International Commission for the History of Towns

Romanian Commission for the History of Towns

“Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iasi
Faculty of History

Municipal Museum “Regina Maria” of Iași

“Moldova” National Museum Complex
Mediating urban Order

Iași, 18-20 September 2023

Grant PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-1139
Monday, 18th September

9.00-11.30
- AWG session and business meeting

11.30-12.00 Break

12.00-12.30 Official opening

Roman Czaja (president of ICHT), Irena Benyovsky Latin (general secretary of ICHT), Lucrețiu-Ion Bîrliba (Dean, Faculty of History, Iași)

Greetings

12.30-13.15 Opening paper

Peter Clark (Helsinki University), Crisis and Mediating Urban Order from the Middle Ages to the Present

13.30-15.00 Lunch break

15.00-16.30 Visit of the Palace of culture, Museum of History
16.30-18.30 Afternoon session (chair: Roman Czaja)

**Rafał Eysymontt** (University of Wrocław), Plan of a medieval Silesian town as an emanation of the urban order

**Laurențiu Rădvan** (University of Iași), Iași and Bucharest – The first topographic plans as part of a new perspective on urban order

**Dan Dumitru Iacob** (Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities Sibiu), The first topographical plans of towns in Moldavia and their importance in urban modernization (18th-19th century)

19.00 Dinner
Tuesday, 19th September

9.30-10.50 Morning session I (chair: Katalin Szende)

Miriam Tveit (Nord University, Bodø), “Whoever hears the sound of the horn and does not take warning”. Mediating urban order through sound in 12th-14th century Norway
Regula Schmid (University of Bern), The impact of the dead. Managing war losses in late medieval Swiss towns [online]

10.50-11.25 Coffee Break

11.25-12.45 Morning session II (chair: Ferdinand Opll)

Eda Güclü (Central European University, Vienna), Spatial Order: Planning the Streets of Nineteenth-Century Istanbul
Steinar Aas (Nord University, Bodø), From «batalions scolaires» to «Scouting boys» - mediating urban order by class compromise in early 20th century Norway

13.00-14.30 Lunch break
14.30-15.50 Afternoon session I (chair: Martina Stercken)

**Christoph Sonnlechner** (Vienna City Archives), Mediating Order in Medieval Vienna by Means of Town Books (Stadtbücher)

**Robert Šimůnek** (Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague), “Ordo civitatis” and “bonum commune” in the residential towns of the nobility in Late Medieval Bohemia

15.50-16.20 Break

16.20-17.40 Afternoon session II (chair: Rosa Smurra)

**Simion Câlția** (University of București), Creating order in the food chain. Bucharest, 1864-1938

**Aistė Lazauskienė** (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas), The public announcements of the Kaunas city council (1918-1940)

18.00-19.30 General assembly of ICHT

19.30 Dinner
Wednesday, 20th September

9.30-10.50 Morning session I (chair: Laurențiu Rădvan)

**Darja Mihelič** (Milko Kos Historical Institute, Ljubljana), City statutes – a tool for maintaining order in medieval Istrian cities (Trieste, Koper, Izola, Piran) [online]

**Myron Kapral** (M. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies, Lviv), Collegium of all estates and ethnic communities ("ordines et nationes") in the structure of Lviv authorities during the 17th and 18th centuries [online]

10.50-11.25 Coffee Break

11.25-12.45 Morning session II (chair: Martin Scheutz)

**Anna Maleszka** (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun), Between mediation and revolt – instruments of shaping and restoring urban order in the Prussian zone

**Vaida Kamuntavičienė** (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas), In Search for a Place in Urban Space: The Case of the Dominican Order in Kaunas

