

Lunken

Edith Eppen: FRÜHGESCHICHTE DER EUROPÄISCHEN STADT
Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn, 1953, pp. 324.

This study of the origins of European cities follows an advisable pattern. While the focus is narrowed, the range of comparisons is widened in space and time. The work centers on the Pirennean type of Northwestern Frankish towns of the tenth and eleventh centuries to which loosely "settlements" of long distance traders happened to be attached; this type of town, especially in Flanders and of the Maas, is then viewed in an all-European frame, including antiquity. Hence the contrast is, first with the Greek polis; then, the southern European town in general; finally, the Germanic medieval town as it arose under influences emanating from Flanders in the direction of the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, and beyond. At this point, admittedly, an emotionally tinged secondary interest of the author emerges: the determination of the Germanic influence assumed to have been exerted through the Scandinavian participants of the caravan trade. Eventually the Maas region is designated as the creative zone whence the medieval city sprang and spread eastward towards Germany. For the rest, the typological scheme is drawn on the well known lines. A sharp accent falls on the "dual" origin of northwestern cities which stem from the fusion of post-Roman civitas (in other cases the burgus) with a neighboring portus of wandering merchants. The new evidence is summed up in two valuable maps of northwestern France and Flanders: the one map representing the date of the circumvallation of the portus or vicus about 1000-1150; the other, of the change in the meaning of burgensis from merchant (mercator) to burgher or citizen. The maps roughly overlap as the changes coincided in time. The South differentiates off clearly. The northwestern European town grew up in a countryside that

the landowning aristocracy ruled from their fortified residences, while in southern Europe the town itself served as the residence. The latter type of town had never for long ceased to be the home of the warrior caste, the traditional founders of synecized cities, ever since urbanization reached Europe from the East. Here we meet ideas of the Menghin-Kern school which are obviously supplemented by the Weber-Hasebroek reading of archaic Greece, eventually linking up with Mengozzi's insistence on the continuance of the city-state in the northern Italy of the high middle ages. Hence the emphasis put on the roles played by municipal traditions in the South. These were strengthened by differences of civic organization: territorial forms such as the conjuratio in the South, more personal forms of organization in the North, the home of the guilds. Some variants of these latter we find glorified, some are under a shadow. On this particular matter -- the guilds -- the imprint of objective research tends to fade, and an attempt takes over to establish as decisive the Germanic as against the Mediterranean contributions to medieval city genesis. Following the example set by Fr. Vogel (1936) and Planitz, the Pirennean portus or vicus ^{vicus} is renamed wiks. This was, of course, no more than an abbreviation of vicus (maybe popularized by its Nordic meaning of bay).³² Recently, the excavation of Birka in Lake Mälär, near Stockholm, and of Haithabu, opposite Schleswig on the Schlei, have shown the existence of a typical portus development in the Scandinavian area. Together with Dorsted on the Lech, this proves an early participation of the Norse-Danish in the new caravan trade. The uncovered sites are closely similar to the emporia found by Lehmann-Hartleben scattered over the Mediterranean beaches as early as the second millennium B. C.

The peculiarity of these "settlements" is that like the city of London today, they were practically uninhabited. Broadly, ~~their function~~ their function was to serve as a site where strangers would meet; natives of the hinterland would bring along local supplies, such as amber, furs, feathers, salt, hides, etc.; finally, some facilities for transshipment and storage were available. Under civilized conditions the requisite of such a place is the presence of law and order. In their absence, the requisite of safety may be, on the contrary, the absence of all military force on the spot. Hence, the portus was unfortified; instead, a mere fence or palisade indicated the confined of the neutral area. Lehmann-Hartleben has shown the archaeological remnant -- low wall and altar -- of these emporia strewn over the beaches of the early Mediterranean. Such a port-of-trade is neither an agglomeration of human habitation nor a market. Altogether, archaic trade was the seeking out of supplies which have alternately to be collected and carried and re-distributed again. The main means of transportation was rivers, lakes and the sea; locally lagoons were preferred. Overland trade followed in the wake of waterways. The meeting places, whether on rivers, as was the rule, or removed from them, were not markets but ports-of-trade.

