

CHAPTER I (b)

URBAN SOCIETY

Steven A. Epstein

THE line between urban and rural society, the small town and the big village, is a fine one and traditionally depends on whether or not a majority of the population supported itself other than by fishing, farming, mining or tending herds. In the past, there has been a tendency to identify towns solely by their legal status; this is not entirely satisfactory. Some unusual villages contained 1,000 people; a small town might not have much more. Thousands of small market towns existed across Europe and fulfilled the vital local functions of providing a place where people could exchange goods and supplies, repair their farm implements, have their children baptised or attend a fair. At around 5,000 people (in more densely settled regions) a city assumed certain features more characteristic of urban society, but in Scandinavia or eastern Europe even smaller places were impressive in local terms. A symbiotic relationship existed between all cities and their countryside; any contrast between urban and rural society runs the risk of posing a false dichotomy. Arbitrary chronology is also a problem; the years 1198 and 1300 do not mark any decisive events affecting urban society across Europe.

Europe in the thirteenth century remained an overwhelmingly rural society, and so cities were still distinctive islands in a sea of villages and hamlets. The theme of urban societies must not turn these cities into generic types. Important regional differences must not be obscured, and nor should these places be rendered so typical as to conceal the process of change. On the most basic level, western Europe had more cities than the east, but this century marks the rise of some newly significant places as distant as Moscow. Many of Europe's largest cities dotted the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to the Bosphorus, but a similar band of newer towns followed the sea coast from the English Channel to the Gulf of Finland. Differences in climate and geography account for some special features of urban life; the canals of Venice do not freeze; the steep roofs in Bergen do not resemble the tiled ones in Valencia; rainfall would help to clean the streets of London but not Palermo; some

marshy areas, like the Maremma near Pisa, remained so malarial as to stifle successful urban life near them. Different physical appearances of cities help to mark regional flavours; the Mediterranean city does not look like one in the Low Countries. Yet some features of life cut across boundaries of space and weather. Walls or water surrounded most thirteenth-century cities. In every Christian city the biggest building was generally a church, almost invariably either a partially completed Gothic cathedral or a Romanesque basilica. A rough line from the Baltic to the Mediterranean fixed, from east to west, whether the language of the Mass in that church was Greek or Latin, whether the people looked to Constantinople or Rome for spiritual guidance. And of course Jews everywhere and Muslims in Spain and Sicily followed their own religious practices, in synagogues and mosques that did not tend to thrive where Christians ruled.

The thirteenth century witnessed a rapid growth of population, and this increase fuelled an expansion of Europe's cities. No census or reliable estimate of population survives for any thirteenth-century city.¹ Some contemporary figures provide a basis for guessing the size of the population. Tax lists give the number of households; military service yields the number of men capable of bearing arms; city walls may define the main inhabited area. These more or less reliable figures generally require a multiplier – average household size, gender and age distribution in the population, people per hectare – to produce the hypothetical figures. Small differences in the number of people per household or how many people can fit into an urban hectare can lead to great differences in the gross numbers. More useful are simple orders of magnitude – from a few thousand to 100,000 covers the range. Since the larger cities were generally dangerous and unhealthy places, infant mortality was high and hence much of the increase in urban population resulted not so much from city people reproducing themselves as from people migrating from the countryside or small towns. By 1200 the vast majority of Europe's cities already existed in some form, and in the following century these places would mostly continue to expand, while a few notable new towns like Stratford-upon-Avon were founded by enterprising lords. In the east, places like Vienna, Prague and Warsaw serve as examples of rapid growth from more obscure origins. On the Iberian frontier traditional Muslim cities such as Valencia, Seville, Córdoba and Ciutat de Mallorca were reborn, in some cases with a new population, as Christian centres of social and economic life.

