Defining Space

The Mental Mapping of the City and the Role of Christianity in the Conceptualisation of Spaces of Regular Communication in Medieval Europe

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I. *Mental Mapping in the Middle Ages*

St Augustine knew three categories of space, the home as the space of daily experience, the city as the space of regular communication and the world as the theatre of sacred universal history. These categories cast into terms a triad of hierarchically arrayed concepts of space which can be confirmed by a substantive corpus of records, both from medieval and modern Europe as well as from other parts of the world.[1] The triad can also be used to differentiate between private, public and universal aspects of space, as it can serve to distinguish between the emotional sphere of the home, the political or legal sphere of the polity and the moral sphere of what is regarded to belong to the world or the universe. The space of daily experience is subject to the exclusive control of an individual or a small group and is protected against unauthorised intrusion by outsiders which can be considered as breaches of peace or even as a crime. By contrast, the space of regular communication is accessible by anyone, though not necessarily by everyone, the space where one meets oth-

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[1] Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, cap. XIX/5, CCSL XLVIII (Turnhout, 1955), pp. 669-670.

ers, resolves conflicts, enters into discourse and agreements and
cares for what is taken to be of communal interest. The world as
terrestrial space is categorically different from these two concepts of
space in that it cannot be experienced as a single unit (as long as
one stays on it), whereas the world as the universe lends itself
solely to metaphysical speculation.[2]

I shall be concerned in this paper only with the intermediate cate-
gory of the space of regular communication. It is frequently vague
and varies greatly. Augustine imagined it to be identical with the
Roman Empire which then comprised variegated lands and commu-
nities around the Mediterranean Sea as its inland lake and imposed
upon them an economic and political suprastructure. At the other
extreme, the space of regular communication could be limited to the
narrow confines of small settlements housing a few kin groups of
farmers and their dependent servants. This appears to have been
the case in areas north of the Roman Empire of Antiquity and on
its northwestern and eastern fringes after imperial rule in the city
of Rome had collapsed late in the fifth century.

The vagueness and variability of spaces of regular communication
raise the question how this concept of space can be defined. There
appear to be two principal possibilities. On the one side, the space
of regular communication can be defined in terms of the group that
occupies it. In this case, social determinants which decide about the
structure and the size of a group are employed for the purpose of
delineating space, and the resulting spaces of regular communica-
tion occupied by certain groups remain, so to speak, in the property
of the groups and do not evolve into distinct ordering devices in

[2] Cf.: Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Beyond Physics, Philosophy, Psychology and Politics. The
Conceptual History of Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Orbis Terrarum* 4
(1998), pp. 159-183. Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000),
pp. 33-61.

their own right. In other words, if groups determine space, the space of regular communication is per se a social feature. On the other side, it may be that the space of regular communication is defined in terms of general, abstract, geographical criteria as a territorial entity which is demarcated by manifest boundaries and may comprise more than one group of settlers in its confines. In this case, the space of regular communication is per se a territorial category which may be regarded as a *terra nullius* (for example, some unclaimed island in the ocean), the property of everyone (for example, the property of the state) or as the property vested in the ruler. Thus, it needs to be visualised in separation from the groups inhabiting it. In other words, if space determines groups, the space of regular communication is a politically relevant territorial feature. The story of defining space that I intend to describe in the following paper is the account of the transformation of group-centric into territory-centric determinants of spaces of regular communication in medieval Europe. I shall categorise this process as one that concerned primarily the mental mapping of settlements and polities even though it is self-evident that the process is also manifest in the physical outlook of buildings and the embedding of settlements into the physical environment.

This intention demands clarification of what I mean by the Middle Ages. The term is an anachronism. People in what we retrospectively call the Middle Ages could not possibly regard themselves as living in the Middle Ages as the use of the term reflects some awareness of changes between the present of a retrospective observer of the Middle Ages and the period so termed. Thus the earliest evidence, and a scant one at that, for the use of the term dates from the early sixteenth century and is connected with attitudes which suggest that the present of that century was closer related to Greek and Roman Antiquity in terms of body culture, language, literature, law, politics, warfare, and science than with the intermit-

tent ten or so centuries.[3] Hence, early in the sixteenth century, a
perception of European and Mediterranean history was established
which set the Middle Ages as a uniform period between the end of
Roman imperial rule in the city of Rome (476/481 A. D.) and the be-
ginning of the sixteenth century, defined this period largely in the
negative terms of the decline of the culture of Antiquity and sug-
gested that rather little change occurred during this allegedly inter-
mediate period. This image was canonised into the triad of the ep-
ochs of Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the modern period at the
end of the seventeenth century.[4] While both the beginning and the
end of the Middle Ages have remained a bone of contention among
historians, and whereas it has only recently been accepted that the
Middle Ages did not represent a uniform time block without much
change,[5] the term as such has retained its currency against all odds,
perhaps because of the ease with which it facilitates communication.
There is indeed no reason to abandon the term as long as it does
not become or remain associated with the view that there was a
lack of change at the time.

Contrary to the views of early sixteenth-century and later retrospec-
tive observers, the Middle Ages have emerged as a period during
which most fundamental changes occurred. Thus recent scholarship
has demonstrated that the period witnessed changes regarding ex-

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[3] See: Uwe Neddermann, *Das Mittelalter in der deutschen Historiographie vom 15. bis
zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, Vienna, 1988). Ernst Pitz, *Der Untergang des Mittelal-
ters. Die Erfassung der geschichtlichen Grundlagen Europas in der politisch-historischen
Literatur des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1987).
[4] Christoph Cellarius, *Historia medii aevi a tempore Constantini Magni ad Constan-
tinopolim a Turcis captam dedvcta* (Jena, 1698).
[5] See: Aaron Yakovlevich Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London, 1985). First
published (Moscow, 1972). Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age* (Paris, 1977).
[6] See: Carlo Maria Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture 1300 - 1700* (New York, 1967). Gerhard
Dohrn-van Rossum, *Die Geschichte der Stunde. Uhren und moderne Zeitordnung* (Mu-
nich, 1992). David Landes, *Revolution in Time. Clocks and the Making of the Modern
World* (Cambridge, MA, London, 1984). J.-M. Leroux, ed., *Le temps chrétien de la fin de
l'Antiquité au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1981). Claude Thomasset, Joelle Ducos, eds, *Le temps
qu'il fait au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1998).

periences of time,[6] attitudes towards the body,[7] perceptions of groups[8] and relations between men and women,[9] concepts of action and interaction,[10] patterns of communication[11] as well as images of the physical environment,[12] the generation contract[13] and political order.[14] Therefore, searching for changes in definitions of space in the context of medieval European history seems appropriate. The changes themselves as well as their fundamentality seem to have been conditioned by a gradual transformation of culture from that underlying the universal Roman Empire to one informing the complex of (Catholic) units which, despite their manifold local particularisms, had in common that they were gradually placed under the impact of universal Christian religious doctrine. That is to say that the emerging preference for territory-centric over group-centric determinants for the mental mapping of spaces of regular communication is to be connected with the gradual absorption of pre-Christian group particularisms into Catholic universalism.