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served as residences to the warrior class, ever since the process of urbanization reached Europe from the East. This reflects the ^{some what} sweeping approach of the Menghin - Kern school, supplemented by the Weber - Hasebroek reading of the polis, and linked to Mengozzi's insistence on the almost uninterrupted continuance of the city-state type of town in the northern Italy of the high middle ages. Hence the municipal urban traditions of the South. These were eventually strengthened by the territorial bent of civic organization ~~mixing~~ such as the sworn commune as contrasted, in the North, to the more or less personal organization of the brotherly guilds of the Scandinavian caravan traders. From here on the argument is admittedly affected by an emotionally tinged interest, ~~in~~ a Nordic-Germanic factor, ~~it is claimed,~~ ^{decisively} having been active in the birth of the medieval city, through ^{Viking} ~~wiking~~ and Frisian participation in the caravan trade. The old debate about the appraisal of the Mediterranean cultural inheritance is thus being revived, this time on the specific issue of the Germanic role in the origins of the medieval cities. The geographical evidence ^{appears} ~~shows~~ to support the view that the crest of the creative wave moved along the borderline separating the area of the surviving municipal traditions of the South from the more backward Germanic regions of the East, where ^{however} the protective guilds of the long distance traders ^{was} ~~supplied~~ the nuclear organization of the portus. ~~Up to this point~~ The trend of the argument, while chiefly psychological and necessarily inconclusive moves within the limits of nationally oriented scholarship. Frisian and ^{Viking} ~~wiking~~ traders were responsible for the portus of ^{Dorestad} ~~located~~ ^{near} on the ~~in Flanders~~, as well as the trade settlements of Birka, on the ~~Malar Lake~~, near the present Stockholm, and also for ~~the~~ Haithabu, opposite the present Schleswig, where the Schlei flows into the Baltic. These three sites were far from the Norwegian and the Frisian

come to
on from the
sea

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the Lower
Rhine

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coasts, on inland waterways; Birka and Haithabu certainly served as meeting places of ^{Frisian} ~~Western~~ seafarers with the caravans arriving with goods from the Black Sea and Iran. ^{And none} ~~of these~~ ports of trade led to

the eventual rise of a town. Nevertheless, since the excavation of Dor-
sted in the middle thirties, German historians ^{have} ~~felt encouraged~~ to draw bold conclusions. Within a decade the portus as well as its alternate,

the vicus, was renamed ~~by them~~ wik. Hundreds of English place names ending in wick and a few German towns of a similar formation were listed as evidence of the Nordic-Germanic origin of the typical medieval town. Fr.

Vogel ^{first} drew attention to the fact that the word ^{d/} 'wik' was found to have been in use with Vikings and Frisians referring to a place of disembarka-
tion on a river or other waterway where seafarers might store and trans-

ship their goods (1935). He was followed by the ~~current~~ authority on

the history of German towns, H. Planitz (1943) and ~~subsequently~~, not with-

out some ^{slight} ~~sign of hesitation~~, reservations, even, by the late Fr. Rörig
E. Ennen, to my knowledge, ~~was~~ the first (1950). However, ^{to} have introduced the use of wik into a work transcend-

ing the German orbit, and dealing with the early history of the European town. ^{explicitly}

^{To help to clarify} ~~For the sake of the classification~~ of the universal features ^{of} the early development of long distance trade, not in Europe alone but also in ~~the~~

~~the~~ other continents, this ^{departure} ~~semantic~~ innovation should not pass without comment. The portus that Pirenne discovered as ^{having been} the nuclear institution

of long distance trade about the turn of the first millennium of the C.E.

~~in Northern Europe~~, ^{a late} was ~~the~~ continental analogon ^{to} the emporium which was

found by Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) to have been widely spread in the second millennium B.C. on the coasts of the Mediterranean. It was a meeting

place of strangers, surrounded on one ^{of the} side by a low wall to denote the limits of the neutral area, ~~and~~ ^{offered} protected ~~and~~ by an altar; It was

He was the first to suggest that the primitive practice of 'Silent Trade' or 'dumb bards' might have been responsible for its origin.

^{it was} invariably situated ^{valley or otherwise} outside of any fortified settlement where such happened to be close and was itself open towards the ^{waterway}. Birka and Haithabu show ^{similar} ~~these~~ characteristics. Recently Old Babylonian cities have been stated to have possessed an open quay (kar) on the river, outside of the walls. Such an emporium or kar ^{or portus or wik} whether established by neighboring inhabitants or by the traveling traders ^{was} intended as a place ~~safe~~ for strangers to meet without danger to their lives and goods. When the meeting ^{was} ~~is~~ over the place ^{may have been} ~~was~~ desolate again. With a number of variants, such was the origin of the port of trade. Many ~~these~~ unsolved problems are connected with this significant institution. At their root, we should expect to discover the basic distinction between the functions of trade and market in the early economies. The designation portus with its indication of carrying as against marketing ^{we believe} should not be obscured by introducing terms ^{on an universal level} of ~~these~~ ^{markedly local} relevance such as the wik. ~~These~~ ^{Th.} have the authority of Frings for the assertion that wik as denoting a port of trade was ~~only~~ short ^{mediterranean} ~~for the vik~~ ^{Synonym for portus} ~~a common name for an unfortified ward in the region in question.~~ ^{x)}

All the more as we

Cf. his article "wik" in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, vol. 65, 1942, p. 221.

