
UDK 32: 53/33(~)

 <http://dx.doi.org/10.26739/2181-9505-2018-1-13>

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CRAFT GUILDS AS BUILDERS OF COMMUNITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN GERMAN CITIES IN THE HIGH AND LATE MIDDLE AGES

Abstract. In Europe in 1250-1500 special attention was paid to urban planning. The development of trade and growth in production led to a change in the status of large cities. Handicraft guilds as associations of self-government began to spread as a way to improve the quality of life. Trade guilds were designed to organize trade, production, product quality and its sale, security, credit, welfare and defense of the city primarily in the interests of traders, as well as other associations.

Organized primarily to regulate the economy and labor of the guild, there were also a number of other issues related to values such as associative culture, tradition, community-oriented lifestyles, equality and brotherhood or solidarity within the community. Guilds were seen as a means of establishing courtesy and preventing violence in the city. From this point of view, they have become instruments in the development of civilization. The regular social meetings of the members of the guild, gave members a sense of identity, status and feelings of participation and belonging to the active community. Craft guilds in the high and late Middle Ages became part of the economic and social urban infrastructure that helped build community and civil society.

The French Revolution and Napoleon's arrival in Germany officially ended the guilds, but even after Napoleon in some cities the guilds preserved and continued the work of artisans in the cities. The rise of the craft guilds, the important interactions they encouraged among urban inhabitants, their operation, functions and influence on urban society are the subject of this essay.

Key words: guild, economy, Germany, Hamburg, business, political power, civil society, government

Introduction

The rise and dynamic economic growth of a large number of cities in Germany falls into the time span from 1250 to 1500. Cities -especially free and imperial cities such as Augsburg, Ulm, Strassburg, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen-achieve status, power, self government and reputation, as new populations settle in the city to realize opportunities for advancement, trade and self government. This meant that the Lord of the city (the Stadtherr, sovereign or ruler, such as the king, the emperor or his deputy-see glossary) vested authority in the hands of noble magistrates or aristocratic lords (Ratsherren), who formed a city council and elected a mayor (Burgermeister) to administer the regular business of the city. Grand, wealthy merchants who formed the merchant guild (Gilde) joined this council of lords. While on the one hand power was

wielded through city council headed by a noble lord (Ratsherr- the elected leader of the council of Ratsherren or patricians of the city) of rank, noble birth and wealth, on the other it came to be wielded in time through merchant guilds (Gilden) which had been started by travelling merchants for mutual protection. Organized and chartered as corporate associations, these merchant guilds were designed to organize trade, production, quality, sales, safety, credit, the welfare and defense of cities primarily for the benefit of the merchants, but also for other associations.

The special subject of this essay will be the craft guilds (Zunfte) that emerge in cities as self governing associations modeled in part on the guild of merchants but also on different medieval associations (universities, charities, religious organizations) that became established widely in the 12th century. Different models emerge in the distribution of urban power over this period of time, demonstrating shifts of power between various associations: the council of patricians, the guild of great merchants, but also the guilds of free born working craftsmen who were commoners, but gained in time representation in city government on the larger council. It is the purpose of this essay to set the contexts for the emergence of craft guilds in German cities in the high and late Middle Ages, to describe the importance of the multiple urban economic, political, social, and religious functions of craft guilds, to highlight their contribution to the security, stability and welfare of the city and its inhabitants, to note the nature of their participation in larger city government and to observe their role in shaping a civil society that involves voluntary social interactions, respect for private property and the ability to inherit it, and the recognition of a sense of duty to others and to the social system on which liberties depend (Bouckaert, 2007, p. 140; Green, 1993, p. 6). It will become evident that these associations of peers designed primarily to regulate and promote trade became the community organizations that defined norms of what constitutes the common good, a decent life and an honest living wage; they gave the community a sense of purpose, and they gave all inhabitants of the city a sense of belonging as well as a sense of identity (Topfer, 2006, 138-146). Even after new capitalistic models of economic enterprise emerged, guilds retained important urban roles and functions in France until 1798, when they were dissolved as a result of the French Revolution, and into the 19th century in Germany, when they were officially ended by Napoleon in 1807-09, but re-appeared in many cities after -

The historical medieval context

An historical note on the rise of government in free imperial cities is in order. While there are different theories on the origin of guilds, there is basic agreement on the following general events and similar patterns of urban development. [Cf. Von Heusinger, 2013, p.14-18]. City life proved to be attractive to aristocrats, merchants, craftsmen and laborers from the late 11th century on in Europe, including in German speaking lands. Starting in the 11th century in free imperial cities (but also in cities like K?ln governed by an archbishop), governing councils were formed involving the community of free born property owners living in the city who swore oaths of loyalty, friendship, aid and submission to each other and to the noble hierarchy that formed the city council and adopted a corpus of law (Schwurgemeinde) [Isenmann, 2012, pp.795-798]. Free born noble inhabitants swore these oaths annually or even semi-annually

ritualistically in special ceremonies on special days to the deputy of the king/emperor (or his representative) and to members of the government established by the royal deputy and to each other. Wanting to exercise self-government and power, noble aristocrats, often also low aristocratic officials serving a lord (ministeriale) and great merchants joined purposes by accepting limitations, rights, responsibilities, duties and a type of social contract that required them to put the general welfare of the citizens of the city, the burgher (Burger), ahead of their personal interest. Respect for private property and voluntary agreement to preserve it was part of the responsibility of each member of the urban civil society of burghers.

Albeit in different configurations of power, urban selfgovernment began to be wielded by aristocrats and patricians represented on the city councils, but in time also by representatives of merchant guilds and finally by members of different craft guilds that were made up of craftsmen who had become city burghers (Burger); burghers belonged generally not to the aristocracy, but did own some property in the city; they were private individuals, rather than political appointees, political functionaries or mercenaries [Isenmann, 2012, pp.133-152]. The council itself was subdivided into a large representative broadly constituted council that met infrequently only when necessary and a smaller active governing council of nobly born patricians that met regularly to accomplish the city's business. Members of both councils swore oaths of loyalty and honorability to the burghers of the city, submitting to and accepting justice and law as embodied in the city charter or constitution (Stadtrecht-ius civitatis). As a result of such ceremonial oath taking, free cities were governed by cooperative associations in which noble citizens and craftsmen, often called the Rich and the Poor, [Turneau, Historisches Lexikon Bayerns: "Steztische Unruhen" online; Blickle, 1988, pp. 7-12; Isenmann 2007, 689] , affirmed their mutual responsibility, their loyalty, their rights and their willingness to submit to sanctions by properly constituted authority that was in charge of the courts and carried out justice -in spite of differences and economic inequality. However, those voted into positions of authority who sat on the councils came to understand that their ability to maintain social and economic stability and to keep the city safe and secure depended on the support of craftsmen organized according to their specialties that were aligned with specific trades. As a result of petitions to the council by members of a specific craft for the incorporation of the craft with representation on the council or as a result of external pressure, disturbances, and even revolts by members of the guilds of craftsmen that demanded greater political power and the ability to direct their own affairs, the patricians on the council changed the constitution (Stadtrecht) predominantly in the 14th century, admitting properly elected master craftsmen into membership on the grand council, thereby creating a city government that included representatives of the governed chiefly from the aristocracy but also from the burghers that might be called the middle class (known as Stande).