Like many other religions, Catholicism has displayed a high regard for space as an organising feature. The rule that communal life should be constituted around a church building has led to the gradual central organisation of space, not only in rural settlements but also in urban communities. Moreover, the insistence that the churchyard should serve as a graveyard has severed the ties be-

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[7] See: August Nitschke, *Körper in Bewegung* (Stuttgart, 1989).

[8] Georges Duby, *Hommes et structures au Moyen Age* (The Hague, Paris, 1973). Karl Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1983).

[9] See, among many: Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex. Female Sanctity and Society* (Chicago, London, 1997).

[10] See: Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Thinking as Action. Some Principal Changes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Ethnologia Europea* 27 (1997), pp. 1-20.

[11] See: Harald Kleinschmidt, 'The Fragmentation of the Integrated Process of Communicative Action', *NOWELE* 35 (1999), pp. 77-114.

[12] See: August Nitschke, *Die Mutigen in einem System. Wechselwirkungen zwischen Mensch und Umwelt* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1991).

[13] See: Rolf Sprandel, *Altersschicksal und Altersmoral. Die Geschichte der Einstellungen zum Altern nach der Pariser Bibelexegese des 12.-16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1981).

[14] See: Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Notes on the Conceptual History of Rule and Representation in Medieval Europe', *Majestas* 6 (1998), pp. 19-48.

tween the living and the dead group members the latter of whom
moved from the care of the group under the custody of the church.
Like centricity, the abstract principle of east-west orientation, not
only of church buildings but also of graves has become an important
means for the organisation of settlements for both the living and
the dead. Finally, the emergence of the idea that the church build-
ing should be an all-inclusive structure uniting in its walls the en-
tirety or at least the majority of different groups in a settlement has
lent support to the creation and implementation of huge designs for
church buildings at once towering above all other buildings in a set-
tlement and becoming its focal points. In the European case, then,
the fuzziness of the space of regular communication is due to the in-
terference of two mutually exclusive structures, the one inherited
from the Roman Empire of Antiquity, the other from the variety of
pre-Christian kin, neighbourhood and contractual groups within
and beyond the Empire.

II. *Two Cases of Spaces of Regular Communication: Quedlin-burg and Pienza*

In order to demonstrate that the transformation from group-centric
to territory-centric conceptualisations of spaces of regular communi-
cation actually occurred during the Middle Ages, I shall describe
two medieval towns. One is Quedlinburg in what is central Ger-
many today, the other is Pienza in Tuscany. The settlement Qued-
linburg appears to date back to the ninth century. The city at Pi-
enza was renamed and partly rebuilt from a rural settlement in the
later fifteenth century. The current architectural layout of Quedlin-
burg was created by Henry I, Duke of the Saxons and King in areas
east of the Rhine, who had a defensive earthwork erected on the
site and later built a monastery there. Pienza was rebuilt in accor-
dance with a grand design issued by Pope Pius II.

1. Quedlinburg

The town is located on the eastern fringes of the Harz mountains. Its pivotal point is a spur that reaches out into the plain known as the Magdeburger Börde and bears a cathedral church and a castle today. The town proper is located eastward in the plain below the spur. At the time when the spur was first used the political concept of Germany did not exist. The area had been incorporated into the Frankish kingdom at the turn of the ninth century but was under the control of the dukes of the Saxons early in the tenth century. At the time, the dukes were taken from the kin group of the Liudolfings. They were members of the Saxon aristocracy but appear to have had close connections with the Frankish kings at least throughout the ninth century. The area where the Liudolfings had most of their landed property was the Harz mountains and their vicinity. Duke Otto, who ruled at the end of the ninth century, appears to have acquired control over the Quedlinburg area. It is possible that the Liudolfings were remigrants from Britain who had been settled by the Frankish kings in the Harz area of which at least a part had, up to the sixth century, belonged to the kingdom of the Thuringians. That kingdom had been conquered by Frankish troops in 531 who had integrated it into the realm under their control. Therefore it is likely that the Liudolfings owed their position to the Frankish kings and formed a loyal branch of the Saxon aristocracy. Early in the tenth century, Duke Henry, Otto's son, married Mathilda who was a descendant of a more ancient and traditional Saxon kin group whose members had successfully resisted Frankish influence up to the early ninth century. The marriage bargain recognised the rising position of the Liudolfings among the Saxon aristocracy and added to Liudolfing power. In 919, Henry was elected as king over German speaking groups essentially east of the Rhine.[15]

One of the reasons that may have led to Henry's election was his
command over an apparently sizable and formidable fighting force
which could be employed to defend the newly established kingdom
against migrants from Scandinavia in the north and against Mag-
yar migrants from the east. Both groups of migrants were armed.
Henry agreed to a truce with the Magyars and decided to use this
occasion for the building of a defence system of earthworks.[16] In this
respect, he seems to have followed the precedent of King Alfred of
Wessex and his son Edward the Elder who had ordered a similar
defence system to be built against migrants from Scandinavia by lo-
cal resident communities late in the ninth century.[17] These earth-
works were to be kept continuously in good repair so as to provide a
safe shelter in the case of an attack. One of the earthworks which
Henry commissioned was built on the spur at Quedlinburg.[18] In this
case, the earthwork appears to have been of higher significance

[15] On the Liudolfings see: Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Me-
morialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen* (Munich,
1984). Matthias Becher, *Rex, Dux und Gens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des
sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Lübeck, 1996). Wolfgang Eggert,
'Identifiation und Wir-Gefühl bei mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibern bis zum Inves-
titurstreit', *Philologus* 123 (1979), pp. 54-63. Eggert, 'Das Wir-Gefühl bei fränkischen
und deutschen Geschichtsschreibern bis zum Investiturstreit', Eggert, Barbara Pätzold,
Wir-Gefühl und Regnum Saxonum bei frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibern (Vi-
enna, Cologne, Graz, 1984), pp. 13-179. Carl Erdmann, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Hein-
richs I', *Sachsen und Anhalt* 16 (1940), pp. 77-106. Johannes Fried, 'Die Königserhe-
bung Heinrichs I', *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Munich,
Vienna, 1995), pp. 267-318. Hermann Krause, 'Königtum und Rechtsordnung in der Zeit
der sächsischen Herrscher', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Ger-
manistische Abteilung* 82 (1965), pp. 1-98. Reinhard Wenskus, *Sächsischer Stammesadel
und fränkischer Reichsadel* (Göttingen, 1976).
[16] Widukind of Corvey, Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III, cap I/35, ed. Paul Hirsch,
Hand-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. 60 (Hanover, 1935), pp. 48-49. Cf.: Hel-
mut Beumann, 'Historiographische Konzeption und politische Ziele Widukinds von Cor-
bey', *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo* 17 (1970), pp.
857-894. Heinrich Büttner, 'Die Burgenbauordnung Heinrichs I', *Blätter für deutsche
Landesgeschichte* 92 (1956), pp. 1-17. Carl Erdmann, 'Die Burgenordnung Heinrichs I',
Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters 6 (1942), pp. 59-101. Kurt-Ulrich
Jäschke, *Burgenbau und Landesverteidigung um 900* (Sigmaringen, 1975), pp. 18-33.
[17] See: David H. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage', *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969), pp. 84-92.
[18] On Quedlinburg see: Gerd Althoff, 'Gandersheim und Quedlinburg', *Frühmittelalterli-
che Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 123-144. Althoff, 'Widukind von Corvey', *Frühmittelalterliche
Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 253-273. Joachim Ehlers, 'Heinrich I. in Quedlinburg',
Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen, eds Gerd Althoff, Ernst Schubert
(Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 235-265. Carl Erdmann, 'Das Grab Heinrichs I', *Deutsches Ar-
chiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* 4 (1940), pp. 76-97. Reprinted in: Erdmann, *Otton-*

than elsewhere because it was erected on Liudolfing grounds. Quedlinburg was thus a defensive point so to speak in Liudolfing heartland. The particle -burg in the place-name still today commemorates the original military purpose of the place.