FRINGS

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served as residences to the warrior class, ever since the process of urbanization reached Europe from the East. This reflects the sweeping approach of the Menghin - Kern school, supplemented by the Weber - Hasebroek reading of the polis, and linked to Mengozzi's insistence on the almost uninterrupted continuance of the city-state type of town in the northern Italy of the high middle ages. Hence the municipal urban traditions of the South. These were eventually strengthened by the territorial bent of civic organization ~~which~~ such as the sworn commune as contrasted, in the North, to the more or less personal organization of the brotherly guilds of the Scandinavian caravan traders. From here on the argument is admittedly affected by an emotionally tinged interest, ~~in~~ a Nordic-Germanic factor, ~~it is claimed,~~ having been active in the birth of the medieval city through ^{viking} ~~viking~~ and Frisian participation in the caravan trade. The old debate about the appraisal of the Mediterranean cultural inheritance is thus being revived, this time on the specific issue of the Germanic role in the origins of the medieval cities. The geographical evidence ^{appears} ~~seems~~ to support the view that the crest of the creative wave moved along the borderline separating the area of the surviving municipal traditions of the South from the more backward Germanic regions of the East, where the protective guilds of the long distance traders supplied the nuclear organization of the portus. ~~Up to this point~~ The trend of the argument, while chiefly psychological and necessarily inconclusive moves within the limits of nationally oriented scholarship. Frisian and ^{Viking} traders were responsible for the portus of ^{Dorestad} ~~Barstad~~ on the ^{hert} ~~hert~~, in Flanders, as well as the trade settlements of Birka, on the ~~Mölar~~ Lake, near the present Stockholm, and also for ~~the~~ Haithabu, opposite the present Schleswig, where the Schlei flows into the Baltic. These three sites were far from the Norwegian and the Frisian

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coasts, on inland waterways; Birka and Haithabu certainly served as meeting places of Western seafarers with the caravans arriving with goods from the Black Sea and Iran. Now, none of these ports of trade led to the eventual rise of a town. Nevertheless, since the excavation of Dor-~~e~~stad in the middle thirties, German historians felt encouraged to draw bold conclusions. Within a decade the portus as well as its alternate, the vicus, was renamed by them wik. Hundreds of English place names ending in wick and a few German towns of a similar formation were listed as evidence of the Nordic-Germanic origin of the typical medieval town. Fr. Vogel drew attention to the fact that the word 'wik' was found to have been in use with Vikings and Frisians referring to a place of disembarkation on a river or other waterway where seafarers might store and transship their goods (1935). He was followed by the eminent authority on the history of German towns, H. Pfanitz (1943) and subsequently, not without some ~~sign of hesitation~~, reservations, even by the late Fr. Rörig E. Bollen, to my knowledge, is the first (1950). However, ^{explicitly} to have introduced the use of wik into a work transcending the German orbit, and dealing with the early history of the European town. ^{To help to clarify} ~~For the sake of the clarification of~~ the universal features in the early development of long distance trade ^{and not in Europe} ~~not in Europe alone~~, but also in ^{that} ~~the~~ other continents ^{that} semantic innovation should not pass without comment. The portus that Pirenne discovered as the nuclear institution ^{having been} of long-distance trade about the turn of the first millennium of the C.E. in ~~Northwestern~~ ^{a late} Europe, was ~~the~~ continental analogon ^{to} of the emporium ^{which was} found by Lehmann-Hartleben (1923) to have been widely spread in the second millennium B.C. on the coasts of the Mediterranean. It was a meeting place of strangers, surrounded on one side by a low wall to denote the limits of the neutral area, and protected ~~only~~ by an altar; ~~It was~~

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* Cf. his article 'Wik' in: 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur', vol. 65, 1942, p. 221.

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wave moved along the borderline separating the area of the surviving municipal traditions of the South from the more backward Germanic regions of the East, where the protective guilds of the long distance traders supplied the nuclear organization of the portus. Up to this point the trend of the argument, while chiefly psychological and necessarily inconclusive moves within the limits of nationally ^{oriented} ~~on-impact~~ self-interests. Frisian and Viking traders were responsible for the portus of Dorstod on the Leck in as-Flanders, as well as the trade settlements of B. Rka on the Mälare Lake, near the present Stockholm, and also for Hattabur, opposite the present Schleswig, where the Schlei flows into the Baltic. These ^{three} sites ~~are~~ ^{were} located far from the Norwegian and the Frisian coasts, on inland waterways; and the latter two ^{Hattabur} certainly served as meeting places of Western seafarers ^{with} ~~and~~ ^{the} caravans arriving with goods from the Black Sea and Iran. ~~Incidentally~~ ^{eventual} ~~now~~ ^{none} of these ports of trade led to the rise of a town, in later days. Nevertheless, since the excavation of Dorstod in the middle thirties, ~~bold~~ ^{conclusions were} drawn. German historians felt encouraged to draw within a decade the portus as well as its alternate, the vicus, was renamed. Hundreds of English place names ending in wick and some a few German towns of a similar formation were listed as evidence of the Nordic-Germanic origin of the typical medieval town. Fr. Vogel drew attention to the fact [1935] that the word wik was found to have been in use with Vikings and Frisians referring to a place of disembarkation on a river or other waterway where seafarers

W. Vogel

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