The highest ranking noble governor of the city (known as Stadtherr but also as Burgherr) was appointed in imperial cities by the king or emperor and recognized by patricians of the upper social class (theRatsherrren or magistrates) who were eligible for membership on the city council. At the outset, the city council consisting of perhaps twelve, later of twenty four or more noble magistrates, procured autonomy for the city, using pay offs to secure privileges from the king, emperor, archbishop or his deputy (Vogt). The magistrates organized an association of mutual protection and defense (Schutz und Trutzverband) that sought to grant protection to the city and its inhabitants from feuds and other disturbances of the peace and that defended its citizens

against such feuds when necessary. Settling issues independently in its own courts with its own judges became a sovereign jurisdictional right of the city [see Isenmann, 2007, p.171-173]. The magistrates on the council elected and appointed a mayor (Burgermeister) to administer city government; in large cities, such as Strassburg, up to four mayors were required to administer city government and relations with other cities. In time, especially in the 14th century, guilds fought for and received the right to represent craftsmen and merchants on the city council [Blickle, 1988, pp. 7-12. Isenmann, 2007, pp. 254-270]. The usual period of duty to which members of the guild were elected to the city council was one (1) year. Being elected to the council implied a recognition of the economic and political power of the guild and its members. However, such political rights could be abrogated in case of revolts or infringements of agreements.

The achievement of even a small measure of self-government took place at a time where power relations were largely feudal, following the principle "might is right" in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. At a time of general powerlessness by commoners, when kingdoms, principalities and territories were ruled by a noble sovereign, duke, prince, count, knight and often archbishop living in castles in the country side in German territories, burghers in the cities came to constitute a vital new force. They came to believe that cooperatively and consensually they could achieve a measure of autonomy, freedom, equality and community within city walls [Isenmann, 2007, pp. 133-150]. By contrast, those living outside of cities under the power of knights, dukes, counts, and secular or spiritual princes as part of the rural population in what was called 'vassalage' were unfree subjects without individual personal rights to travel, to own property, to inherit property or to practice a trade of their own choosing. The German saying, "breathing city air makes you free" or "city air creates liberty" ("Stadtluft macht frei") was cited by all who tried to escape serfdom by going into hiding in a city for the required period of "a year and a day" in order to attain the right to pursue greater freedom and opportunity [Isenmann, 2007, pp. 167-170]. Those who were not extradited by their legitimate noble owners within that period but were able to escape detection and find work in the city, became free men. As soon as possible and as soon as feasible, they tried their best to pay the required city fee to become a burgher, namely, an individual entitled to live and work in the city within the security of the city walls, endowed with personal rights and responsibilities. As greater prosperity and security became available in the city than in the rural country side and as longevity increased in the city as well, there was the opportunity to advance with community support, there was trade, there was basic education, and there was a sense of community. A better life governed by rules (e.g., respect for private property) beckoned in the city. The craft guilds were perceived as part of this communal movement that set up rules governing labor, production, and prices in a functioning community, as well as norms of social behavior within a relatively secure setting [Von Heusinger, 2013, p. 14-15]. While there certainly was opportunity for the creation of individual wealth, such as was exemplified by the growing fortunes of the Fugger family that came to Augsburg from the hinterlands, [Isenmann, 2012, pp 910-912] contemporary ideals did not envision the creation of individual wealth as an ideal. Although the Rich appear to have benefited more than the Poor in the city, the welfare of the entire hierarchy of the Rich and the Poor and the welfare and common good of the city and all of its inhabitants appear to have been the overriding goals at least until about the end of the 15th century.

Guild structure, activities, "nomos"

Enterprising prosperous merchants dealing with distant cities (as part of the Hanseatic league or of other city leagues, for instance) who had seats on the city council with patricians, were the first to establish merchant guilds (Gilden) as incorporated associations of equals that devised laws to protect the merchants, their peers and their goods on the road, their trade with distant cities, their production, and their financial transactions within and outside cities. Statutes, privileges, rights, and responsibilities were listed in documents kept in a chest (Lade) containing official charters, documentation, legitimation (such as the guild certificate Zunftbrief) and membership lists. Similar functions and orderly procedures, albeit on a more local and smaller scale, came to be carried out by specialized local city master craftsmen in the crafts guild, where membership became compulsory in many cities; in time, organized associations of local craftsmen differentiated by the trade they plied established their own craft guilds and selected leaders who became eligible for admission to the large council through election by the membership of the craftsmen's guild they represented. The equality of all master craftsmen was recognized in their ability to cast their vote and in their eligibility for a position on the council. While magistrates hailing from noble families and wealthy merchants involved in distant trade and banking who sat on the council dealt with political, economic, social and legal issues related to the security, law, order and defense of the entire city, with political matters, and with external trade relations with other cities, small craftsmen viewed as commoners who believed in the benefits of the medieval associational culture looked to their guilds (Zunft) for an awareness of a sense of community [Von Heusinger, 2013]. In their meetings (Morgensprache) in town halls or guild houses, they came to focus more on internal economic initiatives of the city, on labor regulations governing their apprentices and journeymen, on the health care of their apprentices, on self administration, on collaborative self regulation, on the education and training of apprentices, on sociability and community care—all these being internal urban issues designed to build trust, assure credit worthiness, strengthen solidarity (fraternity), foster honorability, welfare, collaboration and security among craftsmen and small merchants as well as their customers residing in the city [Isenmann, 2007 pp.795, 0-850]. Membership by master craftsmen in guilds contributed to the self awareness and dignity of craftsmen and merchants of the city, to the honorability of work, as well as to the city's reputation and to the sense of belonging its inhabitants felt. However, it must be recognized that while the guild system assured economic viability as well as the propriety and the honor of members of guilds representing the city, it also limited competition and potential commercial profit. First and foremost, however, stands the high regard of inhabitants of the town for a communal life anchored not only in labor, but in recognized and appreciated quality craftsmanship. Through quality labor (reflecting rigorous training and expertise) well made products were crafted and fair ("just") prices were set that brought recognition and prosperity to craftsmen. The currency with which every member of the guild was rewarded was honor within the community—a new concept that built a new sense of common social awareness, a sense of duty, solidarity and high regard for civil society. The principle of volunteerism, the development of this sense of duty, and respect for private property were the special features of guild life that fostered the

