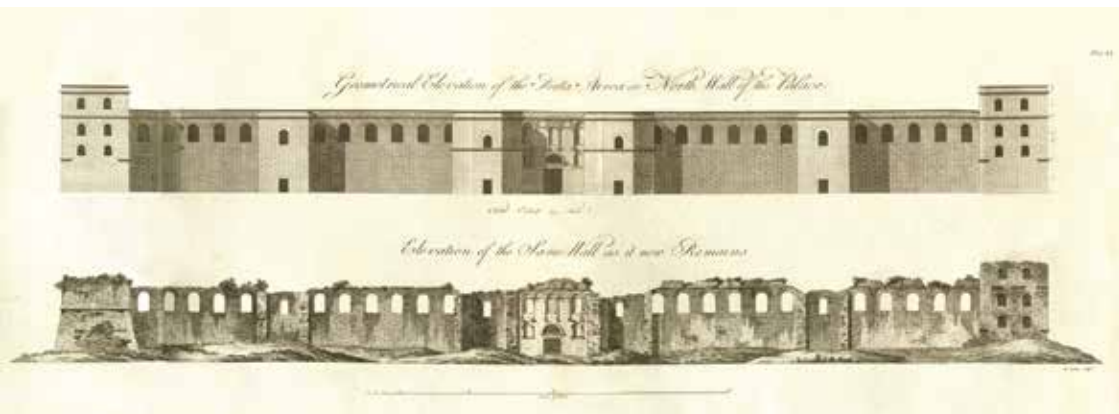


PROTAGONISTS OF URBAN ORDER FROM THE ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT

Conference of the International Commission
for the History of Towns (ICHT)
Split (Croatia), 20-22 September 2021



Edward Rooker, Geometrical elevation of the Porta Aurea, or north wall of the palace. Engraving, 78.9 x 28.7 cm. Plate XI from: Robert Adam, Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian in Spalatro in Dalmatia, London 1764. Courtesy of the Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design.

Hybrid event:

On site: The Meštrović Gallery, Šetalište Ivana Meštrovića 46, Split
(for the speakers of the conference and members of the ICHT),
and virtually via Zoom (after registration)

Organiser: International Commission for the History of Towns
(<https://www.historiaurbium.org>)

Co-organisers: Croatian Institute of History – Zagreb (Irena Benyovsky Latin);
Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences - Split
(Tonija Andrić); The Ivan Meštrović Museums;
Croatian Science Foundation (project TOPOS); Literary Circle - Split

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, the city has been a symbol of order in terms of spatial, social, constitutional, and economic organization. Urban order is complex, multi-layered, and multifaceted – it can imply progress, harmony, and justice, but also surveillance, restrictions, and inequality. Its notions and meanings have changed over time, along with the transformations in politics, society, and knowledge. This conference (the first one dedicated to a new topic in the 4-year programme on *Urban order*) will focus on various types of protagonists of urban order acting at different levels, through different channels, and with different means, including diverse cultural and administrative traditions, preferences, and resources. The character and the position of these protagonists of urban order tend to change with the course of time and require a comparative regional view. Whereas some have promoted the idea of urban order in theory, others have decided on its implementation on various levels or put the idea of order into practice. Sometimes, different urban orders can exist within a city, created and chosen by a variety of institutions and groups with their different systems of rules. Urban order has often been a result of overlapping influences of various protagonists and their interactions (simultaneous or as intertwined layers from different periods).

The conference papers are grouped thematically in four sessions to address the proposed issues:

(1) *Secular authorities and their officials*

Papers in this session address the following issues: How did the municipal governments provide orderly cohabitation and promote the ideas of order? How did kings and lords introduce order in the cities under their authority to maintain territorial, political, fiscal, and economic control? How did the central authorities and their officials cope with different legal, administrative, and political frameworks in early modern cities? How did emperors and their governors maintain urban order in long term and across large territories (where urban population often varied culturally and ethnically)? How did modern states and their bureaucracies discipline, ‘civilize’, and/or rationalize cities in order to ensure well-ordered government and modernisation?