12.45-13.00 Closing remarks

13.00-14.30 Lunch break

15.00-18.00 Afternoon city trip


**Abstracts**

**Peter Clark** (Helsinki University), Crisis and Mediating Urban Order from the Middle Ages to the Present

Urban order can only be understood in its context. In 1972 I published (with former Commission member Prof. Paul Slack), a book of essays, *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, which explored the interaction between different types of urban ordering (ceremonies, guilds, migration controls, poor relief etc) and the critical pressures which were then, in the 16th and early 17th century, threaten to engulf established urban communities (heavy immigration, inequality, epidemics, economic dislocation, war etc). In our current time of renewed pan-European crisis (pandemics, the Ukraine war, social crisis) it would seem timely to return to this important subject and examine it from different perspectives. There is a considerable recent literature on the urban response to crises: Martin Körner’s three volume work *Destruction and Reconstruction of Towns* (1999-2000) based on Commission research; *Cities and Catastrophes*, edited by Genevieve Massard-Guilbard, Harold Platt and Dieter Schott (2002); Christof Mauch and Christian Pfister, *Natural Disasters, Cultural Responses* (2009); and *Wounded Cities: The Representation of Urban Disasters in European Art* (14th-20th Centuries) (2015), edited by Marco Folin and Monica Pret. In my presentation I would hope to investigate the relationship of ordering and crisis in the context of urban print (plague narratives, civic regulations) and urban images (eg urban panoramas) during the 16th and 17th century.

**Rafał Eysymontt** (University of Wrocław), Plan of a medieval Silesian town as an emanation of the urban order

The urban order determined the form of the medieval urban layout. To some extent, it was of course conditioned by natural factors, but among the medieval urban centers one should also note a huge number of planned towns (Planstädte). Both their internal outline, the form of building blocks, the course of streets, as well as parcel divisions were a direct result of the urban order. In Central European conditions, very few documents describing the city planning process have been preserved, such as those
concerning Italian communes (colonies of the Florentine Republic from the beginning of the 14th century, Talamone- port of Siena from 1306, or Ston and Maly Ston founded by the Ragusa Republic in the 1430s). The most important written sources concerning the process of organizing urban space for Central European cities - urban willkur (eng. arbitrariness) are partial in nature and concern rather the issue of the neighborhood, access to light, or the building line of the street frontage. Only exceptionally, some of the fifteenth-century texts having the character of a classic "laudation" carry more general information about the perception of the urban order as a kind of value, also for Silesian cities. In connection with the above, indirect sources, such as cartographic projections from the earliest 1560s, seem to be extremely important for this area. They can be related to specific rent lists or other documents describing the structure of parcel divisions. A good source of information on the organization of the city is also the data obtained recently through archaeological and architectural research on the real parcels divisions in the city. It should be noted, however, that their recognition often leads to the idealization of the concept of a medieval city as the result of a one-time final planning action. Also in this case, the verification of these findings and the determination of the multi-stage nature of the construction of medieval Silesian towns is possible thanks to the preserved cartographic materials, but mainly from the early modern period. In the course of my paper, I will analyze the most important examples of maps and plans, stored in Silesian and foreign collections, illustrating the above-mentioned issues. Information from the cartographic material will be confronted with the source data. I will also show the results obtained using newer methods of relating historical information to the modern cartographic grid.

Laurențiu Rădvan (University of Iași), Iași and Bucharest – The first topographic plans as part of a new perspective on urban order

The order of a settlement is understood differently from one historical period to another. In the hierarchy of settlements, the city has imposed a particular order from ancient times, simply because it was a place that concentrated more people than the village. In addition, the occupational, social and religious diversity was much greater, which meant different rules from places with fewer people who had similar occupations and religions. Urban order involved not only administrative, legal, fiscal, religious and cultural structures - all tailored to the way people of each era
thought of society and its proper functioning - but also ways of approaching space. For the first time, maps offer authorities and townspeople alike new ways of looking at space, not just the private space covered by these minimal cartographic undertakings, but urban space as a whole, because a property had neighbours, was bordered by streets, was in an area with certain landmarks.

The first local plans were more like sketches, mostly in pencil, but some preserved as more artistic drawings. The situation changed radically with the arrival in the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia of foreign specialists, engineers who had experience in drawing up plans according to modern rules. We will analyse these plans for the capitals of Bucharest and Iasi and show the reasons behind the decision to make them.