The giant city of Europe was Paris, at about 200,000 people by 1300; Venice and Florence reached a population of around 100,000, a ceiling of sorts in medieval society, probably set by the problems of transporting food to such

¹ Russell (1972), pp. 25–9.

huge centres. In the next rank are cities like Cologne, Milan, Bruges, Genoa and London, with populations of half or more that of Florence and Venice. Two areas of Europe, northern Italy, and the Low Countries and lower Rhineland, had more sizeable cities by region than the rest of Europe. Constantinople, probably the largest city in Europe in 1200, wrecked by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and badly ruled by a French dynasty for most of the century, was by 1300 a shadow of its former self. Three other cities, Rome, Naples and Palermo, still giants or nearly so for most of the thirteenth century, drew much of their strength from their role as centres of government. Many other places, like Pavia or some small ports on the southern English coast, did not grow very much in the century and are not so much examples of failures as they are witnesses to the success of their neighbours. The case of Buda and Pest, each developing on its bank of the Danube, highlights two important features of urban growth: the importance of being at a geographical point where roads intersect or the method of transport altered; a substantial town generally precluded another one in the vicinity (in this example the Danube defined the limit). Port cities are clear examples of places thriving on necessary changes in transport. But the expansion of cities requires a closer look at some individual cases.

Capital cities of national monarchies, like London or Paris, or of important lordships, like Cologne or Munich (capital of Bavaria from 1255), highlight the advantages of having a royal, episcopal or ducal household and bureaucracy present at times, but the peripatetic kings of Aragon, for example, did not remain in one place long enough to make Saragossa into a great capital. A city's size also benefited from having an important bishop, as did Lincoln and Rouen, or a university, like Bologna and Oxford. The most important bishop of all, the pope, ruled a city that was also the leading goal of pilgrimage in Europe, but other places like Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury also benefited economically from pilgrimages. These special characteristics, being a capital or a holy place, can account for a city's existence, but by themselves they no longer guaranteed substantial growth.

Cities also served as regional centres of production, distribution and consumption. Port cities illustrate how these factors fostered growth. Venice's fleet enabled it to draw upon food supplies from as far away as Crete, and the city supplied, from sources as far away as Egypt, cotton and spices to another hinterland in southern Germany. Profiting from sea and river links, Venice became great through trade, but also led the way in manufacturing on a massive scale a complex and labour-intensive product: the medieval galley. Venice used its position and its naval power to establish by the late thirteenth century mastery over much of the Adriatic and Aegean, but other towns such as Marseilles, Genoa, Barcelona, Pisa, Bremen and Lübeck, and smaller ports like

Dublin and Lisbon, also served large regions by collecting and distributing the products of the city's own region, as well as the goods of more distant ones. Foodstuffs and wool were the most distinctive products. Every city acted as a magnet for people who drove cattle and pigs along the roads or brought grain in carts or barges to a centre of consumption. Bordeaux thrived on the local production of wine and other places did so through the collection of wheat from a fertile countryside. The cities that consolidated supplies of food in turn enabled the classic manufacturing towns to thrive. In the thirteenth century the leading industry of Europe, and alongside wool one of its great items of trade, was woollen cloth. Florence, Bruges, Ypres, Ghent and others were major cloth-manufacturing towns, while at the same time serving as regional centres of distribution. Masters and artisans weaving wool into cloth required many people in their home towns and other places to manage the difficult logistics of keeping them supplied with food and wool. England and the Spanish kingdoms exported wool and enabled weavers in the Low Countries and Italy to make a living.

The developing interconnections of medieval cities, principally through trade but also from migration of artisans, help to explain this rapid increase in size in the thirteenth century. Cities were magnets for people and food. Immigration depended on as well as fostered the decline of serfdom in the rural areas – another sign of the dynamic relationship between city and countryside. Migration from rural areas filled up new neighbourhoods, uprooted people from their primordial kinship networks, and hence also forced people at times to rely upon impersonal urban institutions for help. The food trade required wider use of another distinctive urban product – coins – and hence more cash filtered into agricultural, livestock-rearing and fishing regions. The crucial point is that no one planned this growth or its consequences. Hence people everywhere had to react to the challenges of unforeseen growth. These changes in turn led to competition and specialisation in cities.

Successful cities continued to grow in this century by meeting the challenges of creating and defending their physical space. One great problem was urban infrastructure; larger cities required new walls to protect the suburbs and faubourgs that grew up around the older centres. Town maps reveal the new urban sprawl, which on old sites in the west often still had a Roman grid at the centre, as at Florence. Larger ports and bridges were required to handle the increasing volume of transport. The spiritual needs of these larger cities demanded more and bigger churches. Increases in walls and harbour size punctuated the rhythm of growth. Immense building projects of the thirteenth century – the cathedrals, walls, bridges and harbour moles – resulted in enormous expenditure that was a tribute to the prosperity, patience and piety of urban people.