(2) *Religious institutions and clergy*

The main issues to be addressed in this session are: How did religious institutions and clergy influence urban order (legally, spatially, administratively, and socially)? How did different confessional communities and institutions enforce secular urban rules and the notions of moral order? How did the persons or institutions involved in secularization and even “laicization” of the societies influence the evolution of concepts on urban order and their practical application (such as the regulation of processions, funeral processions, or public prayers)? How did religious institutions

maintain urban order in cities with confessional plurality? What happened to those who struggled against the religious order – dissenters within and without, those who did not obey the order or displayed scepticism?

(3) *Urban community*

The contributors of this session were invited to engage with the following questions: What was the role of urban elites or commoners in maintaining urban order? How did various interest groups and social institutions (such as family or professional groups) influence the urban order? How did certain individuals (officials, philanthropists, churchmen, or artists) influence the urban order as permanent or temporary residents? Which social groups experienced the urban order as unacceptable and inappropriate, or simply understood it in different ways? How do various types of protestors, youth groups, or urban gangs threaten urban order / cause disorder?

(4) *Other questions / Overlapping authorities*

Some of the proposed questions in this session are: How and through which institutions have public health and environmental problems been regulated in urban communities? What has been the role of the police and the military in maintaining urban order? How have “specialised towns” maintained their order (mining authorities, harbour authorities, etc.)? What impact can local or external investors have on urban order? How do different authorities overlap in maintaining urban order?

Comparative research is especially welcome in addressing questions regarding the circumstances and settings in which the protagonists of urban order act; regarding their motives for introducing urban order – administrative, economic, social, political, or perhaps multiple; regarding the protagonists who exert long-term influence on urban order or act only briefly, introducing *ad hoc* measures; regarding historical periods (from flourishing ones to those of instability) in which the protagonists change their priorities in introducing urban order etc.

Irena Benyovsky Latin

PROGRAMME

Conference

Protagonists of Urban Order from the Antiquity to the Present

Monday 20th September

The Meštrović Gallery / virtually via Zoom
(Central European Summer Time/CEST)

12.30 Opening of the conference

Roman Czaja (president of ICHT), **Martin Scheutz** (general secretary of ICHT), **Tonija Andrić** (Head of Department for History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split), **Gordan Ravančić** (Head of Croatian Institute of History), **Vesna Bulić Baketić** (Head of Marketing and PR Department at The Ivan Meštrović Museums)

Greetings

Irena Benyovsky Latin, Croatian Institute of History, Croatia

Protagonists of urban order - introduction

Josip Belamarić, Institute of Art History, Split, Croatia

“The people are no longer as they once were, the troubles have turned them into a raging beast”: Some Historical Events in Split during the 1570s

Discussion

14.00 lunch break / The Meštrović Gallery Garden

15.00 (CEST) Secular authorities and their officials I

Chair: Roman Czaja, Nicolaus-Copernicus-University – Toruń, Poland

Keith Lilley, Geography, Queen’s University Belfast – Belfast, UK,

Realms of Rule: Spatial Practice and Urban Design in the Reign of King Edward I,

Rosa Smurra, Centro Gina Fasoli per la storia delle città, University of Bologna, Italy
Spatial order and city authorities in thirteenth-century Bologna

Discussion

16.30 coffee break

17.00 (CEST) Secular authorities and their officials II

Chair: Rosa Smurra, Centro Gina Fasoli per la storia delle città, University of Bologna, Italy

Donatella Calabi, International University Venice, Italy

The Senate of Republic of Venice as protagonist of an urban strategy of hospitality of

foreigners within the city (XV -XVI century)

Laurențiu Rădvan, Facultatea de Istorie Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza – IASI, Romania

From the medieval principality to the modern state. The impact of change on towns in the Romanian area (1711-1833)

Discussion

Tuesday, 21st September

The Meštrović Gallery / virtually via Zoom

9.30 (CEST) Religious institutions and clergy I

Chair: Irena Benyovsky Latin, Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, Croatia

Francesco Panarelli, Università degli Studi della Basilicata, Italy

The role of female monasteries in the organization of urban space in the cities of southern Italy

Vanessa Harding, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Congregation to commonwealth: the urban parish in early modern England

Discussion

11.00 coffee break

11.30 (CEST) Religious institutions and clergy II

Chair: Tonija Andrić, Department of History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences – Split, Croatia

Olga Kozubska, independent scholar, Lviv, Ukraine

Municipal government in towns of Poland-Lithuania during the 16-17th centuries. Urban order in multireligious milieu

Matej Klemenčič, Department of Art History, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Religious orders and urban order in Early Modern Ljubljana