We will also underline the role of the Organic Regulation, a document with constitutional value (1831-1832), which will establish the obligation to make new plans for cities, for reasons related to modernization and better knowledge of the space.

Dan Dumitru Iacob (Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities Sibiu), The first topographical plans of towns in Moldavia and their importance in urban modernization (18th-19th century)

In the last decade, many plans of the Romanian cities have been discovered in Romanian and foreign archives, some of which have been published, and others are in progress. Together with the already known plans, we now have a sample of various urban cartographic sources, which help us to understand different aspects of the Romanian cities’ modernization. The main objective of this paper is to show through concrete examples that these plans can be considered as means of mediating the urban order from a legislative, administrative and urban planning perspective. Therefore, in the first part of the paper, we will present some milestones of the evolution of Romanian urban topographical surveys, from the medieval practices of establishing perimeters of properties, carried out by the princely and city administration officials, to the modern urban surveys, made by foreign and Romanian specialists. Who were they, what was their training, and where did the specialists in charge of this work come from is another question we try to answer briefly. In the second part of our paper, we will show for what purposes town plans were made and how varied they were, from plans for the demarcation of individual urban properties or of the entire urban areas, made for legal purposes – to reclaim, regulate and protect property rights –, to those made for urban
systematization and modernization: straightening streets, establishing street nomenclature and houses numbers, building water supply networks, establishing new districts. The examples will be based mainly on the city plans of Iași, Roman, Botoșani, Focșani and Galați.

**Miriam Tveit** (Nord University, Bodø), “Whoever hears the sound of the horn and does not take warning”. Mediating urban order through sound in 12th-14th century Norway

Town laws from medieval Norway contains a number of rules where the town’s population were to be alerted with a sonic signal of a horn. The paper aims to analyse how sound, and in particular the horn signal, convey urban order in 12th-14th century written law. Messages of both collective duties and threats to the town were to be communicated through horn blowing. As such, the law text present the signal to be used in times of both peace and crisis. However, where other sonic mediums, such as church bells, would signify threats of fire, the horn is specifically mentioned as signifying violence; both outside attacks on the town and homicide within the town boundaries were to be signalled by horn. In peace time, bells indicated the time of day, while a horn summoned to the town assembly. In this context, it is of interest to discuss the semiotics of the horn signal and its indexical relation with protection of urban order. Furthermore, the paper aim to investigate how legal text include description of its sound as a symbol of authority. Comparing with practices of sonic communication elsewhere in urban Europe will shed light on the traditions behind the procedures described in Norwegian law. With the significance of the horn as symbol of urban collective duties and collective threats it is of interest to examine who, according to the law, wielded the right to signal the instrument, and where and by whom it was to be used. In the receiving end, which groups within the urban boundaries were obliged to respond to the sound of the horn, and how?

**Regula Schmid** (University of Bern), The impact of the dead. Managing war losses in late medieval Swiss towns

From the fourteenth century onwards, towns and rural communities between the Alps and lake Constance were almost continuously involved in warfare. The high bellicosity of the period was exacerbated by the fact that these communities were bound together in a dense web of predominantly
military alliances. The protracted wars were interspersed with a series of internecine battles that, as spheres of action and war techniques changed, claimed an increasing number of lives.

Historians of Switzerland have long emphasized the strategic, tactic and political role of these wars, and connected them to processes of late medieval state-building. The disruptive impact of mercenary service on local societies has found the attention of historians who, however, almost exclusively looked at the period between 1476 and 1521 when many thousands of men left their homes for serving in the armies of European powers, and authorities fluctuated between attempts to impose order and participating in the unfettered race for money and booty. The impact war losses had on the urban communities has, however, never been addressed.

This paper discusses the demographic, emotional, and legal implications of war losses on late medieval towns in the Swiss lands. The starting point of the investigation is the sworn duty of urban authorities to upheld order and peace in their towns. How did they, and how did members of the communities manage the disorder incurred by the loss of able-bodied men, co-citizens, heads of households, and members of the councils? And how do written documents – from muster lists to chronicles – conceptualize the disruptive effect of war on urban societies, and what kind of written documents were specifically created for managing the threats to the fabric of urban communities in times of war?