Henry's defence system was successful in the respect that it kept the Magyars at bay and provided opportunity for his son Otto I to inflict a decisive defeat on them near Augsburg in 955. Magyars then withdrew to the central Danube river area where they are still today. Henry's defence system became redundant, and the king as well as his son and successor decided to build a nunnery on the site which was initially placed under the jurisdiction of the Benedictine abbey of Hersfeld and where Henry and his wife Mathilda were eventually buried. Mathilda commissioned the nuns to preserve the king's memory and include him into their prayers.[19] Soon the nun-

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ische Studien (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 31-52. Josef Fleckenstein, 'Pfalz und Stift Quedlinburg. Zur Problematik ihrer Zuordnung unter den Ottonen', *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Philol.-Hist.- Kl. 1992, No. 2, pp. 9-21. Johann Heinrich Fritsch, *Geschichte des vormaligen Reichsstifts und der Stadt Quedlinburg* (Quedlinburg, 1828). Horst Fuhrmann, 'Vom einstigen Glanze Quedlinburgs', *Das Quedlinburger Evangeliar*, eds Florentine Mütherich, Karl Dachs (Munich, 1991), pp. 13-22. Hermann Giesau, Karl Schirwitz, 'Die Grabungen auf dem Schloßberg in Quedlinburg', *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege* (1939/40), pp. 104-118. Karl Janicke, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Quedlinburg*, 2 vols (Halle, 1873-1882). Gerhard Leopold, 'Die Stiftskirche der Königin Mathilde in Quedlinburg', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 25 (1991), pp. 145-170. Leopold, 'Die erste Damenstiftskirche auf dem Quedlinburger Burgberg', *Berichte aus der Denkmalpflege* (1993), pp. 7-20. Leopold, 'Archäologische Ausgrabungen an Stätten der ottonischen Herrschaft (Quedlinburg, Memleben, Magdeburg)', *Herrschaftsrepräsentation* (as above), pp. 33-76, at pp. 33-40. Hermann Lorenz, *Werdegang von Stift und Sttadt Quedlinburg* (Quedlinburg, 1922), pp. 31-77. Ulrich Reuling, 'Quedlinburg - Königspfalz, Reichsstift, Markt', *Deutsche Königspfalzen*, vol. 4, ed. Lutz Fenske (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 184-247. Hans-Hartmut Schauer, *Das städtebauliche Denkmal Quedlinburg und seine Fachwerkbauten* (Berlin, 1990), pp. 12-25. Elisabeth Scheibe, Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Stifts und der Stadt Quedlinburg. Ph. D. Diss. University of Leipzig (Leipzig, 1938). Ernst Schubert, Klaus Beyer, *Stätten sächsischer Kaiser. Quedlinburg, Memleben, Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Merseburg, Goslar, Königslutter, Meissen* (Leipzig, Jena, Berlin, 1990), pp. 41-42. Schubert, 'Quedlinburg', *Der Quedlinburger Schatz wieder vereint* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 3-19. Klaus Voigtlander, *Die Stiftskirche St. Servatius zu Quedlinburg* (Berlin, 1989), pp. 87-94. Hermann Wäscher, *Der Burgberg in Quedlinburg* (Berlin, 1959).
[19] *Vita Mathildae posterior*, cap. 7, ed. Bernd Schütte, *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 66 (Hanover, 1994), p. 158. See for the discussion about this source: Gerd Althoff, 'Causa scribendi und Darstellungsabsicht. Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde und andere Beispiele', *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth*, eds Michael Borgolte,

nery became autonomous and was controlled by Henry's grand-
daughter Mathilda as abbess whose long tenure extended down to
the end of the tenth century. The nunnery appears to have enjoyed
royal patronage mainly for the reason that it provided a shelter for
Henry's female descendants whereas Otto I preferred other places,
mainly Magdeburg, for himself.[20] Yet he followed his father's habit
of celebrating Easter at Quedlinburg.

As I have described Quedlinburg so far, it served military purposes
initially and religious ones thereafter. Although the monastery may
have been erected also for defence purposes, it was neither an ad-
ministrative or political centre in the sense of Paul Wheatley and
an early state in the sense of political anthropology[21] nor an autono-
mous focal point for the production and distribution of goods and
services in the sense of Max Weber even if the nuns engaged in
some kind of economic activity.[22] The nuns obtained the necessities
for their lives from privileges which they had been granted by
Henry, his wife and his successors in the course of the tenth cen-

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Herrad Spilling (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 117-133. Althoff, 'Probleme um die dos der
Königinnen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut Moyen Age*, ed.
Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 123-132. Althoff, 'Geschichtsbewußtsein durch Memori-
alüberlieferung', *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriog-
raphischer Quellen*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Berlin, 1998), pp. 85-100, at pp. 95-96.
Erich Karpf, *Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff in der ottonischen
Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1985). Bernd Schütte, *Unter-
suchungen zu den Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde* (Hanover, 1994).
[20] See: Gerd Althoff, 'Unbekannte Zeugnisse vom Totengedenken der Liudolfinger', *Deut-
sches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 32 (1976), pp. 370-404. Philip Corbert, *Les
saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour l'an mil*
(Sigmaringen, 1986). Ehlers (note 18), pp. 250-252. Cf. for earlier cases: Maria
Hasdenfeld-Roding, Studien zur Gründung von Frauenklöstern im frühen Mittelalter.
Phil. Diss. Typescript. University of Freiburg 1991.
[21] Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters* (Chicago, 1971). Henri J. M. Claessen,
Peter Skalník, eds, *The Early State* (The Hague, Paris, 1981). Peter Skalník, ed., *Out-
witting the State* (Princeton, 1987).
[22] Max Weber. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 5th ed., 14th to 18th printing Tübingen, 1980),
pp. 727-814. Also in: Weber, 'Die Stadt', *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*
47 (1921), pp. 621-772. Cf.: Klaus Schreiner, 'Legitimität, Autonomie, Rationalisierung.
Drei Kategorien Max Webers zur Analyse mittelalterlicher Stadtgesellschaften', *Die okz-
identale Stadt nach Max Weber*, ed. Christian Meier (Munich, Vienna, 1994), pp. 161-
211.

tury and which obliged peasant farmers in the vicinity to deliver agricultural produce and to be at service to the nuns. Moreover, the monastery had been exempted from the authority of territorial rulers and seigneurial lords in the vicinity and thus stood under the direct protection of the king and emperor. In other words, the abbesses of Quedlinburg had the option of transforming the monastery's holdings into a territory of their own as the monastery was itself lord over a number of villages in the area.