Discussion

13.00 lunch break / The Meštrović Gallery Garden

14.00 (CEST) The urban community I

Chair: Martin Scheutz, Institute of Austrian Historical Research, University of Vienna

Peter Clark, Department of History – University of Helsinki, Finland

Civil Society and Urban Order: Suggestions and Questions

Martina Stercken, Historisches Seminar, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Guardians of the urban order? Autocratic mayors in the Late Middle Ages

Discussion

15.30 coffee break

16.00 (CEST) The urban community II

Chair: Laurențiu Rădvan, Facultatea de Istorie Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza – IASI, Romania

Marco Cadinu, Dipartimento di Ingegneria Civile, Ambientale e Architettura
University of Cagliari, Italy

Urban community and common good. Houses and waters in south Italy (XII-XIV century)

Zdenka Janeković Roemer, Institute of History, Croatian Academy for Arts and Sciences, Dubrovnik

Traditional and new ways of Dubrovnik noble elite to maintain urban order in the 14th century

Discussion

Wednesday, 22nd September:

The Meštrović Gallery / virtually via Zoom

9.30 (CEST) Others / Overlapping authorities

Chair: Martina Stercken, Historisches Seminar, University of Zurich, Switzerland

Steinar Aas, Fakultet for Samfunnsvitskap, Nord University, Norway

Urban order in the newly established harbour town – Narvik 1902-1910

John Henderson, Birkbeck, University of London, UK

Plague and the social order in early modern Italy: Tuscany, 1630-33

Thomas Riis, Denmark (Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany)

The vision of the urban poor and good polity from the Black Death to 2021

Discussion

11.30 coffee break

12.00 The Meštrović Gallery / virtually via Zoom

Meeting of the ICHT members

17.30 City tour (guided by Tonija Andrić),

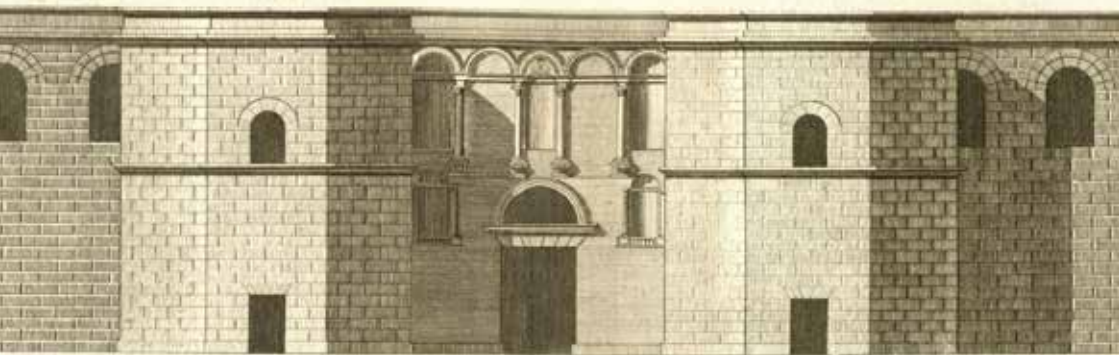
meeting at Golden Gate, Diocletian Palace, Dioklecijanova ulica 7, Split

18.30 Farewell party

Restaurant “Makarun” Garden, Marulićeva ul. 3, 21000, Split

ABSTRACTS:

Elevation of the Porta Aerea or North



Total Extent 570 Feet

Elevation of the Same Wall as it now St



Josip Belamarić

“The people are no longer as they once were, the troubles have turned them into a raging beast”: Some Historical Events in Split during the 1570s

The paper presents an analysis of several events that occurred in Split during the 1570s, described by Vincenzo Solitro in his book *Historical Documents on Istria and Dalmatia (Documenti storici sull'Istria e la Dalmazia, Venice, 1844)*. It would be very hard to find any more precise descriptions of the mindset and mass psychosis in conditions of famine and plague, adverse weather events, permanent warfare, and social neglect. For the mob to catch fire, for one voice to generate a scrimmage that would turn into a real threat to the political system, a spark was sufficient in such conditions: the uncommon dream of an ordinary woman; the prediction of some tertiary (*pinzochera*) on her deathbed; the made-up story of a hermit from Marjan hill who accused some girl of having cast a spell on him; the monologue of the starving widow of a man who was killed fighting with the Turks just outside the city walls... The government responded by infiltrating its spies; it had its people deliver slogans to mobilise the thinking of the mob; a sermon to be spoken by a friar from the rostrum of the Rector's Palace to turn the raging mob to repentance was concocted in the Palace itself...