**Eda Güçlü** (Central European University, Vienna), Spatial Order: Planning the Streets of Nineteenth-Century Istanbul

As perceived by many Ottoman reformers, planners, and city dwellers in the nineteenth century, the streets of Istanbul did not even deserve to be called streets. They were “messy,” “irregular,” and “crooked,” and as such, caused many hardships and injuries as well as loss of time for the commuters and businesses. As broad and regular streets came to be considered a measure of civilization in the nineteenth century, the streets of Istanbul were increasingly seen as a serious problem; therefore, they gradually became one of the most urgent concerns in planning projects. My paper will address the growing importance given to the creation of wide and straight streets on a grid and block system that was welcomed in the 1850s as a “new style.” It was mostly after fires that reformers had a chance to expose urban space to a “technical rationality” that aimed to create order by geometry. Hence, the focus of my talk will be on the planning activities following large- and small-scale fires, and the
difficulties involved in the processes of planning: expropriation, dispossession, relocation of many parcels; and as a result, vociferous debate, protest, corruption and intrigue, and a pile of complaints by property owners. Among various types of archival sources, I will pay greater attention to planning maps and petitions of city dwellers in order to discuss the connections between spatial order, urban rent, morality, and justice. I will argue against the historiographical tendency that over-emphasizes the cultural and aesthetical aspects of urban reforms, leaving the economic basis and deeper social and moral implications of planning projects completely out of the picture.

Steinar Aas (Nord University, Bodø), From «batalions scolaires» to «Scouting boys» - mediating urban order by class compromise in early 20th century Norway

European towns and cities had its «batalions scolaires» of different kinds during the 19th and 20th century. In Sweden and Norway the same phenomenon occurred from the 1850s and onwards, and even small towns had its own “Guttekorps” (Boys battalion), that marched the streets during national holidays. The ideas between the organisation of boys battalions both had a defence aspect, as well as aiming at civilizing and disciplining the young adult male urban population. The danger to social order especially came from the adolescent boys of the urban middle and upper classes. The cure for this menace was to give them exercises in military discipline. However by the growth of the modern class society during the 19th and 20th century a new threat to urban order emerged: the menace of the radical working class. The “boys battalions” became potential anti-socialist weapons in new class conflicts, which for instance could take the form of street fights.

During the same period – between 1890 and 1940 – the Norwegian boys battalions went through a metamorphosis. They were transformed to a more non-confrontational organisation affiliated to the international movement – Baden-Powell’s “scouting boys”. This metamorphosis became part of the later “class compromise”, resulting in what later was called “organized capitalism” or “social democrat order” in Norway.

The paper will deal with this metamorphosis and how different mediators of urban order contributed to this metamorphosis, both via political organisations and local newspapers.
The proposed contribution deals with Viennese sources of the Middle Ages that aimed at establishing order. First and foremost, the focus is on the written sources, especially the group of so-called town books (Stadtbücher). They compile basic rights and privileges of the city, orders, but also property relations. The question is when and in what context individual books were created, how they were kept and for what purpose. The first property registers not only organised property but also space by naming traffic areas (street names) for the first time. Special attention will be paid to the so-called "iron book" (‘Eisenbuch’), which was kept from the early 14th century until the 19th century. What was entered there? Who could consult it and for what purpose? How did it create urban order? How do the texts relate to surviving originals, e.g. the fishery patent from 1506, which regulates an important use of urban food resources by means of pictorial representations?

Three-dimensional objects are also discussed, such as the still preserved "Genanntentafel" (board of representatives) from the 15th century, which apparently had the purpose of publicly announcing regulatory proclamations. The seals of the town and their use also receive attention. Questions are asked about the ordering purpose, the use of which seal for which purpose and the replacement of the old town seal by newer variants, especially after the award of a new town coat of arms by the sovereign in the 1460s.

Different types of sources fulfilled different tasks with regard to the creation of urban order. One of the aims of this article is to relate the instruments of order to each other.