development of civil society [Bouckaert, 2007, p170; Black, 992, pp 24-26; 117-128]. While one needed to be prosperous to become eligible for a seat on the large council (an honorary position for which no compensation was paid) or to serve in the honorary position as master of the craft guild, such prosperity allowed rich individuals to give back to the city and to channel honor acquired through voluntary service into good for the guild and the community. As cities became sites for the production of well made products, labor was no longer viewed as punishment for sin, as it was in the Bible and by the Church, but as a character- building activity that was designed to bring honest wages, prosperity, recognition, worth, pride, dignity, merit and honor to craftsmen and their households within the community.

Organized along pre-institutionalized lines, these communally, collaboratively and corporatively organized crafts guilds were started either by specialized craftsmen themselves for their mutual benefit or instituted by the decree of the council in order to regularize production and labor according to the needs of the city. Guilds served the needs of all inhabitants of the city: while the economic well being of all was prioritized and the number of master craftsmen permitted in each trade was carefully regulated by the council, other urban goals became an important part of the agenda: First there was the attempt to regulate the production of properly priced goods such as shoes, bread, linen, nails, barrels, candles, tables, etc. to guarantee sufficient production of quality goods produced under fair labor practices without competition or what was perceived as the unfair domination (or monopoly) of some craftsmen over others. Fairness, equality and honest self administration were community concerns. Measures that could give one craftsman an advantage over all or any others, such as arranging for an advance purchase of needed raw products outside of the city before all others had access to the raw materials, or making advance purchases outside regular market days, drew a considerable fine, defamation, and in the case of repeated offenses, ouster from the city for the craftsman or the merchant not playing by guild rules. By the same token, zones in which trade was forbidden (Bannmeilen) were proclaimed outside of the city, in order to privilege trade at regular markets and market days within the city [Isenmann, 2012, pp. 460, 955]. The guild acted as an organized broader merchant association which regulated trade so as to maintain a trade monopoly for its members in designated territories from which competition was largely eliminated, so that all recognized urban craftsmen and their families could make a decent living without fear of competition from those who might try to underbid their "just" prices. Here the question may be asked, whether the system of the guilds helped establish or hinder the establishment of early forms of capitalism. By the same token, one might ask whether the guilds with all of their norms, prescriptions, standardization, rules, conditions, limitations, prohibitions, restrictions, reservations, taxes, tolls, fees and compulsory contributions promoted innovation or stood in its way. Designed to bring about equal opportunity and equal wealth for all craftsmen, the bottom line was often far from the ideal, and no absolute systematized order was ever perfected anywhere to which all of the many labor courts of the crafts and the city courts bore witness [Isenmann, 2012, pp. 181-196, 460 - 516, 958]. However, in time in particular during economic developments in the 16th century, when enterprising capitalistic producers and merchants of goods, such as linen, cotton or wool perceived the area outside of the cities in the country side to be more favorable to free i.e. unregulated trade, as regions where the

guilds did not regulate prices and did not monopolize trade, entrepreneurs and merchants found new sources for free trade that created considerable fortunes [Blickle, *Landgemeinde und Stadtgemeinde*, 1988; Isenmann, 2012, pp.984-1001]. While guilds in the city had to face the possibility of craftsmen moving and settling outside of the city in the country side in order to engage in potentially more prosperous free trade, the majority of craftsmen preferred to stay in the city the implication being, that they preferred the stability established and maintained by the guilds and the moderate living wage offered under the guild system in the city to the possibility of larger profits and risks offered by unregulated free trade outside the city. It took the French revolution and the arrival of Napoleon in Germany to end the guilds officially; yet even after Napoleon's defeat, in many cities the guilds returned and continued to exercise power over the production by craftsmen within cities, even though they did so without the political power they had held in earlier times.

The guilds, civil society and the value of labor

While organized primarily for the regulation of the economy and labor, the guilds addressed also a whole range of other issues that deal with values such as the associational culture, (Genossenschaften) tradition, a community-centered way of life, security, equality and brotherhood or solidarity within the community. Guilds were viewed as a means of instituting civility and preventing violence in the city. Viewed from this perspective, they became instruments in the development of civilization. In addition to their focus on economic issues and labor, craft guilds focused on social issues, such as the propriety and social connectedness of its members, the avoidance of conflict between rival craftsmen, social harmony, respectability, and the collaboration of all members of the craft guild. Responsibility for the security of the city was accomplished by specific guilds that took on police powers by watching designated sections of city streets or of the city wall enclosure, for instance to prevent fires. Every member of the guild was required to purchase special weapons and armor deemed necessary for the protection of the entire urban community. A concern with religious issues of doctrine was not viewed as the purview of guilds; however, participation in religious rituals, processions, and celebrations was expected of guild members and was financed by guilds. On special religious holidays, guild members participated in the city's colorful processions, carrying the visible insignia or symbols of their trade, presenting themselves publically as honorable citizens, shouldering important economic, social and religious duties. Weddings were celebrated and deaths were mourned communally. Members attended church as a group. Candles were regularly lit for deceased members of guilds, keeping the memory of deceased guild members alive and supporting the welfare of their souls. Regular social meetings of guild members in the meeting hall (the *Zunftstube*), where drinking and communal meals took place, gave members a sense of identity, status, and a sense of contributing and belonging to an active community. At the death of master craftsmen, the guild of which he had been a member supported his widow and family financially; the guild supported the widow further helping her continue to operate the shop her husband had led with the help of journeymen and apprentices. Women were not excluded from membership in guilds; in fact, Kulin was known for its strong guild of women working as spinners and weavers of silk. In due time, members of the deceased husband's