All these events, depicted with a huge range of affect, were amplified by the backdrop of the monumental stage of Diocletian's Palace. The stake erected by the crowd – driven mad by both current distresses and atavistic superstition – in order to burn an accused witch is all the more remarkable when we imagine it in the centre of the Antique Peristyle.

The paper analyses the relations between the folk, in its oscillations of euphoric moods, and the government, the credibility of which rested on a precise protocol of action and on the authority of the architecture by which it was represented. The government managed to slow down signs of obvious decay and decline with barefaced gestures like organising a lottery in front of the Rector's Palace on the main city piazza, a lottery at which some of the starving would get the prize of a little rusk. The impetus of events that took place in the heart of the quotidian, under the high pressure of external adversities, was so authentic and forceful, and the surges of affect were of such huge amplitude as to swamp the brilliance of the Renaissance rhetoric that represents these events with some

empathy but as grotesque, and the spirit of the overwrought people as infantile, superstitious, and vicious.

An endeavour will be made, through a comparison of descriptions of a similarly deformed realism that we find on the pages of a diary of a certain man of Zadar (hitherto unpublished) from the same time, to arrive at more wide-ranging conclusions about the diverse aspects of the form and maintenance of the civic polity in Split during the given period.

Keith Lilley

Realms of Rule: Spatial Practice and Urban Design in the Reign of King Edward I

Connecting rulers to locations and landscapes worked through the administrative structures of the king's government, its officers and its hierarchies, linking the royal court with the wider realm. But how did the king's rule structure places on the ground, and how was royal authority meted out in practice, across the realm, making the "invisible" materially visible? My aim in this paper is to explore this link between rulers and landscapes through the dual meaning of rule: for on the one hand, to rule is a political act, about authority and governing, but on the other hand, to rule is also to measure, quantify, and calculate. This duality of "rule" is not simply word play, but (I suggest) a visceral manifestation of the way a king or ruler could mete out their dominion over others, and bring the wider realm within their political reach. To look at this, I shall focus particularly on the layouts and plan-forms of new towns founded across England and Wales by Edward I, king of England (1272-1307).

Rosa Smurra
**Spatial Order and the City Authorities in Thirteenth-Century
Bologna**

The paper deals with the concern of the Bolognese commune's authorities for the physical environment, particularly the protection of public space. Based on the administrative records, it analyses the commune's policy of urban order, which was also reflected in its sensitivity to the production and preservation of records in a register form, a characteristic feature of the Comune di Popolo's governing bodies.

Donatella Calabi

The Senate of the Venetian Republic as the Protagonist of an Urban Strategy of Hospitality of Foreigners within the City (15th-16th Centuries)

In the 16th century, the Venetian Republic practised a far-reaching strategy of hospitality towards merchants coming from different places. Several districts of the lagoon city were characterized by this intention: “Venice is a homeland frequented by many people speaking different languages and coming from different countries” – as Francesco Sansovino stated in 1581, in his description of the city. Since the Middle Ages, efficiency, public order, and morality were the key principles in this commercial society, imposed by financial and juridical tools; however, in the first decades of the Cinquecento, the Senate implemented a number of rules concerning their organization and localization in urban settlements, which regarded the residence, work, and religious rituals of different minorities. Economic and cultural relations between citizens and foreigners became matters to be controlled by the State’s magistrates. Germans, Jews of different origin, Greeks, Persians, Albanians, Turks, Armenians, Tuscans, and people coming from Lucca were all hosted for their mercantile role, but also for their capability to contribute to the budget of the State, paying usual and extraordinary taxes and the customs. Just as Antwerp or Seville, or later Amsterdam, had based their fortune on commerce with foreign communities, thus Venice and its government considered their exchange activity as “precious”, if not indispensable for the richness of the State.