The city also played a distinctive role in marginalising certain groups of people. Because cities were, in Richard Sennett's words, 'a milieu in which strangers were likely to meet', thirteenth-century townspeople began to insist that certain 'undesirable persons' – Muslims, Jews, lepers, prostitutes – identify themselves to the unwary public.² Distinctive clothing, badges and bells helped urban people to recognise and to avoid strangers and also to keep these undesirables out of respectable neighbourhoods. In Avignon and Arles, prostitutes were not allowed to wear veils – that Mediterranean badge of respectable modesty.³ By the end of the thirteenth century areas were set aside for Jews in some cities, for example the closely regulated *Call* of Mallorca. Clothing and veils marked men and women, and the long tradition of special clothes for specific trades and professions is an urban legacy. These cities contained the first anonymous crowds in medieval Europe, but also some fresh signs of personal expression intended to establish a social identity. Funerals designed by the deceased, family burial chapels or crypts, the increasing use of surnames, sumptuary laws and other aspects of city life testify to the desire of some to carve out a familial or personal space even though such opportunities were limited to the better sort.

The typical thirteenth-century city was a cluster of neighbourhoods organised along craft or professional lines, common rural origins or membership in some sort of urban group or religious minority. Street names in some cases still preserve the names of crafts that dominated particular neighbourhoods: in 1285 the prostitutes of Montpellier were directed to live on what earned the name The Hot Street; the gold trade of Florence has been on the Ponte Vecchio for more than seven centuries.⁴ Although most urban development was unplanned, 'dirty' trades like slaughtering, tanning and fulling cloth tended to be located on the outskirts of town or at least downstream from sources of drinking water. Thus James I of Aragon obliged Jewish dyers to move their workshops to the edges of Barcelona. Cities with extensive metal-working industries endured the sound of hammering at the forge during daylight hours and frequently into the night. The location of various trades in particular parts of cities meant that urban parishes, which themselves helped to define neighbourhoods, often included a high proportion of people in the same craft or business. These urban neighbourhoods, particularly in the 'old city', tended to include a mix of people from all social levels. A rare account of a neighbourhood meeting in Bergamo in 1292 reveals people concerned at such humble but important matters as the condition of their fountain.⁵ Ideas about public money and property involved ordinary people at the grassroots. The

² Sennett (1977), p. 48. ³ Otis (1985), pp. 18, 161. ⁴ Otis (1985), p. 26.

⁵ Little (1988), pp. 158–72.

neighbourhood around the church of San Matteo in Genoa is an example of vertical social stratification with its small parish church in the centre of a cluster of fortified towers. (These towers, famous examples of which survive in Bologna and San Gimignano, were typical of cities in which land was at a premium or civic strife endemic: Genoa was an example of both.) In this neighbourhood lived the Doria clan, powerful nobles, and their allies and dependants. The family drew on two sources of strength, the Scrivia valley north of the city and the area of the Riviera to the east of the city near San Fruttuoso. Migrants from these areas tended to settle in San Matteo. Buildings three or four storeys tall mimicked the vertical social organisation of the quarter: poorer folk on the noisy, gloomy bottom floors and alleyways, the more exalted on the upper floors paid higher rents.⁶ This social mixture helped to foster an urban paternalism in which wealthy and powerful people looked out for the interests of their wards, quarters and neighbourhoods.

Perhaps the most distinctive, and relatively recent, feature of urban society was the large number of people who supported themselves through wage labour.⁷ Casual labourers, journeymen and women, and apprentices worked in small shops and some large enterprises like shipyards for masters who had frequently organised themselves into guilds. A variety of vernacular terms (*métier*, *gild*, *arte*, *Zunft*) conceal a general pattern of corporate organisation so characteristic of medieval society. Urban men and women had to support themselves in some way, and for most the daily wage, paid on the payday of the six-day week, Saturday, was the method by which many lived or simply survived. Coinage, the rise of markets and the division of labour helped to foster an increasingly specialised economy. Paris had at least a hundred different guilds organised according to some very specific trades: for example only a university town could support an organised, if small, craft devoted to making book clasps.⁸ The thirteenth century witnesses the rise and elaboration of guilds across Europe. The system of apprenticeship helped young boys and girls to acquire some vocational education, often at no expense to their parents, while supplying extra hands to some thriving entrepreneurs in the trades. Once the apprentice completed the term, the majority faced a life of journeyman status, especially in those trades in which capital requirements for operating a shop meant that most people would have to spend a lifetime working for others. At the top of the hierarchy stood the masters, usually independent entrepreneurs but still in a sense working for their customers, or in the case of the building trades, working for the king, city government or the Church. Being a master was no guarantee of security. Accidents, illness or the decline of a

⁶ Grossi Bianchi and Poleggi (1980), pp. 76–7.