guild might intervene to assist his widow in finding another husband who might be a master of the deceased husband's trade, or it might help support the family and surviving sons in their aspiration to become master craftsmen, with the oldest son generally carrying on the father's trade. A son was viewed as legitimate heir of his father's profession and enjoyed special privileges in stepping into his father's shoes. Daughters might be aided by the receipt of a dowry that would help them enter a marriage and secure social stability with a master craftsman who had just finished his masterpiece and received his certification as a master of the trade. Members suffering from disasters, such as fire, flood, famine, plague or disease, could also expect assistance from the other members of the guild. To members suffering from old age and disease, guilds offered a type of health insurance or the creation of a fund that would constitute a support for the suffering, destitute, retired craft master. In addition to activities that promoted social bonding and active communal charity, mercy, and care of needy members, many guilds engaged in cultural programs, such as the performance of master song (Meistersang) for which N?rnberg became famous, with Hans Sachs, the master shoe maker who was its most famous artist; schools of master song, where members were trained in this cultural activity and had an opportunity to feature it publicly, involved the traditional production of songs by craftsmen according to rules that go back to the courtly love song tradition of Minnesang. City schools for those of small means benefited also from the interest, care and support of the craft guilds. While the guilds are recognized in legal documents in cities like Mainz (for instance, the guild of weavers) \ already in 1099 and Freiburg im Breisgau in 1120, they reached their greatest strength in the fourteenth century and were vital for trade until the sixteenth century, when various attempts were made to dissolve them, such as that by Charles V in 1550. Weakened during the Peasant Revolts of 1525, where a number of cities sided with Luther and with revolting peasants, guilds sympathetic to Protestant peasants, such as the weavers of Basel in 1525, faced punishment by secular and church authorities for supporting the peasants who had invaded and destroyed Catholic city monasteries [Burckhardt, 1896]. Further weakened by the Thirty Years War (1618-48) and by new trade routes across the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which became the primary sites of trade to overseas markets and raw materials in the East and West, they met their end only with the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution when the competitive entrepreneurial capitalistic model became the new economic principle of operation. Under the guilds, trade local and international, internal and external had assumed such strength, that cities like Bremen and Hamburg that had built their power through internal and external Hanseatic trade, retained their autonomy and strength long after the time of the Hanse and guilds. As is well known, both cities are still sovereign states (Lander) with their own governments within contemporary Germany.

Historically, the self organization of craftsmen into guilds shows the value and importance placed on labor and production in the cities, and on the recognition that the *raison d'être* of cities was trade. The existence of cities depended on trade, and life in the city was dedicated to it. In contrast to earlier agrarian feudal models, where protection and duties, rights and entitlements were accorded by the noble ruler to subordinate and lower ranking vassals, in cities craftsmen viewing themselves as equals and brothers initiate these functions in organizational structures identified as guilds.

According to Isenmann, [2012 pp. 145, 336, 366, 793] in medieval cities--primarily free imperial cities-- guilds begin as cooperatives where merchants and craftsmen met as equals swearing oaths to each other, promising to carry out jointly- defined duties in the city. These reciprocal oaths (Einung/Innung-coniuratio) become the basis for voluntarily founded cooperatives; the freely sworn oaths become the basis for the autonomy of the association of guilds in formulations of their constitutions in which they agree to abide by specific social and economic rules, paying taxes and fees, submitting voluntarily to sanctions, should their actions subsequently conflict with the rules they had sworn to uphold. The recognition of equality and fraternity in the compactly defined space of the city becomes a defining mark of this cooperative type of association, in which even women are included in some cities, like Kaln, where the guild of silk spinners and silk weavers became an important guild. Each member agrees to defend his/her peers against attacks from the outside, while rendering aid, including charity, in myriad situations. The cooperative was renewed and strengthened through social urban rituals that were meant to create harmony and peace, such as eating and drinking at religious and popular festivals, honoring, memorializing and eulogizing the dead, lighting candles for the deceased, celebrating the achievements of guild masters and their families. Members of the guilds agreed to live by laws and regulations established by representative bodies in the city as well as the city administration instituted through the Lord, the royal deputy (the Stadtherr). Voluntarily sworn binding oaths, fraternity, the conferral of special privileges, and the award of benefits governed the cooperative [Isenmann, p.797], established social harmony and diminished rivalry. It should be noted that journeymen, who found it impossible to establish themselves as masters of their craft because of the limitations in the number of masters imposed by the craftsmen's guild (or the city council) or because they lacked the appropriate funds required of masters, or because they were required to wander from city to city searching for work in their trade, in time founded their own guild of journeymen, the (Gesellenzunft) with its own set of rules and a constitution. The rules to which they bound themselves were designed to insure greater fairness for journeymen in pay, shorten the time it took to become eligible for creating a masterwork that would lead to certification of the journeyman as a master of the trade, reduce the waiting period before journeymen might attempt to become master craftsmen after having finished their master piece (Muthzeit) and ease the years journeymen were required to work in distant cities (Wanderjahre) that could cut the journeyman off from the home community support system, namely the community he had been part of at the shop of the master craftsman who initially had hired him and brought him into his household [Isenmann 2012, pp. 830-850].

Work of the guild

At regular meetings of the merchant and crafts guilds, called the Morgensprache that took place in the presence of the chest (Lade) containing the guild charter, constitution, rules and list of members, special appeals were heard that dealt with member rights to participate in markets (Marktrecht) at designated market halls, sites, dates and times, to establish requirements and charges, to limit the participation of outsiders, to assess tolls from outsiders who were permitted to participate in the market or to exclude them altogether. By the same token, guilds that maintained the

quality and security of roads between cities had the right to demand a charge for the use of roads by merchants belonging to the guild and by merchants belonging to other cities with which they might lack any agreement of reciprocity. In cases involving intercity relations, the council and its courts would be expected to enforce the city's right to assess tolls. The interpretation and enforcement of rules related to trade became an important part of the guild's judicial proceedings as well as of the city courts, when the guilds themselves were unable to come to an agreement about a matter or when they lacked jurisdiction.

