is clear at a first glance that they are rather different from those we have encountered in the previous period, when the bishops and clergy were mainly responsible for the construction of civic identities. Hardly anywhere does Christian civic identity or Christian civic participation make an appearance. Quite possibly the town dwellers continued to rely on the bishop and clergy for such matters. They did not feel the need to encumber their own laws and bylaws with them. This does by no means warrant the conclusion that town dwellers did not feel that Christianity mattered in government and administration. But this is not the place to dwell on the later medieval forms of civic identities and participation.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Les actes des évêques de Toul, des origines à 1069, ed. by André Schoellen (Nancy: Mémoire de maîtrise histoire médiévale, 1985)

Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*, in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. by Werner Trillmich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), pp. 137–499

Adso of Montier-en-Der, *Vita et miracula Mansueti episcopi Tullensis*, in *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–), *Septembris* I, pp. 637–51

Alcuin, *Carmina*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, in *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. I, MGH, Poetae Latini medii aevi, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 160–351

---

of its own (internal) institutions. See for a first introduction Pitz, *Europäisches Städtewesen und Bürgertum*.

100 'Quellensammlung', no. 55.16. References are to the first version, in the left-hand column of the edition, at pp. 90–91.

101 'Quellensammlung', no. 55.35 (p. 96). In the new urban context, the words *civis* and *burgensis* have the same meaning. Cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, s.v.

102 'Quellensammlung', no. 55.35 (p. 96).

103 'Quellensammlung', no. 55.42 (p. 98). The second version, in the right-hand column, adds the German *est genoz* (*ist Genosse*, i.e. is participant with equal rights) to *omnis mulier*.

Annales Fuldenses, ed. by Reinhold Rau, in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol. III, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 7 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), pp. 19–177

Annales Wormatienses, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH, Scriptores, 17 (Hanover: Hahn, 1861), pp. 34–73

Anselmi gesta episcoporum Leodiensium, ed. by Rudolf Koepke, in MGH, Scriptores, 7 (Hanover: Hahn, 1846), pp. 189–234

Arbeo of Freising, *Vita Haimhramni episcopi et martyris Ratisbonensis*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, vol. II, MGH, SRM, 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), pp. 452–524

Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, ed. by A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, SChr, 181–86, 6 vols (Paris: Cerf, 1971–1972)

Bremisches Urkundenbuch, vol. I, ed. by Dietrich Rudolf Ehmck and Wilhelm von Bippen (Bremen: Müller, 1873)

Capitulare ecclesiasticum, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Viktor Krause, 2 vols, MGH, CRF (Hanover: Hahn, 1883–1897), II, pp. 275–80

Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae, vol. I: *Inde ab a. dcccv usque ad a. mcxcvii*, ed. by Gustav Friedrich (Prague: Academia Scientiarum Bohemoslovenicae, 1904–1907)

Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Boemorum*, ed. by Bertold Bretholz and Wilhelm Weinberger, MGH, SRG, Nova series, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923)

Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae, ed. by C. van de Kieft and others, vol. I (Leiden: Brill, 1967), vol. II.1 (Leiden, Brill: 1996), vol. II.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1988), vol. III.1 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), and vol. III.2 (Budapest, Balassi Kiadó: 1997)

Epistolae Austrasiacae, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach, in *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. I, MGH, Epistolae, 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 110–53

Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. by Ludwig C. Bethmann, in MGH, Scriptores, 7 (Hanover: Hahn, 1846), pp. 393–525

Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium auctoribus Bertario et anonymo monachis S. Vitoni, ed. by Georg Waitz, in MGH, Scriptores, 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 36–51

Gesta Treverorum, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH, Scriptores, 8 (Hanover: Hahn, 1848), pp. 111–260

Gozechini scholastici epistola ad Valcherium itidem scholasticum, suum olim discipulum, *PL*, CXLIII, cols 885–908

Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus S. Martini*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in *Miracula et opera minora*, MGH, SRM, 1.2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1885), pp. 134–211

———, *Liber vitae patrum*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in *Miracula et opera minora*, MGH, SRM, 1.2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1885), pp. 211–94

———, *Libri historiarum X*, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, in MGH, SRM, 1.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1937–1951)

Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, ed. by Marcus Adriaen, 3 vols, CCSL, 143, 143A, and 143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979–1985)

Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier (v^e siècle – 1104)*, ed. by Ferdinand Lot, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, 17 (Paris: Picard, 1894)

Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des ersten Kreuzzuges, ed. by Eva Haverkamp, MGH, Hebräische Texte aus dem mittelalterlichen Deutschland, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 2005)

Hecelinus, *Miracula recentiora*, in *S. Clementis primi Mettensis ep. Vita, translatio et miracula*, ed. by Heinrich Volbert Sauerland (Trier: Paulinus, 1896), pp. 29–41

Mainzer Urkundenbuch, vol. 1: *Die Urkunden bis zum Tode Erzbischofs Adalberts i. (1137)*, ed. by Manfred Stimming (Darmstadt: Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission, 1972)

Otto I, *Diplomata*, in *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1879–1884), pp. 78–638

'Preislied Gerhards von Seeon', ed. by Klaus van Eickels, in *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1004: Katalog zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2002, Bamberg, 9. Juli 2002 bis 20. Oktober 2002*, Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur, 44, ed. by Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter, and Evamaria Brockhoff (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2002), pp. 204, 206–07

Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, vol. 1: *Antike und Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis 1396/97*, ed. by Dorothee Rheker-Wunsch, Wolfgang Rusen, and Lars Witler (Cologne: J. P. Bachem Verlag, 1999)

'Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt (bis 1250)', ed. by Bernhard Diestelkamp, in *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae*, ed. by C. van de Kieft and others (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1, pp. 1–277

Regesten zur Geschichte der Juden im fränkischen und deutschen Reiche bis zum Jahre 1273, ed. by Julius Aronius (Hildesheim: Olms, 1970)

'Der Reisebericht des Ibrahim ibn Jacqub (961/66)', ed. by Peter Engels, in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends: Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, ed. by Anton von Euw and Peter Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), 1, pp. 413–22

Richer, *Vita Sancti Martini episcopi Turonensis a Richero abbate Mettensi versibus conscripta ex codice mss. bibliothecae Trevericae*, ed. by Richard Decker, in *Programm des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Trier* (Trier: Königliches Gymnasium zu Trier, 1885–1886), pp. 1–22

Rimbert, *Vita Anskari*, in *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches*, ed. by Werner Trillmich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 11 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), pp. 1–133

Ruotgeri Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis, ed. by Irene Ott, MGH, SRG, Nova series, 10 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1958)

Sextus Amarcius, *Sermones*, ed. by Karl Manitius, MGH, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 6 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1969)

Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon – Thietmar von Merseburg, Chronik, ed. by Werner Trillmich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters – Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, 9 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1957)

Triumphus Sancti Lamberti de castro Bullonio, ed. by Wilhelm Arndt, in MGH, Scriptores, 20 (Hanover: Hahn, 1868), pp. 497–511

Urkundenbuch der Stadt Basel, vol. 1, ed. by Rudolf Wackernagel (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1890)

Vita Sancti Arnulfi, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in *Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vitae sanctorum*, MGH, SRM, 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 426–46

Vita Burchardi episcopi, ed. by Georg Waitz, in MGH, Scriptores, 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 829–46

Vita Deoderici episcopi Mettensis auctore Sigeberto Gemblacensi, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH, Scriptores, 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 461–83

Vita et translatio anonymi Paderbornensis, in *Liborius: Brückenbauer Europas: Die mittelalterlichen Viten und Translationsberichte*, ed. by Volker der Vry (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), pp. 177–221

'Walther von Speyer', ed. by Karl Strecker, in *Die Ottonenzeit*, MGH, Poetae Latini medii aevi, 5.1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1937), pp. 1–79

'Weitere Briefe Meinhards', ed. by Carl Erdmann, in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. by Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann, MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, 5 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1950), pp. 189–248

Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. by Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 60 (Hanover: Hahn, 1935)

Secondary Works

Aladjidi, Priscille, *Le Roi père des pauvres: France XIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008)

Anton, Hans Hubert, and Alfred Haverkamp, eds, *Trier im Mittelalter* (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1996)

Auswahlliste von Neuerscheinungen zur Stadtgeschichte, 1– (2000–), <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/bestaende/aktuelle_staedtegeschichtliche_literatur.html> [accessed 30 June 2020]

Battenberg, Friedrich, *Das europäische Zeitalter der Juden: Zur Entwicklung einer Minderheit in der nichtjüdischen Umwelt Europas*, 2 vols (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990)