Residential towns of medieval nobility represent specific social microcosms - their specificity among hundreds of serf towns and small towns is primarily due to their residential role, i.e. the presence of the lord, his family and of the court. The area of the residential seat as well as the adjoining residential city was a space of noble representation, and the
everyday proximity between the lord (court) and the urban community implied the intense and multilayered relations.

Cities were seen as spaces of order (*ordo civitatis*); in the case of serf towns, the ongoing provision, maintenance, and, if necessary, restoration of order was a common interest and also a common work of the lord and the municipal community. In the environment of noble residential cities this can be seen very clearly. Two interconnected levels appear here as central: (1.) the spectrum of relations between the lord and the town, lords interventions in various spheres its life, and the projection of his own conception in this space; (2.) lords self-presentation in the environment of residential cities, in the sense of a ‘good governor’, who is responsible for the prosperity of his residential town as well as estates as a whole (and of all the people living within their perimeter). And not surprisingly it was the legitimizing category of common good (*bonum commune*), to which both lord and the representatives of the urban community referred to.

The subject of my paper is a closer look at the basic levels of their mutual relationship, on a diverse range of lords interventions in urban and architectural form and in various levels of inner life of residential town; this reflected not only the aristocratic idea of the concept of a residential city, but also lords position within the local hierarchy and his role as a governor who protects, but also supervises and, if necessary, punishes – all these in the interest of ensuring of order.

The way to *ordo civitatis*, closely connected with respect to the common good, was in no case a matter of lords autocracy, just the contrary: the characteristic moment of mutual relations was not confrontation or rivalry between the lord and the municipality, but rather coordination, a way of seeking of compromise, of modus vivendi and cooperation. Ongoing contacts and the search for practical solutions were intertwined with symbolic communication, often unspectacular, but understandable in its meaning, with interactions that reflected and at the same time fixed the *ordo civitatis* also in the level of social hierarchies.

**Simion Câltea** (University of București), Creating order in the food chain. Bucharest, 1864-1938

Our paper aims to study how and why the City Hall proposes to create a new order in the Bucharest’s food chain. We will explain why, gradually, in the second half of the 19th century, certain aspects of the food sector begin to be perceived as uncivilized and even dangerous. We will
analyse the instruments used by the municipality to impose new rules in the food production and trade sector, from those that create a new spatial order in the city (like market halls and open markets) to those that aim to regulate practices and behaviours.

Aistė Lazauskienė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas), The public announcements of the Kaunas city council (1918-1940)

Kaunas was a temporary capital city of Lithuania. Mandatory orders and acts of Kaunas municipality can be considered a comprehensive source for the research of everyday life and material culture of the citizens. These regulations help to visualize the rhythm of the city: municipality issued orders which regulated the time for rest, trade, traffic, and street cleaning. Moreover, Kaunas city space was clearly divided by determining what was prohibited or obligatory to do in certain areas.

As Kaunas was a multicultural city there were discussions among different national groups concerning the language of written announcements. We will try to reveal what kind of mandatory orders were issued during the period of 1918-1940, what was the structure of public announcements and what local languages were used for the announcements.

Darja Mihelič (Milko Kos Historical Institute, Ljubljana), City statutes – a tool for maintaining order in medieval Istrian cities (Trieste, Koper, Izola, Piran)

Medieval cities on the eastern coast of the Adriatic regulated the life in the settlement and its surroundings in accordance with Mediterranean cities with rules that were written down in special city codes – statutes, which tried to bring order into the existing everyday practice. They prescribed the behavior of members of the city community in various circumstances and provided punishment for violators of their provisions. They intervened in the area of city administration and economy, family law, public order and peace, etc.

Yet the appeal of statutes as a source for the analysis of various aspects of life in the past dictates prudent criticism. Medieval legal
legislation was often rigid in adapting to actual needs and everyday practice, so the question arises whether it is possible to simply draw conclusions about the actual situation in society from prescribed rules. The assumption of divergence between the prescribed and the actual situation for this time is not inappropriate. However, due to the wealth of data collected in one place, statutes are a frequent and grateful subject of research, however their provisions are often misinterpreted as reflecting actual established practices.