Organized by members of specialized trades, masters of a special trade or craft were eligible for a position on the board of their trade/craft guild, provided they fulfilled the requirements set for masters of the specific trade—such as the possession of a good reputation, free birth, good character, adequate financial means, residency in the city and the properly obtained title of master of the trade upon the production of a certified master piece. The city government limited the number of masters of trades who could operate within its walls according to the size of the city, so that appropriate regulation could take place of production, product quality, conditions of labor, wages, and the care of the families of guild members, which included the apprentices and journey men, plus all others working for the master. The elected guild council composed of masters determined fair prices for products, matching prices of products to the prices and availability of raw products to be processed, it regulated labor according to hours accorded to work, the number of apprentices a master could employ and the manner of their training. Regular meetings took place in variable settings such as in a town church, the town hall, or a guild hall; (London's Guild Hall is one of such recognized buildings.) Depending on the size and the importance of the guild council, in its meeting (*Morgensprache*) in the presence of the official chest (*Lade*) containing the guild constitution and of legitimizing documents, the business of the guild was conducted, ranging from the number of apprentices, the fees they were required to pay, relations with journeymen (who in time formed their own guild—*die Gesellenvereinigung*-- as a counterweight to that of the masters, so that their cause would be considered fairly, even though it was known to all, that many of them would have to leave the city to find employment elsewhere or continue to serve the master receiving low wages. As visible sign of lawful gathering, the guild of journeymen would display its chest containing its documents and symbols of legitimacy (*Gesellenlade*). Yet the need apprentices felt to organize their own corporation is an indication of their dissatisfaction with the representation they received by their masters on the craft guild to which their master belonged. Many of their grievances centered on their low wages, the difficulty of establishing a master's shop of their own, and the requirement to leave the city in which they had come to feel at home to learn new techniques and innovations that were being practiced in distant cities. Being forced to leave the city in which they had hoped to establish themselves meant for them often alienation in a distant city, in spite of their meticulously kept work record, (their *Wanderbuch*), in which all information, including recommendations, was contained about their required journeys to other cities and required years of work at different sites with different masters.

The guild model in cities was so strong that even those craftsmen who were not organized in a specific trade guild formed or were assigned to their own outside unit (*Meinheit*), which, headed by the its master (*Meinheitsmeister*), regulated work hours,

the quality of products, and the way of life of these craftsmen who belonged to the city community but not to a regular guild. (See Blickle, *Landgemeinde und Stadtgemeinde*, 1991). On the one hand, such an association argues strongly for the political power of the guild to regulate the lives of outsiders who -for a variety of reasons- perhaps simply alack of necessary funds to join the guild- - were not admitted to membership in the guilds; on the other hand, it demonstrates that there was a general acceptance of craft - guild type of governance in the city.

Conclusion

To conclude: It has been shown that the order and stability of cities revolved around the idea of lawfulness – of burghers living meaningful socially interactive lives in the city with many associations under what might be viewed as a social contract within which they felt entitled to protection, held rights and liberties, but agreed voluntarily to reasonable duties, responsibilities and regulation/controls. City law (*Stadtrecht*), laws governing transit and storage (*Niederlagerecht*), laws governing rights to hold regular markets (*Marktrecht*), [times, sites and tolls], access to justice and courts (*Gerichtbarkeit*) and guild law (*Zunftrecht*) were only some of the domains of such interactions. Their sum total led to a large measure of autonomy for merchants and craftsmen operating within guilds. The city embodied the idea of lawfulness, as each city followed its own constitution, often using as model the constitution of another city, such as Kaln, L?beck (S?st), Magdeburg and N?rnberg/Wien. But central to the constitution was always guild law (*Zunftrecht*) which regulated the number, time and manner of the training of apprentices, hours of work, quality of productions, and prices; competition among craftsmen and merchants was to be avoided, although the introduction of distant goods at fixed market days sometimes did end up leading to competition. Also recognized in the corpus of guild law was the master of the guild (the *Zunftmeister*), who was elected to enforce the rules established by the guild. While governmental/administrative practices did not follow a fixed pattern in all cities governed by councils, there was generally a small council that did the regular work of the city but brought big decisions to the large council to which a large number of elected honorable patricians and of craft masters belonged. Major decisions regarding taxation, required financial contributions, defense, guild or other matters involved broader approval from representatives of the craft guilds [cf. Blickle, *Landgemeinde und Statgemeinde*. Isenmann , 1991, p. 234].

It is fair to ask whether guild regulations that were designed to achieve equality of opportunity and wealth for all or most members of guilds were most beneficial to the welfare of the cities and its inhabitants, or whether greater liberalism that would have allowed for individual production practices would have been more beneficial for all inhabitants of the city in enabling them to accumulate greater wealth and pursue to happiness with fewer regulations. In the chronicles of cities it is noted that during economic/ financial crises or when there was a reduction of the population (after a plague, for instance) there were corresponding reductions in the number of master craftsmen who could operate within the city. Not noted is whether such a reduction led to greater wealth and competitive behavior for those who were able to retain their trade in the city, or whether such a reduction was an emergency measure instituted to protect remaining

master craftsmen from total financial ruin. While guilds and city councils reduced the size of guilds in response to financial emergencies, they also increased the numbers of masters that could join a guild during times of urban growth and economic stability.

Records show that inhabitants of the city who were members of a guild or connected directly through work to one were integrated not only into regulated labor practices but also into a social system that required financial contributions (taxes, fees, fines) from its members but provided a great number of regular social benefits, such as assistance during disasters, disease, unemployment, death, debt relief, loans, payments to retired craftsmen, and other aid. While such aid had to be requested, justified and granted during a business meeting of the guild during the business meeting (Morgensprache), the guild became known as a social network that rendered needed support effectively to its members and to the city. The concern not only for the rigorous training of craftsmen but also for the welfare of all laborers is still evident in Germany's current social market economy.

To be sure: master craftsmen and their households were governed in cities by (compulsory membership in the guild (Zunftzwang- union shop), but they also built their lives, their social support structures and identities around it. Hans Sachs, a master shoe maker and member of the shoemakers guild in N?rnberg in the early 16th century focuses in his many writings not on the coercive nature of guilds but on the idea of the common welfare, or the common good (Gemein Nutz). An important benefit of the guild was the social location, (Zunftstube) where entertainment, meals, festivities, celebrations, remembrances, reunions, i.e., where all socially meaningful activities of the urban community of commoners took place. This became the site, where artisan friends met outside of work, where common and festive meals were organized, where solidarity with others was visibly and ritually affirmed. While there were other associations and clubs that gave aristocratic city inhabitants a sense of belonging and entertainment, such as the chamber of lords (Herrenstube), the primary associational bonds for the burgher centered on their membership in craft guilds and the social, legal, military environment these created in social interactions in the civil order. Other social associations were, for instance, religious/and service orders, monastic and university organizations, cultural organizations, sports clubs or even para military organizations, such as sharpshooter clubs. Depending on where individuals lived, they were part of neighborhood organizations that tied them to their quarter, the street, their bridge and their water well. Many inhabitants belonged to several guilds, societies, fraternities, --all marked by special symbols, signs, and types of dress. Von Heusinger (2013) points to the mobility and flexibility of guild membership, citing that it was possible for individuals to change their membership from one guild to another. Participation in assemblies as well as in processions and in other activities honoring saints, deceased lords as well as the deceased craftsmen created bonds and networks, integrated individuals into the urban structure [Isenmann, 1988, p.776].