⁷ Epstein (1991), pp. 3–9.

⁸ Lespinasse and Bonnardot (1879).

trade might bring individuals or entire groups into unemployment or poverty. Much work remained outside this system, but everywhere in western Europe the guild system of employment was a distinctive feature of social and economic life, particularly in the manufacturing towns and centres of distribution. Guilds existed in the port towns as well, but tended to be weakened by trade and the competition it introduced into local economies.

Much medieval work depended on daylight, so cities began to stir at day-break. Church bells helped to define the working day, and sundials were a ubiquitous if occasionally confusing (on cloudy days) feature of thirteenth-century towns. Some work was seasonal. The sailing seasons dominated the pace of urban work along the Baltic and North Seas, and in parts of the Mediterranean, and seafaring took thousands of men away from their towns for months at a time. Nearly every day bread was baked in the great ovens scattered across the city, firewood and other necessities hawked in the streets, vats of urine emptied. In Paris and other northern cities town criers shouted out the price of wine in taverns every day (except on Good Friday or when the monarch or a member of his family happened to die).⁹ Some neighbourhoods were dominated by the clatter of the loom or the newly prominent cotton and silk industries and the smells on some streets advertised the trades practised there. Wine and ale were consumed in enormous quantities and served as a means of temporary escape from the drudgeries of daily life.

In the midst of all this noisy artisan activity other urban groups functioned as well. The merchants, that mixed bag of nobles who moved into town from the countryside and interested themselves in trade, as well as the proverbial self-made men, struck deals, and exchanged money at rudimentary banks; these new institutions first appeared in Italian cities like Florence, Lucca, Piacenza and Siena, and then in the north. The daily round of religious observances in the urban churches and monasteries found a new expression in the growing number of the distinctively urban Franciscan and Dominican convents. As night fell, some work continued and crime increased; candles were expensive and firelight rather dim. Night watchmen kept a vigil on the dark and dangerous streets. Sundays and church feasts, by the thirteenth century amounting to some seventy or eighty days a year, provided some rest and enjoyment for those who could afford it, but for the many paid by the day, they were unpaid holidays. The richness and variety of urban life attracted bored nobles, religious innovators, runaway serfs and paupers alike.

Although the principal theme of thirteenth-century urban society is, in most places, the challenge of population growth, perhaps the most decisive changes in urban society reflect what responses were made to the problems of growth;

⁹ Lespinasse and Bonnardot (1879), p. 23.

most importantly the health and welfare of the inhabitants. All the constants of urban life – illness, poverty, crime, sanitation, fraud, ignorance – did not lend themselves to neat or simplistic solutions that were the same throughout Europe. In order to make sense of disparate problems and attempted solutions, some preliminary observations will be helpful. One international, and hence interurban institution, the Church, remained responsible for dispensing much of urban charity, and hence imposed some common features on the many cities under review. Poor, sick, abandoned people turned to urban parishes, monasteries, the Franciscans and Dominicans, orders like the Hospitallers, or the leper houses established by the new order of St Lazarus. Abandonment of children increased in the thirteenth century as pressures on the urban poor became more intense. A hospital in Troyes decreed in 1263 that it would not accept abandoned children for fear of being overwhelmed by them.¹⁰ Most guilds took care of their own distressed members and some donated goods, food or money to the broader community. Christ's poor were the business of the Church; in general city governments were not providers of social services to the needy. Surviving thirteenth-century documents like wills and statutes for hospitals and guilds reveal that urban people handed over many problems to the Church. But legacies and charitable donations enabled the Church, with its trained bureaucracy and sustaining ideology, to provide a level of assistance that saved some, if not all, from starvation, abandonment or a solitary death.