The paper will present the regulations on the maintenance of order and peace in the statutes of selected medieval cities in northwestern Istria. The statutes of Habsburg Trieste and Venetian Koper, Izola and Piran prescribed the behaviour of members of the city community and imposed sanctions over violations of their provisions. These could be a fine, a pillory, throwing into the water, flogging, imprisonment, and for serious offences, mutilation, expulsion, and execution. Serious offences were those that threatened the city as a whole, acts against the statutes and city authorities and violations of order and peace among city residents. The latter included physical injuries including murder, moral and ethical violations, theft and robbery.

**Myron Kapral** (M. Hrushevsky Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies, Lviv), Collegium of all estates and ethnic communities ("ordines et nationes") in the structure of Lviv authorities during the 17th and 18th centuries

Abstract: At the beginning of the 17th century in Lviv there was a classic triad of governance in the city under the Magdeburg law: council, bench and community. But in order to balance power, it was necessary to take into account the wide ethno-confessional composition of the city's population. Therefore, representatives of Ukrainian Ruthenians and Armenians, the elders of their communities, were included in the city authorities. The paper will trace the participation of this city corporation in the management and control of the city government.

**Anna Maleszka** (Nicolaus Copernicus University, Torun), Between mediation and revolt – instruments of shaping and restoring urban order in the Prussian zone
Sources on the history of Prussian cities, as already indicated in existing research (e.g. Buława 1971; Cieślak 1960; Czaja 2008; Czaja 2020; Gleba 1989; Seraphim 1921), yield numerous examples of the formation and change of the political and social order. Change was not infrequently brought about in an atmosphere of conflict or urban revolt, although undoubtedly change or the establishment of a given order could also be introduced through reform or mediation. Assuming that the events leading to the establishment and change of urban order were recorded in normative and narrative sources, it is worth investigating the discourse-narrative concerning the conflicts within urban order contained in these sources. The questions that will be addressed in this study include: 1) what political instruments did a given political order require in order for political action to be considered legitimate? 2) what instruments were required to restore peace in a conflict situation? Could the use of certain political instruments (e.g. letters addressed to non-urban political actors) be considered a violation or transgression of the order? Geographically and chronologically, the paper deals with Prussian cities, Thorn, Elbing, Braunsberg and Königsberg, as representatives of large Prussian cities richly attested in primary sources (Willküren, letters, acts, statutes, narrative accounts), in the period up to the end of the 16th century.

Vaida Kamuntavičienė (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas), In Search for a Place in Urban Space: The Case of the Dominican Order in Kaunas

In the first half of the 17th century, the Dominicans, who settled in Kaunas, were in search of their own space within the geographical boundaries of the city. As even three monasteries were already clustered in the city centre around the Town Hall Square (Franciscan, Bernardine, and Jesuit), the Dominicans chose the city outskirts: close to the city gates, but, at the same time, near the central street leading from the Town Hall Square to Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This coincided with the charisma of the mendicant order - to settle in the cities, but not in their main parts, where they would live more modestly and be able to serve the faithful. However, despite finding a suitable place to live, the Dominicans faced a challenge that prevented them from expanding their material base in the city. The resolution of the Diet issued in 1677 and renewed in subsequent century prohibited clergy from purchasing plots in the city and expanding church jurisdictions without taxes paid to the city treasury. At first, this decision was not taken seriously, and townspeople had donated the Dominicans a number of houses and lots in city territory. However, in
1771-1777, the city managed to expropriate such Dominican property during the court process. In 1795, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was occupied by the Russian Empire. In the 19th century, when Kaunas expanded and became the governorate centre, new city centre began to form exactly at the place where the Dominican monastery stood. The baroque towers of the Catholic church no longer fit the new governor palace; thus, the church was expropriated and architecturally and functionally turned into an Orthodox church. The residential monastery buildings became a secular gymnasium. The aim of the presentation is to show the not always successful attempts of the Kaunas Dominicans to integrate into the urban order, and their search for compromises.