Bausinger, Hermann, 'Zur Algebra der Kontinuität', in *Kontinuität? Geschichtlichkeit und Dauer als volkskundliches Problem*, ed. by Hermann Bausinger and Wolfgang Brückner (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1969), pp. 9–30

Bibliographie für vergleichende Städtegeschichte, ed. by Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte of the University of Münster, at <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/bestaende/Bibliographische_Datenbank.html> [accessed 30 June 2020]

Bührer-Thierry, Geneviève, and Stéphane Gioanni, eds, *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne: Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IVe–XIIe siècle)*, Haut Moyen Âge, 23 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)

Ewig, Eugen, 'Der Martinskult im Frühmittelalter', in Eugen Ewig, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften (1952–1973)*, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, vol. II, Beihefte der Francia, 3.2 (Munich: Artemis, 1979), pp. 371–92

Favreau, Robert, *Épigraphie médiévale*, L'atelier du médiéviste, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997)

Gauthier, Nancy, *L'évangélisation des pays de la Moselle: La province romaine de Première Belgique entre Antiquité et Moyen-Âge (IIIe–VIIIe siècles)* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1980)

Girardot, Alain, *Le droit et la terre: Le Verdunois à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 vols (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1992)

Heckmann, Marie-Louise, 'Pater pauperum Christi: Das Bild Ottos von Bamberg bei den Michelsberger Mönchen im 12. Jahrhundert', *Wichmann-Jahrbuch des Diözesansgeschichtsvereins Berlin*, 3 (1994), 37–59

Heinen, Heinz, *Trier und das Trevererland in römischer Zeit*, 2000 Jahre Trier, 1 (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1988)

Hirschmann, Frank G., *Die Anfänge des Städtewesens in Mitteleuropa*, 3 vols, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 59.1–3 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2012)

Joye, Sylvie, Maria Cristina La Rocca, and Stéphane Gioanni, eds, *La construction sociale du sujet exclu (IVe–XIe siècle): Discours, lieux et individus*, Haut Moyen Âge, 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019)

Moraw, Peter, 'Das Mittelalter', in *Böhmen und Mähren*, ed. by Friedrich Prinz, Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2002), pp. 24–178

Mostert, Marco, 'Beyond the Pale: Those Who Were Not Worthy to Be Named', in *Writing Names in Medieval Sacred Spaces: Inscriptions in the West, from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, Elisa Pallottini, and Janneke Raaijmakers, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming)

———, 'Medieval Sermons as Forms of Communication: Between Written Text and Oral Performance', in *L'Éloquence de la chaire entre écriture et oralité (XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. by Gabriel Aubert, Amy Heneveld, and Cinthia Meli (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2018), pp. 23–35

———, 'News from Early Medieval Utrecht: Archaeological Finds Challenging the Historical Narrative', in *Transforming the Early Medieval World: Studies in Honour of Ian N. Wood*, ed. by N. Kivilcim Yarvuz and Richard Broome (Leeds: Kismet Press, forthcoming)

———, 'Some Thoughts on Urban Schools, Urban Literacy, and the Development of Western Civilisation', in *Writing and the Administration of Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy I*, ed. by Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 337–48

Niermeyer, J. F., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976)

Patzold, Steffen, ed. 'Bisschofsstädte als Kultur- und Innovationszentren', special issue, *Das Mittelalter*, 7 (2002)

Pauly, Michel, *Peregrinorum, pauperum ac aliorum transeuntium receptaculum: Hospitäler zwischen Maas und Rhein im Mittelalter*, Beihefte der Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 190 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007)

Pitz, Ernst, *Europäisches Städtewesen und Bürgertum von der Spätantike bis zum hohen Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991)

Rossignol, Sébastien, *Aux origines de l'identité urbaine en Europe centrale et nordique: Traditions culturelles, formes d'habitat et différenciation sociale (VIII^e–XII^e siècles)*, Haut Moyen Âge, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)

Todeschini, Giacomo, *Au pays des sans-nom: Gens de mauvaise vie, personnes suspectes ou ordinaires du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne* (Lagrasse: Verdier, 2015); trans. of *Visibilmente crudeli: Malviventi, persone sospette e gente qualunque dal Medioevo all'età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007)

Wagner, Anne, and Monique Goullet, 'Reliques et pouvoirs dans le diocèse de Verdun aux X^e–XI^e siècles', *Revue Mabillon*, 10 (1999), 67–88

Zaremska, Hanna, *Les bannis au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Aubier, 1996)