This status was not unique to Quedlinburg and gave religious centres the chance to transform themselves into towns. The first and foremost case where this transformation took place was Rome. Having been totally deserted for a few years due to warfare in the middle of the sixth century, Rome reemerged as the residence of the popes and an ecclesiastical centre.[23] It began to attract clergymen and lay pilgrims during the seventh century and only thereafter developed into an urban community again. Hence the operation of Rome as the paramount religious centre was the basis for its reemergence as an urban community. Similar cases, albeit at lesser levels, are on record from later periods for such cities as Aix-la-Chapelle, Canterbury, Munich, and Westminster where prominent episcopal and monastic institutions, in some cases together with rulers' residences, paved the grounds for urbanisation processes. Quedlinburg belongs into this series insofar as it grew into a city. Already in the second half of the tenth century, a sufficiently large number of private residences had been established below the monastery to allow Quedlinburg to be referred to as a *civitas* of its own[24]

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[23] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*. Reprint of the sixth ed., ed. Woldemar Kampf, 3 vols (Basle, 1953-1957 and Darmstadt, 1963). First published (Stuttgart, 1859-1863). Another reprint (Munich, 1978).
[24] Widukind of Corvey, cap. I/41 (note 16), p. 60.

and even as a *metropolis*.[25] But the nuns became not only lords of
the townsfolk gathering on the grounds below the spur on which the
monastery towered; in addition, they acquired legal titles to rule
over land and people out in the countryside. Therefore, the combi-
nation of rights to rule over an urban community as well as over
villages in the countryside awarded to Quedlinburg the status of a
polity of its own. The nuns reserved for themselves the deictic up-
hill position which continued to serve as an architectural manifesta-
tion of lordship and rule.[26]

As tenth-century kings and emperors visited Quedlinburg fre-
quently, the local trade grew in size, and a market is on record in
the town already in 994.[27] The entire downhill settlement soon ac-
quired the characteristics of a medieval town, with walls, urban
parishes and their own churches, local production and local as well
as long distance trade. By the twelfth century, Quedlinburg was a
town with an architectural layout that well resembled that of the
4000 or so other medieval European cities. Nevertheless, its legal

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[25] DDO III, No. 94, (23 Nov. 994), ed. Theodor Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des Dritten*,
MGH Diplomata 2,2 (Berlin, 1893), p. 566. DDOII, No. 10 (27 July 964), ed. Theodor
Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des II*., MGH Diplomata 2,1 (Berlin, 1888), p. 18, refers to
the settlement at Quedlinburg as the *suburbium castelli*.
[26] On the deictic use of space in the early Middle Ages see: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Nego-
tiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*
(Ithaca, London, 1999), pp. 137-155. For a different development of an initially exempt
monastery see: Heinrich Trauffler, *Die Abteistadt Echternach im Mittelalter* (Trier,
2000).
[27] DDOIII, No. 94, 994 (note 25), pp. 566-567. See for further charter evidence on the
market at Quedlinburg: DDHIII, No. 93 (25 July 1042), ed. Harry Bresslau, Paul Kehr,
Die Urkunden Heinrichs III, MGH Diplomata 5 (Berlin, 1926-1931), pp. 119-120.
DDLIII, No. 61 (25 April 1134), ed. Emil von Ottenthal, Hans Hirsch, *Die Urkunden Lo-
thars III. und der Kaiserin Richenza*, MGH Diplomata 8 (Berlin, 1927), pp. 95-97. Cf.:
Walter Hobohm, *Der städtische Haushalt Quedlinburgs in den Jahren 1459 bis 1509*
(Halle, 1912). Hermann Lorenz, 'Die urkundlichen Eintragungen in die Ratsrechnungen
der Stadt Quedlinburg von 1454 bis 1509', *Zeitschrift des Harzvereins für Geschichte
und Alterthumskunde* 39 (1906), pp. 194-255. Lorenz, *Quellen zur städtischen
Verwaltungs-, Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Quedlinburgs vom 15. Jahrhundert bis
zur Zeit Friedrichs des Großen* (Halle, 1916). Klaus Militzer, Peter Przybilla, *Stadtent-
stehung, Bürgertum und Rat (Halberstadt und Quedlinburg bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahr-
hunderts)* (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 112-176. Hans-Erich Weirauch, 'Die Güterpolitik des
Stifts Quedlinburg im Mittelalter', *Sachsen und Anhalt* 13 (1937), pp. 117-181, 14
(1938), pp. 203-295.

status remained special. Quedlinburg was a free town in the sense that the inhabitants had the right of self-government only during the brief period between 1358 and the end of the fifteenth century. For most of the time, the abbesses remained the lords of the town.

As long as the abbesses continued to enjoy royal or imperial patronage, the town could thrive. But when, from 1002 on, the power centre in the kingdom and empire moved away from the Harz mountains, the monastery had to continue on its own feet, and this involved legal and political difficulties. The legal difficulties resulted from the medieval conviction that the clergy ought not to be involved in legal matters which could lead to the capital punishment of offenders. In other words, if one of the monastery's lay subjects committed a serious offence, or if a third party inflicted a serious crime upon one of the monastery's subjects, the abbesses, as the secular lords of the city, were not entitled to conduct legal procedures in their own right. In such cases, the monastery had to appoint a legal representative who could act as a judge on its behalf if need be. As a matter of fact, the appointment of such legal representatives was understood to be mandatory for religious institutions, and mandates were usually requested by and given out to members of the higher aristocracy on a hereditary basis. The giving out of a mandate to an aristocrat entailed financial obligations on the side of the monastery and allowed the aristocrat to intervene into the internal affairs of the monastery. Hence, once a monastery agreed to accept a legal representative, the person to whom this competence was given out had the option to seek political influence on the monastery and its holdings. In the case of Quedlinburg, the earliest legal representatives had been taken from the kin group of Henry I and his successors. Since the twelfth century, local earls in the Harz area took over the privilege which was eventually bought by the town council in 1327. The earls seriously impeded the decision-making capabilities of the abbesses, specifically as affairs of the city

were concerned, and they eventually placed their own chargé-
d'affaires in the town.[28]

Thus the townspeople had to serve two lords. Nevertheless, the du-
alism of the secular rule by the abbesses and the local earls did
eventually not jeopardise the autonomy of the monastery because
the abbesses were able to regain control over the city on the eve of
the Reformation. But it did impose a ceiling on the development of
the economic and political potential of the town. Therefore, unlike
other medieval cities which became progenitors of economic and
technological advancement during the later Middle Ages, Quedlin-
burg stayed small but sturdy. The city retained its own status with
an astonishing degree of perseverance. Even the Reformation could
not seriously endanger its existence although the monastery was
transformed from a Catholic institution into a Protestant foundation
for ladies devoted to religious life, and it continued to govern its
own affairs throughout the early modern period. The monastery re-
tained its status as an imperial institution whose rights were guar-
anteed by the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire until the Na-
poleonic Wars. Only in 1803, when several hundreds of small poli-
ties inside the empire were dissolved at one stroke, Quedlinburg
lost its status and was incorporated into the Prussian province of
Saxony.[29]