In other ways cities themselves provided service to the inhabitants, mostly in public health and safety. Night watches and town criers, sometimes private people drafted into public responsibilities, sometimes employees of the government, helped to make cities safer and to spread the news. The Assizes of Bread and Ale in London took an interest in the price and quality of these vital commodities. During the thirteenth century Henry III and Edward I encouraged the city authorities to guarantee the hygiene of the meat markets and to look into the broader issues of urban sanitation. Regulating the price of bread and the quality of loaves was in many cities public business, as was the difficult problem of urban refuse. Guilds of butchers, bakers and retailers of prepared food provided convenient groups of men and women to be made responsible for maintaining standards of quality and controlling prices. Rudimentary committees of citizens also attempted to take charge of these problems. Cities, assuming the burden of keeping the public peace, also needed to establish and to pay for courts and jails, which in turn brought in some income and provided jobs to lawyers, guards and executioners. The careers of men like Etienne Boileau, the *prévôt* of Paris for Louis IX, or the many who worked as *podestà*

¹⁰ Boswell (1988), p. 361.

(city manager) for Italian towns demonstrate the increasing professionalisation of public service.

During the thirteenth century cities across Europe witnessed an explosion of education, from the humble apprentices learning a craft to the expanding number of leading universities. Once again, public authorities left much of education, and especially universities, in the hands of the Church. The masters of the guilds regulated the training in the crafts. The pace of business increasingly required some men and women to be literate and capable of using an abacus; city life rewarded the educated at all levels, at least if they were men. The professional writers, the notaries and scribes, found jobs outside the Church, either as individuals or as the paid employees of the small bureaucracies of city government. In towns such as Lucca and Genoa parish schools and entrepreneurial schoolmasters provided the elementary level of literacy and arithmetic, but the records everywhere are sadly uninformative about the basic system of urban education. However, the most pervasive system of teaching and learning in pre-industrial Europe, the vocational training by the guild masters, provided thousands of young men and women with the skills necessary to support themselves in the crafts and trades. Urban work enabled some women (forerunners of Chaucer's Wife of Bath) to learn and to live independent lives outside the convent, but their wages remained low and the guilds circumscribed their formal role and rights in the crafts. By 1300, a majority of urban people probably experienced some sort of apprenticeship, and in places like London serving an apprenticeship was one possible path to citizenship.

In southern Europe some cities in the Iberian peninsula and at least till the 1220s Sicily had substantial Muslim populations, and in these areas as well as southern France, the Rhineland and elsewhere, small urban Jewish communities also existed. The Jews even more than the Muslims were an urban phenomenon. Jews and Muslims lived in these cities in their own distinctive neighbourhoods. The densely populated medieval cities brought these religious differences into sharp focus and probably fuelled animosities in the workplace and social intolerance. Cities also served as incubators for experimental groups among the Christians: most notably the beguines and beguards in Liège and cities along the Rhine like Cologne, Frankfurt and Mainz, and the Humiliati in northern Italy, with important communities in Milan and Cremona. The heretical Cathars, living along the arc from the Pyrenees to the Apennines, were not exclusively urban, but at first they formed a substantial if undercover segment of the population in Béziers and Florence, and were present in St Francis's native Assisi. Francis himself exemplifies how the urban environment, with its wealth and moral problems, helped to forge new, distinctive religious ideas. The expansion of the money economy generated concern at the growing materialism of urban society, expressed in vigorous

ecclesiastical condemnation of usury and in the mendicants' uncompromising message that the renunciation of worldly goods would open the road to heaven. The Franciscans and Dominicans frequently built their new churches in the fast-growing suburbs where the poor and recent migrants lived and needed the most attention.

During the thirteenth century cities across Europe continued to face the problems of self-government. Rare cities like Genoa and Venice were absolutely free while virtually all others were subject to some external power. Nearly all cities, even those like Paris firmly under royal control, had some form of self-rule to manage those affairs of little or no interest in the more lofty levels of government. Cities which were in effect states, like many of the communes in northern Italy, were the exception, and in most areas of Europe cities remained a part of some larger political entity or were in the process of being incorporated into one. These varying circumstances imperil generalisations about urban society. But in the context of self-rule, however narrow in scope, a principal urban theme was the rise of the people or *popolo* (the non-noble citizens, a trend taking its name from Italian history but one having wide significance across Europe. To the extent that cities managed their own affairs, tensions inevitably developed over just which people would do the managing.