Laureniu Rădvan

From the Medieval Principality to the Modern State: The Impact of Change on Towns in the Romanian Area (1711-1833)

The beginning of the 18th century found the Romanian Principalities in a situation apparently locked in the past. Princes with powers of medieval origin, increasingly dependent on the Ottoman Porte, sought to ensure their reigns for as long as possible, but also to govern in tune with the ever-changing times. In this context, new ideas entered the acts of government and this started to have effects on towns and their inhabitants. The power of the old urban institutions was eroding, slowly replaced by officials appointed by princes, with an ever-expanding sphere of authority. Under these circumstances, in many cities the elected representatives of the community and the town council (the *judex* and the 12 *pângari*) disappeared. However, the new officials were not of a modern nature, but also of medieval origin. Their very name – *vornici* – refers to the old administrators of the rulers' courts in previous centuries. Their mission was to ensure peace in towns and to investigate disputes that arose in the neighborhoods (land disputes, quarrels, etc.). The distinct treatment given to certain ethnic communities was substituted through a more fiscal approach. Groups such as Armenians or Jews once had the right to choose their own representatives, but now the only privilege they enjoyed was tax exemption, and the conversion of obligations into a single amount, paid annually. Practically, in the second half of the 18th century and the first three decades of the following century, the towns were almost completely devoid of autonomy, the power of the rulers being absolute. The only forms of organization that still limited the power of the prince were the guilds, which represented the interests of craftsmen grouped by trades. Towards 1800, new legal institutions were introduced (with a separation between civil and criminal law) and it was only after 1830 that a new type of administration was introduced as well, one that was more interested in the urban aspects and the idea of public interest. The *Organic Regulation*, negotiated and adopted during the Russian occupation of 1829-1834, reintroduced forms of urban autonomy, and in 1833 the first new city council was established. The second part of the paper focuses on the debates that took place on the new form of organization, the people involved, and the challenges that the citizens faced during these first elections.

Francesco Panarelli

The role of female monasteries in the organization of urban space in the cities of southern Italy

Women's monasteries are often among the longest-lived institutions within the urban contexts of South Italy, where they perform functions that have already been studied. The relationship with family dynamics and the problem of patrimony preservation through inheritance, with the religious choice for daughters and cadets, has been much explored. A very interesting example of this intertwining with family strategies is that of S. Patrizia in Naples.

However, women's monastic buildings also had their own importance and became poles of reference in the religious and urban geography of the city. The case that I will present in greater detail is that of Matera. Matera is a city of medieval foundation, very atypical because of the use of cave dwellings, dug into the rock on the sides of the hill on which stands a part of the city. While lacking information on the presence of relevant male monasteries for the period between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, we have sources about female monastic settlements, which have come almost up to our days: the monasteries of SS. Lucia and Agata (1160) and that of S. Maria La Nova (1220). These sources concern monasteries that concentrated ample real estate wealth in the city and in the surrounding territory, and were objects of attention for the entire urban community. Characteristic of the two monasteries was their repeated movement within the city: for each of the monasteries, we know at least three different locations until the eighteenth century, all of them indicating in an important way the urban development of the city between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. Even today, they mark significant points that define the historical center of Matera.

Vanessa Harding
**Congregation to Commonwealth:
The Urban Parish in Early Modern England**

Between the mid-15th and mid-17th centuries, the English parish evolved from a congregation of worshippers focused on maintaining the fabric and liturgy of their own church to an authorised institution of local government, with responsibility for a range of social services including taxation, poor relief, and collection of data on parishioners. Churchwardens, elected from the local community, became managers of resources and local discipline, while the parish clerk's office developed from a primarily liturgical one into a vital literate profession. This transformation is particularly well documented in urban parishes, and a profusion of parish registers, churchwardens' accounts, and vestry minutes provide important insights into the process. Most of the motivation for these changes came from outside the parish, but responses were shaped by local and individual factors. But while the parish might be seen as a commonwealth of shared interests, there was increased tension around decision-making and access to its resources.

Olga Kozubska

Municipal Government in Towns of Poland-Lithuania during the 16-17th Centuries: Urban Order in a Multi-Religious Milieu

Towns with a multi-religious urban milieu came into being after the incorporation of great portions of Kievan Rus' into the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In this way, Orthodox population found itself under Catholic rulers, and towns (especially those involved in long-distance trade) became sites of religious diversity, often inhabited not only by Orthodox and Catholics, but also by Armenians, Jews, and Tatars.