The case of Quedlinburg thus displays the following features: The
settlement owed its existence to the decision of a ruler to erect
earthworks for defence purposes on what appears to have belonged
to his kin property early in the tenth century and to convert the site
into a monastery subsequently. The fortified place as well as the

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[28] On legal representation see: Folker E. Reichert, *Landesherrschaft, Adel und Vogtei*
(Cologne, Vienna, 1985).
[29] Cf.: Walter Breywisch, 'Quedlinburgs Säkularisation und seine ersten Jahre unter der
preußischen Herrschaft', *Sachsen und Anhalt* 4 (1928), pp. 207-249.

monastery succeeding it had a special status. The status of the set-tlement was derived from the status of its royal founder and bene-factor, and throughout the remaining part of the tenth and the early eleventh centuries the monastery continued to benefit from the privileges granted by Henry I and his tenth-century successors. In short, the monastery of Quedlinburg served the royal and impe-rial ruler, his kin members and his entourage as a place not only of religious worship but also as a manifestation of the king's and em-peror's presence. The place was thus a royal and an imperial site not because of some specific spatial features, such as the architec-ture of its buildings, its size, or its location. Instead, it was initially royal and imperial because of the people gathering there.[30] The set-tlement at Quedlinburg represented a space of regular communica-tion which was constituted by personal bonds and ties between the kin group of kings and emperors and the nuns and was thus de-fined by the group occupying the spur rather than in terms of a ter-ritorial component.

We have further evidence from other sources, written as well as pic-torial, which show that, in the early Middle Ages up to the tenth century, groups were regarded as having the capability to deter-mine space. Much of this evidence dates from the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries,[31] and turns Quedlinburg into a late case. In other words, Quedlinburg fits into a pattern that was conventional at the time of its foundation. Compared to other monastic founda-tions, it met with remarkable success. Unlike other monasteries, Quedlinburg managed to acquire market privileges for the people agglomerating below the spur, and the abbesses continued to be secular lords of the urban as well as the several rural settlements,

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[30] This was the way in which the place was mentioned at the time, for example in the *Miracula S. Wigberhti*, written at Hersfeld shortly after 936, which say that Quedlin-burg was a famous place because it was a royal residence. See: 'Relatio Geltmari', in: 'Miracula S. Wigberhti', ed. Carl Erdmann, *Ottonische Studien* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 84.
[31] Cf.: Kleinschmidt, *Understanding* (note 2), chapter 4.

despite all odds. As the settlement and lands under the control of the abbesses grew, their lordship acquired a spatial dimension which had to be demarcated in geographical boundaries. Thus the local earls who were the monastery's legal representatives built an imposing castle on the outskirts of the settlement in 1288 in order to demonstrate their presence and delineate the space under the authority of the abbesses. Thus the abbesses had to compete with other territorial rulers and seigneurial lords who, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, began to round off their own territories and were engaged in a protracted struggle for dominance and primacy among themselves. In the course of the Middle Ages, the space of regular communication under the control of the Quedlinburg nuns obtained a territorial component.

One of the reasons why the abbesses of Quedlinburg succeeded where scores of other abbots and abbesses failed is due to the facts that the monastery had a solid basis in its royal and imperial privileges and that, under the conditions of the complicated imperial constitution, it was perhaps easier to find niches where neither the emperor nor a territorial ruler was willing to invest major resources. Certainly, the Harz area has remained in the wind shade of political affairs in the empire and its successor polities since the eleventh century.

How then did religion impact on the mental mapping of the Quedlinburg space? Prima facie, Quedlinburg grew as a settlement for people devoted to religious service. In this sense, religion was the primary defining element of the groups gathering there. The nuns established themselves as a religious contractual group and determined the space of their settlement on the basis of arrangements which Henry I and his descendants and successors had made for them. The monastery as a religious institution became the lord of the city and thus the organising power of a space of regular commu-

nication. It was elevated above the town and villages in spatial terms and continued to preserve its spatial separateness. The relations between the tenth- and eleventh-century kings and emperors on the one side and, on the other, the monastery were personal in kind and not drawn on obligations of office. The rights and privileges were given to the monastery on the basis of kin ties between the founding secular rulers and the clerical women running the institution. Once these ties ceased to operate to the advantage of the monastery because the emperors were taken from a different dynasty and focused their interests on other places, the monastery's activities were confined to the preservation of the status quo. The abbesses had great trouble transforming their kin based privileges into rule over land and people. At times, they even lost control over the city. They eventually regained their position at a time when the competing secular territorial lords had themselves run into difficulties and were being absorbed into the larger territorial polities in the making towards the end of the Middle Ages. Hence, in Quedlinburg, the city and the countryside remained segregated even though the abbesses managed to place themselves in control of a number of farming villages in the vicinity. The defining power of religion in relation to space was one that, so to speak, had to go through the groups as the determining factor of space. Insofar, Quedlinburg displays an architectural setup in which the sacred and the profane in the spaces of regular communication were not divided but hierarchically ordered.

2. Pienza

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was born from an aristocratic family of Sienese origin. The Piccolomini family had been expelled from its home town in one of the numerous brawls which members of the urban patriciates used to fight among themselves in the northern

Italian cities during the later Middle Ages. The family sought ref-
uge in the nearby hilltop castle of Corsignano in Tuscany. Enea
Silvio was born there in 1405. He led a secular life until his 40s
when he became devoted to church affairs. He also acted as an im-
perial envoy to Bohemia at the time when a crusade was fought
against the Hussites there. He was a prolific writer who reported on
the Council of Basle which he had attended, on his Bohemian mis-
sion as well as on a number of academic subjects. But he was also a
bestseller novelist, a man of great learning and a Humanist scholar
of highest grades.[32] When he was elected Pope in 1458, he was
among the most prominent churchmen of his time. He took the
name Pius II, perhaps to commemorate the Aeneas legend of classi-
cal Antiquity, as Aeneas had been called Pius by Vergil.[33] The choice
of name thus seems to demonstrate the willingness of the newly
elected pope to display himself at the crossroads of various tradi-
tions of heterogeneous origins.

That he had chosen his papal name after careful consideration be-
came also clear from Pius's decision in 1462 to rename his birth-
place after his papal name, two years before he died.[34] The renam-
ing came after the pope's decision to have the place partly rebuilt in
accordance with a grand design which the pope himself made. Ac-

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[32] On Piccolomini see: Arnold Esch, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini als Papst Pius II', *Lebensle-
hren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, eds Hartmut Boock-
mann, Bernd Moeller, Karl Stackmann (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 112-140. Cary J. Neder-
man, 'Humanism and Empire. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Cicero and the Imperial
Idea', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 499-515. Rotondi Secchi Tarugi, ed., *Pio II e la
cultura del suo tempo* (Milan, 1991). John B. Toews, 'The View of Empire in Aeneas
Sylvius Piccolomini', *Traditio* 24 (1968), pp. 471-487.