Cities with a functioning commune had to decide, or have decided for them, who had the right to participate in decisions. The concept of urban citizenship was as yet a hazy notion, but in places where the city was the state, being a citizen conferred advantages. Although there remained a residual idea that all free adult men had some right to participate in the affairs of their city, in practice the summoning of a great assembly or parliament of the people was reserved for especially solemn or fraudulent occasions and did not provide any democratic basis for rule in a city. Hence on a practical level the issues were: who ruled cities, made laws, administered justice and paid taxes? In the thirteenth century women, religious minorities and slaves were excluded from a political role, but not necessarily denied the obligation to pay taxes. But people viewed society in various ways, depending on their own status, and the line dividing their own numbers into participants and subjects might be drawn in different places.

A fundamental distinction was between the relatively small number of nobles and magnates on the one hand, and the great mass of commoners, simple or little people on the other. The structure of guilds also suggested a natural line between those who provided employment and those who took it. Moreover, those who were not members of guilds might enjoy fewer political opportunities than those who were members, irrespective of relative prosperity. The central issue was the source of power in urban society, and how new

ideas about sovereignty changed traditional views of rulership. Power descended from higher social levels and did not flow up from the bottom of society. The trends of the twelfth century continued to emphasise that cities were places of personal freedom – in the succinct German formulation *Stadtluft macht frei* (city air makes one free). Although the actual opportunities ordinary people had to participate in civic affairs varied immensely, the occasional chance to have a say was new and important.

This political and economic freedom was an ambiguous benefit to half of urban society: women. Here again regional differences must be kept in mind. In northern Europe the law in most cities and states sharply limited the right of married women to make contracts without the husband's consent; in England it was increasingly difficult for a married woman to act as a legal person at all. Some of these strictures held in the south as well, but women seem to have had a wider scope of personal activity in Languedoc and northern Italy. Urban society offered some single women new opportunities, either through religious experimentation or the burgeoning wage economy, to live in ways not completely shaped by men. Widows were in the best position to take advantage of all this, but of course poor women remained the most desperate members of urban society. Political freedom had few practical consequences for urban women of any class. Economic opportunities and the new range of occupations – silkweavers, spinners of gold thread, inn keepers, and many others – made certain ways of living possible in cities that would have been difficult and even suspect in the countryside. Outside artisan trades, many women found a refuge as domestic servants in the households of the wealthy merchants and prosperous artisans, and poorer women could supplement their incomes by wetnursing the children of others. These new choices in the urban economy offered some women independence. Women who had apprentices, ran shops or invested in trading ventures participated in urban society but were also attracting, as the century progressed, increasing restrictions on the scope of their freedom.

All these broad trends and generalisations apply in varying degrees to the lives of millions of people who lived in cities in the thirteenth century. Only biography evokes the richness of this collective experience. While in a Genoese prison in the 1290s, the Venetian Marco Polo told tall tales about his travels, including the cities of China, to a Pisan writer who put it all down in French. Dante's remarkable blend of love sonnets, autobiography and literary criticism, the *Vita nuova*, was available to readers in the early 1290s and revealed the state of love in a city, and in the model of Beatrice gave future city women another reason to be veiled in church. In the academic centres men like Thomas Aquinas in Paris, Robert Grosseteste in Oxford and Albertus Magnus in Cologne extended the frontiers of theology and science while also establish-

ing the fact that, with some astonishing exceptions, great cities have great schools. The well-born St Clare of Assisi found a path that made her more important than most noble women, and her contemporary Marie d'Oignies was also a city woman active in the earliest phase of what would be the beguine movement.¹¹ These prominent people exemplify on the grander scale the lives of thousands of ordinary merchants, notaries, schoolteachers, nuns and working women whose individual efforts *made* urban society.

During the thirteenth century most of Europe's cities became wealthier and bigger places, even as in the 1290s there were signs of strain and stagnation in some urban economies. The wealth of the prosperous urban classes made cities more impressive in a physical sense as the medieval building boom reached its zenith, and in a spiritual sense as urban charity became more effective, just as it faced bigger challenges from the growing ranks of the poor. Individual cities grew more distinctive, and their citizens were more interested in edifying foundation stories and maintaining civic pride. Even where the city was not coterminous with a state, by 1300 urban people were more conscious of local loyalties. Cities fostered the money and wage economy, rewarded literacy and encouraged the idea that some people could rise through individual effort and merit. Urban men valued personal freedom even as they created a world of light and shadows for the minorities and downtrodden in their midst.

¹¹ Bynum (1987), pp. 99–102, 115–21.