As guilds disbanded and lost their political power, their social, caritative, religious, cultural and social functions were taken over by a variety of associations and clubs that became a hallmark of city life, where individuals tended to become members of clubs, organizations and associations organized according to special interest and function, such as reading clubs, theater associations, musical organizations, gardening associations, sports organizations, catholic/protestant caritative organizations, etc.

The order, stability, lawfulness, fairness and the sense of equality and entitledness guilds provided—starting with fair labor practices, education and rigorous vocational training, but shaping also urban identity and the sense of belonging to a larger cultural, social and religious community, --all these have been identified as important values in the lives of artisans, even if one leaves aside the cultural impact guilds had on cities. All these markers that defined the urban life have been identified here as hallmarks of both civil society and urban guilds that revolved around the idea of lawfulness—of burghers living reasonable, meaningful lives within a social contract within which they felt entitled to protection, held rights and liberties, but assumed reasonable responsibilities and limitations. Economic conditions in the city, as has been noted, changed with famines, epidemics, wars, fires, but also as a result of new global economic developments in the 16th century, where entrepreneurs that were less averse to risk began to look for free markets that were less regulated. When guilds opposed such free trade by merchants and producers in the city, entrepreneurs and merchants turned increasingly to the country side, as has been noted previously, where they could exploit workers with lower wages, sell goods produced cheaply, and build fortunes, but still compete with goods produced by guilds within the city.

It is remarkable that in spite of such free market practices, public sentiment in Germany continued to favor the guild structure and the guild seal of good quality goods produced well into the late 19th century. When it became possible to leave the city in order to produce unregulated quantities of market goods outside regulated urban zones more cheaply, with few exceptions, craftsmen made efforts to remain in the cities to continue to produce well-formed products that conformed to norms of the craft. In spite of opposition from governments, administrators and economic theorists, the guilds retained their influence on standards of craftsmanship, the education of pupils, apprentices and journeymen who wanted to become masters of the craft, the notion of a fair price, the notion of fair labor practices and the notion of social insurance for those no longer able to work. These notions can still be traced in concepts of craftsmanship and the social market economy in Germany today.

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Glossary of German terms

Stadtherr - Lord: highest authority in the city appointed by the king, the emperor or his deputy; individual who represented the highest source of power, who could delegate rights and powers to the council or city government according to the terms of the constitution of the city or of city law (ius civitatis).

Ratsherr - city magistrate, initially an aristocratic patrician, later also elected masters of merchant guilds and master craftsmen who were elected to the city council by members craft guilds

Burgermeister - mayor, chosen by Ratsherren (magistrates)

Rat - city council.

Ministeriale - noble aristocrat of the lower rank who served the sovereign often in administrative positions and functions

Burger - burgher; legitimate, free inhabitant of the city with rights (personal freedom, private property, inheritance) who participated in the oath of loyalty to the council, or met the conditions set by the council for burghers (ius civile, ius civitatis, civilitas, urbanitas); burghers customarily owned property and a household with a hearth, were honorable by reputation and, if a newcomer to the city, had given an oath of loyalty and paid citizenship fee to the city.

Einung-Innung (coniuratio, Schwurgemeinschaft) those who had sworn reciprocal oaths of loyalty within associations, such as guilds or the city council.

Zunft - guild, especially craft guild - corporation, association of craftsmen; (gildae minores) the term came to be used for all guilds.

Gilde (commune) merchant guild, corporation, association of merchants. (gildae maiores)

Schutz und Trutzverband (coniuratio, Schwurgemeinschaft,) those sworn to reciprocal defense and protection

Zunftmeister - elected master of guild, master craftsman elected to enforce rules/law of a guild

Zunftbrief - certificate legitimizing a guild, part of the constitution of a guild, kept in the chest of documents.

Lade - chest containing the official documentation of a guild, usually decorated with emblem of guild

Gesellenzunft - guild of journeymen

Wanderschaft - (years of wandering) the four to six years a journeyman spent working for master craftsmen in other towns. This became a requirement for most journeymen.

Muthzeit - the waiting period of 1 to 3 years after the completion of the sojourn and the certified completion of the master piece, before the journeyman could become a member of the guild. The prospective master craftsmen had to acquire the right to become a burgher of the city, pay the membership fee to the guild, demonstrate the possession of financial means, and possess the required armor to participate in the guild's defense of the city.

Wanderbuch - an official record documenting the time a journeyman spent working for master craftsmen in cities other than home town; the record documented not only of achievement, but also good character and an honorable reputation.

Meinheit - association of burgher and/or craftsmen of the city who did not belong to a particular guild or association

Morgensprache: official business meeting of guild conducted by the master of the guild and attended by other members of the guild. Conducted in the presence of representative(s) of the city Council.

Zunftrecht - laws governing a guild

Marktrecht rights and authority of the city to regular markets-times and sites, participants, fees and tolls, conditions;

Zollrecht - right of the city to impose tolls and taxes on goods

Niederlagerecht -rights a town had to the passage through the town and the storage of commercial goods, adding to commercial transactions and the value of these transactions to the town.

Gerichtbarkeit- sovereign right of the city to establish its own courts and to administer justice.(access to justice and courts)

Herrenstube - a primarily social association of aristocrats and patricians as well as the site reserved for the meeting of nobles. In instances when more representatives of the craft guilds were given seats on the council giving them a majority (e.g., Strassburg in 1322 Isenmann, p. 813), more of the real political power of the Council was wielded through this social site, to which no artisan magistrates were admitted. cf. Ranft, Adelsgesellschaften (1994), pp. 30-34, 156-161.