[33] For the debate on Pius's papal name see: Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Die Geschichte
der Papstnamen* (Munster, 1980), pp. 151-154. Wolfgang Reinhard, 'PAPA PIUS. Prole-
gomena zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Papsttums', *Festschrift August Franzen*, ed. Re-
migius Bäumer (Munich, Paderborn, Vienna, 1972), pp. 261-299.

[34] On Pienza see: N. Adams, 'The Acquisition of Pienza 1459 - 1464', *Journal of the Soci-
ety of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985), pp. 99-110. L. H. Heydenreich, 'Pius II. als
Bauherr von Pienza', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 6 (1937), pp. 105-146. Luciana
Finelli, Sara Rossi, *Pienza. Tra ideologie e realità* (Bari, 1979). Andreas Tönnesmann,
Pienza. Städtebau und Humanismus (Munich, 1990).

cording to the design, the castle was to be rebuilt into a city. The design disclosed a new architectural structure as well as a new style of the buildings. Where the medieval castle had been erected as a residence of the aristocracy as a military elite, the new city was to be a market, a place of residence and a gathering place for everyone. Where the castle had been sealed off against the vicinity by its wall, the new city was to be open to the landscape. Where the castle had been composed as an irregular set of buildings inside the walls, the new city was to follow a largely rectangular hillside layout with grids of streets crossing each other. Where the castle tower had been in the centre of the settlement, the new city was to evolve around its cathedral. Where the castle had been built of cut cuboids, the buildings of the new city were to have plain and well polished facades with rectangular patterns in a style that was taken to be an imitation of ancient Roman models.[35]

In his memoirs, Pius II provided a detailed account of the design. In it he praised the scenic beauty of Pienza, the lavishness of the woods and flowers in the landscape around the city, the openness of the landscape and the pleasure of the contrasts between the wide valleys and softly sloping hills. He demanded that the new city as a space of regular communication should face to the landscape. The demand was feasible as the castle had been built on a promontory facing a hill opposite a wide valley. Pius II also gave detailed instructions about the building of the cathedral as a space of daily experience. It was to be flooded with light. Contrary to the small eastward oriented Romanesque church that had been on the site outside the castle from the high Middle Ages, the new building was to follow a north-south axis. This provocatively unconventional orientation made it possible that the apse stood on the edge of the promon-

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[35] On Rossellino who may have inspined PiusII, see: Charles Randall Mack, Studies in the Architectural Career of Bernardo di Matteo Gamberelli, Called Rossellino. Ph.D. Diss. University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, 1972).

tory facing the hill on other side of the valley and that the cathe-
dral was integrated into the grand design of the new city. The rec-
tangular pattern of the entire design was emphasised by the layout
of the central piazza in front of the cathedral. The almost square
shape of the piazza was to be repeated first by stripes of white
stone ordering the otherwise used red bricks into small rectangular
units. The rectangular pattern was also taken up in the facade of
the Palazzo of the Piccolomini family which faced the cathedral to
the east. Its facade was to be composed of rectangular patterns
modelled upon the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence.[36]

Pius II thus made it clear that the carefully planned human design
of the new city was different from but not posited against the natu-
rally grown physical environment. Rather than imagining an or-
dered and protected human world as the antipode to some unor-
dered and dangerous physical environment (as the builders of me-
dieval castles would do), Pius II understood the human wish of or-
dering as a refinement of nature. Like some predecessors in the
Middle Ages, Pius II employed the imagery of gardening in educa-
tional theory. But unlike medieval educational theorists who had
used the imagery to emphasise the freedom of natural growth Pius
II stressed the importance of the order which the gardener imposed
on nature. In a letter addressed to King Ladislaus of Hungary, the
pope wrote that teachers should straighten the children's minds in
the same way as gardeners force trees to grow their stems in
straight upward lines without bends and twists.[37] The imagery
shows that Pius II could display nature as a hospitable environment,
subject to human control. Nature and order were thus no funda-
mental opposites although Pius II would allocate a higher degree of

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[36] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini [Pius II], *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*, lib. IX, vol. 1
(Vatican City, 1984), p. 278.
[37] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pius II, 'Letter to Ladislaus V of Hungary', ed. Rudoplh
Wolkau, *Der Briefwechsel*, II. Abt. (Vienna, 1912), No. 40., pp. 103-148. Cf.: Klaus Ar-
nold, *Kind und Gesellschaft in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Paderborn, 1980), p. 157.

order to human settlements. Nevertheless, he regarded human settlements as elements of an integrated world of continuous spaces wherein city and country were representatives of varying degrees of order and not placed into an opposition against each other.

Pius's design for the Pienza cathedral church had a long history behind it. Already in 983, the newly built cathedral church at Winchester was dedicated which was described by a contemporary author as a structure of outstanding size and one that could unite in its walls a variety of different groups and even types of groups,[38] the kin group of rulers, contractual groups of monks, nuns and other religious people, pilgrims visiting the place to venerate the several saints interred in the cathedral as well as the parishioners in whose area the cathedral stood. The report goes on to state that every group had particular places of the building allocated to them for their own use. In consequence, the arrangement of different spaces inside the church building became so complicated that uninformed users of the church needed to be guided to find their proper place in the cathedral. These complex arrangements for which parallels can be adduced from continental Romanesque structures[39] eventually replaced the small early medieval proprietary churches which had been built on kin land and had served only privileged users, namely those who were kin members or had been invited by kin members to join the church service. The new style of building

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[38] Wulfstan Cantor, 'Narratio de sancto Swithuno', vv. 41-56, ed. Alistait Campbell, *Frithegodi monachi Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio de sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950), pp. 66-67. Cf.: George Bryan, *Ethelwold and Medieval Music Drama at Winchester* (Bern, Frankfurt, 1981), pp. 13-92. Thomas Kirchner, *Raumerfahrung im geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters* (Bern, Frankfurt, 1985). Konrad Körte, 'Die Orgel von Winchester', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 57 (1973), pp. 1-24. James W. McKinnon, 'The Tenth-Century Organ at Winchester', *Organ Yearbook* 5 (1974), pp. 4-19. Daniel Sheerin, 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester', *Revue bénédictine* 88 (1978), pp. 261-273.

[39] Helmut Fußbroich, *Die Ausgrabungegn in St. Pantaleon zu Köln* (Cologne, 1983). Felix Kreusch, *Beobachtungen an der Westanlage der Klosterkirche zu Corvey* (Munster, 1963). Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Großbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1998).

churches promoted designs for the sizable structures which could
accommodate thousands of people. But space within them continued
to be aggregated from units with different qualities depending on
the status of their users. Hence, up to the fifteenth century,
churches provided an architectural frame for hierarchically ordered
spaces rather than constituting a single continuous space within
their walls. These churches then presented the architectural frame-
work for the space of daily experience which corresponded to the
space of regular communication.