This paper will focus on the ways in which different types of urban order developed and the main protagonists of this development. The aim is, inter alia, to trace the dominant principles in the formation of town councils (in terms of ethnic/religious composition), consisting either entirely of Catholic citizens (as in Lviv), or of an equal number of Catholic and Orthodox members (as in Minsk), or as an arrangement of three councils (Catholic, Orthodox, and Armenian, as in Kamianets in Podolia). It will be possible to see how specific compositions of a municipal government were formed and what factors influenced the social (and often spatial) arrangement of urban centers. How did ethnic/religious segregation (formation of ethnic districts or streets) and/or ban on specific religious communities come into being? How and by whom were the economic rights of citizens (trade privileges, acceptance to guilds, etc.) modified, and discriminative practices based on religious grounds introduced? And, generally, how was the urban order maintained or changed, and who were the protagonists of maintenance or changes? All these questions will be answered using selected case studies from the historical regions of present-day Ukraine and Belarus'.

Matej Klemenčič

Religious Orders and Urban Order in Early Modern Ljubljana

During the Middle Ages, religious orders usually found places for their buildings within the city walls of Ljubljana. Even an important exception, the Augustinian monastery outside the walls, was pulled down because of military reasons at the end of the 15th century, and the friars settled within the walls. Available space became a problem during the late 16th century, with the arrival of the Jesuits, but it was only in the 17th century, during the re-Catholicization, that new settlements had to be situated outside the old parts of the town. Within less than a century, the Capuchins, the Poor Clares, and two Augustinian monasteries (the Discalced and the Hermits), as well as the Ursulines, settled along the main roads leading towards the city gates. Later on, these convents and monasteries became an important and defining element in urban development until the 20th century. In this paper, their search for the right location, the communication – sometimes tense – between different orders and the church and city officials will be discussed, as well as the further development of various sites after the reforms of Emperor Joseph II.

Peter Clark

Civil Society and Urban Order: Suggestions and Questions

From the 17th century to modern times, civil society has played an increasingly important role in European cities. A great range of clubs and societies, including political, social, philanthropic, sporting, and learned organisations have shaped many aspects of urban life. Particularly dynamic and innovative were British voluntary associations, starting already at the end of the 16th century and multiplying after 1700. Most were clustered in towns. By the late 18th century, London alone had three thousand clubs and societies with up to 90 different types; in English towns, probably one in three adult men belonged to some kind of society at this time. Clubs also spread to towns in Scotland, Ireland, and the British colonies of the Americas and India. In this paper, I examine the contribution of British clubs and societies to urban cohesion, integration, and order in the early modern city through an examination of society rules and regulations, membership patterns and impact. Many clubs included detailed rules about orderly, peaceful behaviour and the arbitration of disputes. Fines on members for breaches of rules were common and recalcitrant members were expelled. Good behaviour was reinforced by strict rules about admission to a society, to keep out the unruly. Would be members were often young people and newcomers to town wanting to gain a foothold, to become integrated in urban society. Through club membership (often to several clubs), men (only a tiny minority of clubs admitted women) joined important networks of respectable townspeople, which helped structure the urban community. Societies not only provided security and support for members, particularly if they fell on hard times, but also in numerous cases offered charity, relief, and other forms of aid to the wider town residents. Society meetings provided a forum for democratic discussion and debate, which served as a training ground for national politics. Why were clubs and societies so important in British cities by 1800? The growth of association membership coincided with accelerating urban growth from the late 17th century, including high levels of mobility, but it was also linked to the weaker, more selective role of the British state after 1688 in domestic affairs, and the limited effectiveness of urban government during the Georgian period, with major expansion in cities like Manchester and Birmingham, which lacked civic charters and corporate governance before the 1830s. The paper will be comparative. It will compare British developments with more limited associational trends in

other European countries such as France, the Netherlands, and Germany, interrogating whether other actors, including the state and the Church, were more powerful contributors to “urban order” in continental Europe. Finally it will ask how far the role of clubs and societies was paralleled in Asian cities during the same period. Here there will be consideration of the role of coffee houses in Ottoman cities like Istanbul and tea-houses in big cities of China in integrating migrants and other outsiders and in mediating disputes.