Zunftstube - association of artisan guild members and the site where social meetings took place. Emulating the social organization of the aristocrats, the Herrenstube, the Zunftstube as social site and with its club-like atmosphere gave cohesiveness and a sense of belonging to guild members.

* * *

I have not asked the question whether these interactions were primarily (or exclusively) horizontal, occurring among members of the same class, or vertical, occurring among members of all classes. This important question could be the important subject of another investigation.

The average German city in the Middle Ages had about 2,000 inhabitants; however, Köln, the biggest city possessed already 20,000 inhabitants in 1140, and 40,000 in 1490. Lübeck, center of the Hanse in the North, possessed 6,000 in 1227 and 21,500 in 1460. Augsburg had 10,000 inhabitants in 1400, but 20,000 in 1450. Nürnberg experienced similar growth from 5,000 in 1397 to 36,000 in 1485. Rome, by comparison, had 20,000 inhabitants in 1200. Cities are recognized by their commerce, city walls offering protection, and the subdivision of trades and hierarchies. They grew up around administrative centers, bishoprics, points of defense (e.g., fortress, favorable site) and trade routes.

For a discussion of the medieval associational culture, see Braeckert, 2007, p. 162-164.

It should be noted that craft guilds were not found in all German cities, even though the guild culture, the "nomos" was. For instance, Nürnberg, one of the four largest cities in Germany, occupied a special position, in that guilds were prohibited in the city as a result of the uprising of craftsmen of 1348; stripped of political power, crafts were regulated in Nürnberg directly by the Council of patrician merchants. In 1370-1200 masters of crafts/trades were listed for Nürnberg in 50 crafts, and one third of the male population of the city was found to consist of craftsmen. However, even in Nürnberg masters of crafts who had sworn to uphold loyally the common good of the city were appointed for one year terms by the Council to administer the business of their craft and to uphold the regulation the Council had established. While crafts lacked the autonomy of a guild, they did have a voice and role in self-administration of the association. To protect its monopoly on trade, Nürnberg was also exceptional in other ways. It prohibited journeymen in certain trades from completing their Wanderjahre/ wandering years, so that secret innovation and superior workmanship in certain metallurgical trades (armor making, goldsmithing and in weaving (cf. Isenmann 2012, p.828) would not be shared with other cities that could compete with it.

Civil society is understood as a horizontal society in which "the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions ... manifest the interest and will of its citizens. "Civil society includes the family, the private sphere, referred to as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government and business. (Hannu Himanen 02-14-2013, "State, Government, Civil Society," MSPS Seminar, Zelenogorsk) online.

Wealth of Nations, Book I, chap. 10; cf. also James J. Sheehan, 1989, p. 196.

It must be remembered that most aristocrats lived in the country side.

cf. Wolfgang Rosen and Lars Wirtler, Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, I: Antike und Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis 1396-97. Köln: Bachem Verlag, 1999.

As a result of widespread revolts by guilds in cities, such as Augsburg in 1368, patricians lost power and guilds made gains. While the grand merchant families still dominated the guilds, by 1372 masters of craftsmen guilds had become part of the inner city council (Kleiner Rat) and held a majority on the large council, taking 180-190 of 249 seats. As a result of the armed uprising led by the master weaver Hans Weiss and others, patricians lost power and large craft guilds gained it; however, by 1373 the guild masters of the prosperous merchant guild had regained positions of power. In 1469 Anton Schwarz, master builder, became mayor (Bürgermeister) and established the equality of the craft guilds with the merchant guilds and patricians. His government turned out to be disastrous, culminating in his execution by the emperor in 1478.

cf. the city chronicle of Jakob Twinger von Königshofen in Karl Gustav Theodor Schröder, Die Chroniken der oberrheinischen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert.

following, for instance, the guild rebellion in Augsburg in 1368.

Isenmann, 2012, 822-828. While the eligibility of master craftsmen to serve on the council implied the equality of artisans to members of the merchant guild and the patricians, the reality told a different story, since only those craft masters prosperous enough to volunteer their time for the city could actually serve on the council.

Bouckaert, 2007, p. 168, discusses how in the country side, in the region beyond the Bannmeile (region outside the city where commercial transactions were prohibited, entrepreneurial production did take a foothold, competing to some degree with the craft guild production that took place in the city. See

also Blickle, *Landgemeinde und Stadtgemeinde...*, 1991, Isenmann, 2012, pp. 675-676. Concerning the common good or "Gemeinnutz" Töpfer, 2006, 140 ff. points out that the summum bonum defined by Thomas Aquinas in religious terms was secularized in the world of the city politically and socially into "Gemeinnutzen." This concept became a central thrust in the self-legitimation of government as well as in critiques of it. See also Martin Luther, "Ob Kriegsleute in seligem stand sein können."

In the city labor is no longer viewed as punishment for sin but as way of increasing merit. cf. Bouckaert, 2007, p. 160. The doctrine of work as punishment for sin is based in Genesis 3:17. Guilds pointed out that that Jesus was the son of a carpenter.

For an informed discussion of the different theories proposed for the establishment of craft guilds, cf. Von Heusinger, 2013 p. 18. The different theories range from a voluntary social contract and self-organization to obeying authoritarian decrees imposed by the Stadtherr and (members of the council) to ease the administration and improve the control of public order in the cities. Cf. Otto von Guericke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht I*, 1868, pp. 358-409 as well as Gerhard Dilcher, "Die genossenschaftliche Struktur von Gilden und Zünften," 1985, pp. 76-79.

examples of restrictions on guilds and limitations (numerus clausus) placed on the numbers of master craftsmen in specific trades, see. Anke Sczesny, "Zunftkämpfe im Spätmittelalter," *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*. online. For examples from the city of Strassburg, cf. Von Heusinger, 2009. See also note xxiv.

Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*), François Quesnay, and even Max Weber were of the opinion that guilds had prevented the dynamic development of markets. *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 127, quoted in Von Heusinger, p. 13.

"Zunft ist eine nach der Art der Berufsarbeit spezialisierte Vereinigung von Handwerkern. Sie funktioniert indem sie zwei Dinge in Anspruch nimmt, Regelung der Arbeit nach innen und Monopolisierung nach außen. Sie erreicht, das, indem sie verlangt, dass jeder der Zunft beitrifft, der an dem betreffenden Ort das Handwerk ausübt."