However, when Pius II made his grand design for Pienza, he in-
sisted that the newly to be built cathedral was to constitute one sin-
gle continuous space which could be overlooked by everyone who en-
tered through its main portal. He did so after having displayed his
appreciation of spacious church buildings, such as those to be found
in Vienna, which allowed light to penetrate through the walls into a
continuous space.[40] Hence the building was not to contain any inter-
nal divisions and, being flooded with light, was to allow every visi-
tor to experience the entire building as a single unit, down to every
chapel on either side and, even more importantly, allow the visitors
of the church to view the outside world as the space of regular com-
munication from the inside of a space of daily experience. In the
same way as visitors to the Pienza cathedral would experience the
space constituted by the building as a single, homogeneous and con-
tinuous space, the inhabitants of the city as a whole were to be en-
abled to perceive their settlement as integrated into the continuous
space represented by the landscape in central Tuscany and, eventu-
ally, the world as a whole. In Pienza, religion represented by the ca-
thedral served as the manifestation of the integration of space as a
continuum whose boundaries were the boundaries of the universe.

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[40] Pius II (note 32), Book IX. Pius, reporting on his visit to Vienna, in: *Historia rerum
Friderici Tertii*, ed. Johann Georg Kulpis (Strasbourg, 1535), p. 3. Cf.: Heydenreich
(note 34), pp. 116-126.

This concept of space was unrelated to groups who had no defining power over space. Groups lived in space rather than creating it. The experience underlying this concept of space of regular communication did no longer support distinctions drawn on hierarchically arrayed values. Religion as manifested in the cathedral of Pienza was both the focal point of the entire settlement and its vicinity and the representative of space as the world. The space of regular communication thus became the interface between the universal space of the world at large and the particularism of the several spaces of daily experience.

III. *Quedlinburg and Pienza. A Comparison*

The comparison of Quedlinburg and Pienza displays a number of similarities. Both settlements owed their establishment to warfare. Quedlinburg was founded as an uninhabited fort, Corsignano was an aristocratic castle built to house a family of military professionals. The Quedlinburg fort was built on a spur of land on the eastern side of the Harz mountains and stretching out eastwards into the plains. Corsignano was built on a promontory above a wide valley in central Tuscany. Both places were subsequently converted into religious centres. Quedlinburg became a monastery with the right of self-government and the privilege of exemption from local rule and taxation. Corsignano was renamed Pienza after Enea Silvio Piccolomini was elected pope and decided to rebuilt parts of the settlement into a city.

But the differences are more revealing. At Quedlinburg, the nuns establishing themselves on the spur remained at this place by themselves. Although the monastery was well endowed by its founders and their tenth-century successors, and although it provided space for people settling in its vicinity, no one was allowed through-

out the Middle Ages to settle on the upland spur together with the
nuns. The urban settlements which developed during the tenth and
eleventh centuries were laid out in the plains below the spur, with
the nuns overlooking the settlement of their people. In other words,
the hierarchy which placed the nuns of Quedlinburg as lords in
charge of their dependent people became visible in the spatial ar-
rangement of the settlement and has remained so to the present
day. The nunnery has never become integrated into the entirety of
the urban space constituted by the Quedlinburg settlement.

By contrast, in Pienza, Pius II put into effect a grand design with-
out spatial segregations. The walls of the former castle were torn
down with the exception of its western gate which still stands. An
almost rectangular street plan was imposed which covered a large
part of the promontory. The plan integrated the former castle area
into the new settlement. The cathedral was erected on the site of a
small medieval church building which had been placed east of the
castle outside its walls. Pius II turned the new church into the cen-
tre piece of the new settlement and changed its orientation from
east-west to north-south. The new orientation was at odds with the
traditions of Christian church building but it allowed the featuring
of the cathedral as the pivotal point of the city and ensured its visi-
bility from afar. Thus the cathedral was not only totally integrated
into the city, it also served as the single most important device fa-
cilitating the interconnections between the city and the countryside
surrounding it. Whereas in Quedlinburg, the nunnery and its
church building have remained lasting indicators of the group-
centredness of space, the cathedral of Pienza has served as the sym-
bol for the integration of space as the ordering device for persons,
groups and inanimate objects.

The process that took place in the 500 or so years between the foun-
dation of Quedlinburg and the re-foundation of Pienza was the proc-

ess of the evolution of the European city as a socially and politically aggregate space of regular communication. The European city emerged as the byproduct of the gradual transformation of group-centric into territory-centric definitions of space. The universalism which Catholicism inherited from the secular institutions of the Roman Empire of Antiquity brought into existence the demand that the Christian emphasis on the centricity and uniformity of the organisation of space beyond particularistic groups came to be imposed upon Europe north of the Alps through or in consequence of the process of the Catholic mission. With their conversion to Catholicism, the variegated particularistic groups making up the population in this part of the world up to the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries were faced with the demand to allow the integration of their particularistic attitudes, norms and rules into the universalism represented by the Catholic Church. However, initially, many of these groups tried to resist this consequence and made efforts to preserve their traditional group identity in a Christian garb. The most important means to accomplish this goal were, first, the foundation and maintenance of proprietary church institutions, such as local churches and monasteries which were built on kin land and remained under the control as well as in the custody of the founding kin groups,[41] and, second, the establishment of local cults of sainted kin members.[42] Ideally, sainted kin members would be venerated in the proprietary church institutions belonging to the kin group from which the saints had emerged. In this way, a plethora of

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[41] See: Günther Peter Fehring, 'Missions- und Kirchenwesen in archäologischer Sicht', *Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte* 22 (1979), pp. 547-591. Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, ed., *Frühe Kirchen im östlichen Alpengebiet*, 2 vols (Munich, 2003) (Ahandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. N.F. 123.)

[42] Cf.: René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie* (Paris, 1953). Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien* (Munich, 1994). Robert Folz, *Les saints rois au Moyen Age en Occident* (Brussels, 1984). Baudouin de Gaiffier, 'Hagiograpie et historiographie', *La storiograpfia al tomedioevale* (Spoleton, 1980), pp. 139-166. *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés IVe - XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981). *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe - XIIIe siècle)* (Rome, 1991). Dietrich von der Nahmer, *Die lateinische Heiligenvita* (Darmstadt, 1994).