Martina Stercken
**Guardians of the Urban Order?
Autocratic Mayors in the Late Middle Ages**

It is a well-known phenomenon that power holders in charge of political order occasionally convert its basic concept in order to stand out, to mark differences, or to constitute new principles. This conduct can also be observed in the Middle Ages and within the urban setting. The late medieval discourse on what constitutes a good government already implies that the ideal was not likely to be reached. Nevertheless, political thinking about the appreciation of peace and consensus, responsibility, legitimation, and authority set standards for urban protagonists, particularly for mayors, who had to take an oath that obliged them to look after the welfare of the citizens. Out of various situations of uproar, the paper investigates some cases in late medieval imperial cities that concerned mayors who offended the urban community by acting after their own rules, mayors who were hereinafter put to trial and finally beheaded. While considering other examples, the paper examines the case of Hans Waldmann, famous commander in the wars of the confederacy, guild-master, and mayor of Zurich in the second half of the 15th century, who apparently exhausted his political space within the urban society to a point where he was no longer acceptable as a mayor. The main focus lies on the discourse on this mayor's misdeeds and the perspectives provided by the main sources, some of them reported in documents, others found in chronicles. Unlike previous research that focused on the local events, the paper asks how the idea of urban order was employed as an argument in this tradition. At the same time, it will be considered to what extent and in which ways the case of Hans Waldmann was remembered. It will be argued that from the end of the 15th century onwards, two opposing views developed, one stressing the moment in which urban order was destabilised, the other emphasising the importance of a man of note for the city and beyond.

Marco Cadinu

Urban Community and the Common Good: Houses and Waters in South Italy (13th-14th Centuries)

Many late medieval documents advocate Concordia and Harmony among the citizens, therefore between the citizens and the urban institutions. This wish, however, clashed with the tendency (arrogance) of individual citizens to have for themselves more place or more public resources than originally granted to them. Place, understood as surface or as volume, concerns the physical size of the house. In the statutes and civic ordinances, especially in central and southern Italy during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many rules were dedicated to the relationship between the houses of individual citizens and those of their neighbors. The dividing wall between two adjacent properties was, in fact, subject to disputes that could only be resolved through precise rules in the hands of public officials (*boni homines*). A further task of these *boni homines* was to control the tendency of citizens to appropriate parts, even minimal, of public space, that is public streets. Among the many public resources we observe in this study is the citizens' claim to water, a fundamental good for daily life and for some crucial to their work, primarily the cultivation of vegetable gardens. Access to water – especially in cities situated far from rivers – was not the same for different social groups, for different neighborhoods, or for different craft guilds. The rules of allocation of the available waters dictated the models by which agreement was sought among the various categories of claimants. Nine officials called *partidores de abba* (“those who distribute water”) were elected in Sassari (Sardinia) every year in the late 13th century to direct the control and maintenance of the water network. In many cities of Spain and North Africa, the same tasks were entrusted to officials according to the ancient traditions. Some articles of the statutes, records of the disputes, and oral traditions help us recompose a framework that has only partially reached our times.

Zdenka Janeković Roemer

Traditional and New Ways of Dubrovnik's Noble Elite to Maintain Urban Order in the 14th Century

One of the most important concerns of the Dubrovnik authorities was social and political stability. Historiography has most often interpreted this as based on a well-ordered and stable social hierarchy and on the permanence of institutions. However, there were other elements of order and stability, which have not yet been sufficiently illuminated. In the 14th century, the society of Dubrovnik was open and mobile, but there were still mechanisms of control the public and private life of citizens. It is common knowledge that the Dubrovnik commune strictly controlled the newly acquired areas, the property and administration of Church institutions, public order and peace. It also supervised many aspects of business and private life. Through numerous services and short terms of service, it even supervised itself. Beside that, there was an important indirect way of maintaining social order, which made its subjects accept this political and social regime. It was based on the principle of the common good, understood above all in the Christian sense. It should be kept in mind that the commune was a community of believers and that *caritas* was an integral part of political and social ethics. Although by the 14th century the ecclesiastical authorities had already been removed from power and were now subject to control, faith and the Church remained the strongest integrative factor. The common good was an essential cohesive element within the community. According to the Thomistic philosophy, the government was responsible for the common good and for ensuring harmony and peace, as well as for passing and enforcing laws, and all this was based on *caritas*. From the religious domain, this principle had passed into the political one, defined as the advantage of public over private interests in the Ciceronian sense. *Obliti privatorum publica curate* became the basis for the gradual construction of Dubrovnik's republicanism. The politically defined common good implied freedom of the city, freedom of trade and entrepreneurship, legality and legal equality. Furthermore, the aristocratic elite in power met the fundamental interests and needs of the population and raised the standard of living. The mercantile culture, common to a large part of the population, became part of the political culture and significantly influenced the stability of social order. The service of the nobles in power, the citizens, and the inhabitants for the benefit of the community was the basis of Dubrovnik's social agreement.