Von Heusinger, 2009, 2013, in her study of the guilds in Strassburg, argues for the contrary point of view. She finds that the guilds provided a strong means of social mobility, which peaked around 1457, that their degree of coerced membership was low, and that they interacted freely with members of other guilds. She points out that 56 % of daughters married outside their father's guild.

Although Napoleon had been instrumental in abolishing the guilds in Germany, they continued until 1869-1871, when they were finally dissolved through the proclamation of the freedom of trades. Modern trade unions and associations of artisans constitute the legacy of the guilds. Cf. *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*, "Zunft". online.

cf. Margaret Wensky, "Die Frau in der Stadtgesellschaft," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, IV, column 865. München/Zürich, 1989. Isenmann, 2012, pp. 817-819.

For Meistersang, cf. Bert Nagel, *Meistersang*, Sammlung Metzler, 1962. Also Horst Brunner, "Meistersinger," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI, 1993. The best known illustration of the songs of the guild master Hans Sachs is found in Richard Wagner's great opera, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*.

to punish the city of Augsburg for its disloyalty in voting to become Protestant, Charles V dissolved the guilds in 1548 and appointed his own circle of magistrates or Ratsherren to the City council. The adoption of Protestantism was linked strongly with the guild movement and the tendency of guild members to do what they felt was right.

Bremen and Hamburg also happen to be strongholds of Protestantism and its ethic, which Max Weber linked with the spirit of capitalism. *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. 1934.

Other documents that were produced and played a major role was the Zunftbrief (the letter or certificate issued to each master) that attested to his authority in his trade in the city and the conditions/stipulations under which he was able to accept apprentices and journey men.

e.g., Reductions in guilds and in the number of craft masters occurred in Augsburg in 1397 and 1478. in Hamburg the city council set 200 as the maximum number of coopers, reduced their number further in 1458 to 150 through attrition, and cut this number again in 1506 to 120 (Isenmann, 2012, p. 518.) To keep a guild viable, it often set a numerus clausus on its own, admitting only a target number of apprentices, so as to enhance the viability of the guild and maintain the status quo of its master craftsmen.

Hans Sachs raises the issue of Gemeinnutz (the common good) in a number of his poems. See *Der Egen Nutz das greulich Thier mit sein zwoelff Eygenschaften*, Nürnberg: Merkel, 1553.

Мореведж Розмари (США, Нью-Йорк)

Гильдии ремесла как строители сообщества и гражданского общества в немецких городах в высшем и позднем средневековье

Аннотация. В 1250-1500 годах в Европе особое внимание уделялось градостроительству. Развитие торговли, рост производства привели к изменению статуса крупных городов. Руководители гильдий как ассоциации самоуправления начали распространяться как способ улучшения качества жизни. Торговые гильдии были предназначены для организации торговли, производства, качества продукции и ее продажи, безопасности, кредита, благосостояния и обороны города в первую очередь в интересах трейдеров, а также других ассоциаций.

Организованный в первую очередь для регулирования экономики и труда гильдии, также существует ряд других вопросов, связанных с такими ценностями, как ассоциативная культура, традиции, ориентированный на общины образ жизни, равенство и братства или солидарность в сообществе. Гильдии рассматривались как средство установления вежливости и предотвращения насилия в городе. С этой точки зрения они стали главным способом развития цивилизации. Регулярные социальные встречи членов гильдии давали членам чувство идентичности, статуса и чувства участия и принадлежности к активному сообществу. Крафт-гильдии в высшем и позднем средневековье стали частью экономической и социальной городской инфраструктуры, которая помогла построить сообщество и гражданское общество.

Французская революция и прибытие Наполеона в Германию официально закончили гильдии, но даже после Наполеона в некоторых городах гильдии сохранили и продолжили работу ремесленников в городах.

Возникновение ремесленных гильдий, важные взаимодействия, которые они поощряли среди городских жителей, их деятельность, функции и влияние на городское общество являются предметом этой статьи.

Ключевые слова: гильдия, динамичная экономика, Германия, Гамбург, бизнес, политическая власть, гражданское общество, правительство.

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Аннотация. 1250-1500 йилларда европада шаҳарсозликка алоҳида эътибор қаратилди. Савдо сотиқнинг ривожланиши, ишлаб чиқаришнинг ўсиши йирик шаҳарлар мақомининг ўзгаришига олиб келди. Ўз-ўзини бошқариш уюшмаси сифатидаги гильдиялар турмуш тарзини яхшилаш воситаси сифатида тарқала бошлади. Савдо гильдиялари энг аввало савдогарлар, шунингдек, бошқа уюшмаларнинг манфаатлари ҳимоясида савдо сотиқ, ишлаб чиқариш, маҳсулот сифатини ошириш ва уни сотиш, хавфсизлик, кредит, фаровонлик, шаҳарни ҳимоя қилишни ташкил қилиш билан машғул бўлган.

Энг аввало иқтисод ва меҳнатни бошқариш учун ташкил этилган гильдиялар, ўз навбатида, жамоа ичида ассоциатив маданият, анъана, жамоа турмуш тарзи, тенглик, биродарлик каби масалаларга ҳам эътибор қаратганлар. Гильдиялар ўзаро муомала ва шаҳарда зўравонликни бартараф этишни ташкил этувчилар сифатида ҳам фаолият олиб борган. Шу нуқтаи назардан, улар цивилизацияни ривожлантирувчилари ҳамдир.

Гильдия аъзоларининг доимий учрашувлари уларнинг идентиклигини, ўзларини фаол жамоа иштирокчилари сифатида ҳис қилишларига таъсир этган. Гильдия раҳбарлари олий ва кечги ўрта асрларда фуқаролик жамиятини яратишга ёрдам берган ижтимоий шаҳар инфратузулмаси ва иқтисодиётининг таркибий қисмига айланган. Француз инқилоби ва Наполеоннинг Германияга келиши билан гильдия фаолияти расман тугатилган, бироқ Наполеондан кейин ҳам баъзи шаҳарларда гильдиялар сақланиб қолган ва ҳунармандлар фаолиятини давом эттирган.

Ушбу мақола ҳунарманд гильдияларининг ривожланиши шаҳар аҳолиси шахслараро муносабатлари, шунингдек шаҳар турмуш тарзи сифатига таъсир этувчи омилларга бағишланади.

Таянч сўзлар: гильдия, динамик иқтисод, Германия, Гамбург, бизнес, фуқаролик жамияти, Француз инқилоби.