local ecclesiastical institutions and cults appeared which defied the centralising and universalising efforts of the Catholic Church and left little opportunity to the latter to intervene into the internal affairs of the kin groups and their institutions. Initially, then, the centralising and universalising efforts of the Church competed with the particularisms of the traditional kin groups whose senior members were able to defend the vested interests, traditional norms and rules as well as the identity of their group. However, with ever more church buildings erected in central positions of settlements between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, with the mission extending into northern and eastern Europe during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries and with the consequential deeper penetration of Christian thought and beliefs into the minds of the believers, the Church gradually strengthened its position vis-à-vis the kin groups. Likewise, high ranking aristocratic and specifically royal kin groups became aware of a competitive advantage which the centralising efforts of the Church offered to them. This advantage lay in the bureaucratic forms of Catholic succession to high offices in which - according to normative theory - merit but not kin relations ought to play the most significant role. Moreover, the Church carried with it as a legacy of Roman Antiquity beliefs in inheritance which gave priority to unilateral succession and the exclusion of collateral rights of inheritance. Collateralism was, however, the most frequently applied determinant for succession to high offices among the particularistic kin groups among which succession to high office was restricted to members of certain kin groups only. Collateralism meant that a given ruler could never be certain that his or her own offspring would succeed. The Church offered assistance to rulers who wanted to make sure that succession rules were changed to the effect that primogeniture was accepted as the principle of determining the heir apparent. Earliest attempts to introduce primogeniture are on record from the late seventh century, and they were launched with support from the Church.[43] Therefore, the royal kin

groups together with the higher aristocracy became the strongest proponents for the acceptance of Christian centralism and univer- salism between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. By the tenth century, the Church was strong enough to take decisive steps to- gether with kings and other high ranking rulers against the prevail- ing influence lay kin groups in its institutions, and, under the pro- grammatic slogan of enforcing rigorous monastic discipline and canon law, obtained full control over its institutions.[44] Hence, the lo- cal cults of kin saints were centralised in larger episcopal churches, and the proprietary churches and monasteries were placed under the administrative supervision of bishops and, ultimately, the pope.[45] Moreover, the Church exerted considerable influence on the formulation of criteria for succession to high office and shaped the imperial and royal installation rites after the ninth century. There- fore, by the tenth century, the traditional collateral kin groups were plagued with declining legitimacy, shrinking size and affluence as well as waning political influence. New types of settlements emerged in hilltop castles and urban communities whose inhabi- tants had cut ties with their previous collateral kin groups and opted for the keeping of their own households. The rural country- side came under the control territorial rulers and seigneurial lords who presided over a largely dependent peasantry. In the Holy Ro- man Empire, some urban communities established themselves as autonomous self-governing institutions from the eleventh century, mainly in northern Italy, Flanders and the German speaking areas. These settlements carved further niches into the territories of the secular lords, made it difficult to experience space as a continuous

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[43] For a case study see: Harald Kleinschmidt, 'The Old English Annal for 757 and West Saxon Dynastic Strife', *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), pp. 209-224.

[44] See: Thomas Symons, 'Regularis Concordia. History and Derivation', *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. David Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp. 37-59.

[45] See: David Rollason, 'The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *The Anglo -Saxon Church. Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr Harold McCarter Taylor*, eds L. A. S. Butler, Richard K. Morris (London, 1986), pp. 43- 43.

ordering device and, instead, supported the perception of spaces of
regular communication as segregated habitats which conveyed vari-
ous legal statuses upon their inhabitants and were separated by ar-
chitecturally manifest boundaries. The quests for spatial segrega-
tion and social hierarchies, inherited from the early Middle Ages,
remained in effect up until the fifteenth century.[46] European cities
and the several groups settling in them tried their best to maintain
and enlarge their privileges and to constitute a framework of moral
and legal rules which left only little room for individual freedom. It
did so despite the fact that most of the cities were contractual com-
munities in which government was regarded as legitimate if and as
long as it was government by consent.[47] However, the community of
all residents in a city did not have equal access to participation in
government affairs. Over the centuries, the privilege to participate
in government had been monopolised by a small number of groups
of patriciate kin who regarded it as their own freedom to be able to
decide upon the affairs of the city.

Yet, the linear boundaries between the city and the rural country-
side were possible only under the condition that there was the un-
derlying concept of space as a continuum which could be divided by
these boundaries. Already in the twelfth century, physicists had be-
gun to imagine space as a continuous aggregate and as an ordering
device for human beings and objects. Hence, where groups had been
able to define space in their own right, to establish hierarchies of
spaces and to associate values with spaces at various hierarchic lev-
els in the early Middle Ages, the later medieval physicists insisted

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[46] Ulrich Meier, *Mensch und Bürger. Die Stadt im Denken spätmittelalterlicher Theolo-
gen, Philosophen und Juristen* (Munich, Vienna, 1994). Klaus Schreiner, 'Iura et liber-
tates. Wahrnehmungsformen und Ausprägungen "bürgerlicherFreyheiten" in Städten
des Hohen und Späten Mittelalters', *Bürgerschaft in der Gesellschaft der Neuzeit*, ed.
Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Göttingen, 1991), pp. 59-106.
[47] Klaus Schreiner, 'Teilhabe, Konsens und Autonomie. Leitbegriffe kommunaler Ord-
nung in der politischen Theorie des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit', *Theo-
rien kommunaler Ordnung in Europa*, ed. Peter Blickle (Munich, Vienna, 1996), pp. 35-
61.

that space was neutral in its value, uniform in structure and continuous in shape.[48] The new concept of space was not confined in its reach to scientific theory. Famously, Petrarch 'discovered' the openness of the landscape when climbing Mt Ventoux in southern France in the middle of the fourteenth century. Moreover, already from the eleventh century, merchants as the professional traders residing in cities established a widening network of trade relations which, by the later thirteenth century, engulfed the tricontinental *ecumene* known to Europeans at the time, and artisan producers developed the concept of the product market, that is the admission of unrestricted competition among products of the same category but with different qualities and places of origin with no other limitation of space than that goods of the same type should not be allowed to compete at their place of origin. As producers would no longer know who the consumers of their products were to be and as traders would trade in goods of any places of origin, the space which producers and traders had in mind was continuous and limited only by the outward fringes of the known world.[49]

The inhabitants of the cities participated in and even demanded the reconceptualisation of space as an open continuum. It was townspeople who penetrated into distant parts of the tricontinental ecumene from the thirteenth century on and insisted that their activities should be regulated by no other framework than the universal product markets. Hence the openness of space which became architecturally visible only in a few places, such as Pius II's design for Pienza, was part of the commercial ideology of the city. Cities ex-

[48] See: Albertus Magnus, *De caelo et mundo*, cap. III/1, III/2, ed. Paul Hossfeld (Munster, 1971), pp. 55-59.
[49] See: Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936). Reprint (New York, 1970).
[50] See: Rolf Kießling, *Die Stadt und ihr Umland* (Cologne, Vienna, 1989). Henryk Samsonowicz, '"Suburbium" in the Late Middle Ages', *Review (Binghamton)* 5,2 (1981), pp. 311-324.

tended beyond the confines of their walls, established suburbs, sub-
jected villages to their control[50] and, most importantly, created and
maintained networks of commercial and political relations with the
outside world.

In this sense, the medieval European city put on record both the
willingness of their inhabitants to erect segregated spaces of regular
communication and to employ the concept of space as a continuous
ordering device. Therefore, Pius II's ideas about the interconnected-
ness of city and country were not a novelty in his own time. What
was revolutionary was his insistence that the interconnectedness of
the urban space of regular communication and the universal space
of the world should become architecturally manifest in a religious
building.

The dualism of the microcosm of the segregated and hierarchically
structured intramural space and the macrocosm of the continuous
open space linking the cities with the outside world constituted a
tension between the space of regular communication and the world
which remained characteristic of the European city throughout the
Middle Ages. European cities preserved both, their walls and the
willingness or even obligation of their inhabitants to orient them-
selves towards the world at large.