John Henderson
**Plague and the Social Order in Early Modern Italy:
Tuscany, 1630-1633**

This paper will examine the challenges faced by governments in enforcing public order during epidemics in pre-industrial Europe, and more specifically in relation to plague in early modern Italy. While the main focus will be on 17th-century Florence, the Tuscan evidence will be examined within the Italian context to assess how far this city's reactions to those who broke plague orders paralleled or differed from other states. I shall examine the question of the maintenance of public order both from the point of view of those who ran governments, and of those at the level of neighbourhood, street, and household, and how they interpreted and reacted to the massive regulation of their lives. The main theme of my paper lies, then, in the interaction of civic authority and the public, based on one of the most detailed collections of trial records to have yet been analysed for plague in this period. I will argue that by examining both judicial procedures and sentences, together with the testimonies of those who were tried, it is possible to study the motivations of both those who enforced and those who broke the law. In this way, it is possible to provide a more nuanced and rounded picture than the traditional picture of the opposition of government and governed.

Thomas Riis
**Visions of the Urban Poor and the Good Polity
from the Black Death to 2021**

In this paper, I shall above all deal with the Danish case, but cannot avoid references to the situation in other countries. The ideas of the paper will be as follows: The loss of manpower as a consequence of the plague led to a new concept of work, which in many countries became an obligation. At the same time, the poor were hidden away from the streets and kept in special institutions, beginning with northern Italy about 1400. In northern Europe, this harder view of the poor gained ground with the Reformation, which at the same time tried to make the poor relief more efficient. Often it was maintained that poverty was caused by the inconvenient behaviour of the poor, an argument that one also encounters today. It was only with the Enlightenment towards the end of the eighteenth century that a comprehensive remedy to poverty was discovered, which proved rather efficient. In the nineteenth century, these measures were not continued and we again see harsher attitudes towards the poor. The social legislation of the late nineteenth century marked the beginning of systematic aid to those in need, a policy that continued into the twentieth century. However, neoliberalism has made the old commonplaces reappear, and one again hears the argument that poverty is caused by the irresponsible behaviour of the poor. For many years I have worked on poverty and found it interesting to observe recurrences of the same situations and arguments over the centuries, although the measures applied at the end of the eighteenth century proved efficient and would do so also today.

Steinar Aas

Urban Order in the Newly Established Harbour Town of Narvik, 1902-1910

Ensuring urban order has always been high on the agenda in Norwegian urban history. An important debate in the town council was always connected with discussions about the city ordinance, the police regulations. These were normative regulations from which the local policing authorities tried to operate, passed by the town council. The police regulations thus illustrate the contemporary visions of an orderly society. Other municipal institutions were established to interfere in the life of town dwellers in different ways. In the newly established harbour town of Narvik, in circumpolar Norway, there were several institutions trying to regulate the lives of its citizens and protect them from the menace of ship traffic. The town was established between 1898 and 1902 in order to organize the shipping of Swedish iron ore from an ice-free harbour with access to the Atlantic Ocean. It grew from almost zero to 4000 inhabitants during this period, attracting people from all corners of Scandinavia. However, the grand part of the population originated from the nearest regions in northern Norway. One of the challenges during this process of social development was the lack of social control due to the rapid migration processes. The populations had been uprooted from their places of origin. Another challenge was the nature of the future town serving as a harbour for international shipping. Soon the ship traffic grew and the harbour in this small town became the busiest harbour in Norway, with as many as 10,000 sailors annually visiting the town.

Precautions for the regulation of societal order were to be taken, and they concerned the visiting men, sailors and seamen, as well as the local, impressionable young women. This paper focuses on the ways in which the local elites managed to create urban order shortly after the small town was established in 1902, by means of measures against the young male visitors as well as the local girls and single women. Some of the most urgent discourses in the local municipality will also be addressed, and one problem for discussion is the content of respectability, order, and civilisation, and the expectations regarding moral issues. Can visions of urban order transgress variables such as class or gender, even in a 20th-century Norwegian industrial town marked by class barriers and political cleavages?

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