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ENGLISH SUMMARIES

JON MATHIEU, THE MOUNTAINS IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT. LESSONS FROM A COMPARATIVE VIEW

On July 25, 2002, historians from three continents met in Buenos Aires in order to discuss mountain urbanization in a comparative perspective. Their studies are assembled in this volume, the following article provides some general information and aims at drawing some lessons from the session. Otherwise than one might suppose with a subject related to the environment, the historical trajectories differed more strongly in the past than in recent times. The Andes, in early urbanization, surpassed each, the Himalayas, the Alps and the Pyrenees by far. Later on, modern development led to a spatial polarization that disadvantaged the mountain areas in all the cases examined. Despite this relative loss of position, the upland cities grew considerably in the 19th and 20th centuries. For mountain research the theme of the discussion is of particular importance, because it stresses the necessity of including history, and thus going beyond one-sided environmental approaches. Cities are the most obviously man-made feature of mountain landscapes.

CHETAN SINGH, URBAN PHENOMENA AND THE COMPARABILITY OF MOUNTAIN REGIONS. ANDES, ALPS/PYRENEES AND THE HIMALAYA

Urbanization is a phenomenon encountered in societies across the globe and should be especially suited, therefore, to cross-cultural studies. A comparative approach to research into urban development in distant mountain ranges – such as the Andes, the Alps/Pyrenees and the Himalaya – is very promising,

provided it does not succumb to the temptation of exaggerating convergences and simplifying the divergence. This article raises a few questions around which it may be possible to construct a comparative framework. It deals with ecological elements, the concept of trade interaction between highlands and lowlands, and colonialism. Colonialism was the single most influential factor that bound distant economies to a Europe-centred system of trade and production. A scheme emphasizing its role in the history of urban centres in mountain areas can probably form a basis of future research. It would, however, leave out significant regions and developments. Here the concept of “spatial polarization” in the context of modernization is of crucial importance.

HENRIQUE URBANO, CUZCO. THE DISCOURSE ON CITY FOUNDATIONS

The article examines the metaphorical constructions of Cuzco, the famous Inca capital in the Peruvian mountains, and the discursive production of the city in general. The starting point is an idea that for some time has established itself in public. It concerns the relation of a city-plan in the form of a puma, which was allegedly created by the Inca Pachacutec in the 15th century after a military victory and was used by him for the re-founding of Cuzco. The author presents certain episodes and elements that outline the genealogy of this discourse. He makes use, too, of iconographical sources and looks at connections, both to European and to Andean traditions. The first section deals with the chronicles of the 16th century, the iconography of the 17th century, and the travel literature and archaeology of the 19th and 20th centuries. The second section puts the mythical-historical foundations, respectively inventions, of Cuzco in a sequence. This serves finally the understanding of the city construction in general, also as an act of speech.

HERACLIO BONILLA, THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF POTOSÍ IN THE COLONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM

Potosí, in the South-West of the present-day Republic of Bolivia, amounted around the year 1600 to about 120'000 inhabitants, and thus belonged, despite its height of 4100 metres above sea-level, to the large cities of the world. The rapid growth of the city was a consequence of the discovery of the huge silver ore and of the importance attached to silver in the European economy. Potosí generated a large demand for labour, food and capital goods, and created thereby a vast market area. To satisfy the demand, numerous South American regions had to restrict their self-sufficiency and produce surpluses. Despite various transformations, the exchange system established in the 16th century was maintained during the whole colonial period. Historians, for a long time, remained concentrated on the effects of the precious metals in the European economy and ignored this «entry into the world of commodities» by the Indian population. Thus they overlooked, at the same time, the decisive role that the circulation of the money-commodity played in the making of a vast and dynamic colonial market.

MARÍA ESTHER ALBECK, VIVIANA E. CONTI, MARTA RUÍZ, BETWEEN THE ATACAMA OASES AND THE HIGHLAND OF JUJUY: CONNECTING-PATHS AND MOBILITY IN A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE

The region between Northern Argentina and Chile lies partly in the desert and displays extreme ecological differences. The settlement of the region started in an early period, yet remained steadily at a modest level. With this background, the authors are able to observe for long periods a way of life characterized by mobility and exchange between ecological zones, especially on the East-West axis. Signs of incipient urbanization appear already before the 15th century; on the whole, however, the mobility of the small human groups was a phenomenon averse to city formation and state control. With the expansion of the Incas and the subsequent power-takeover by the Spaniards, there began a period in which the North-South axis became

the dominant one. Along this axis there came about, from the 16th century, a politically induced urbanization. Politically induced were also the later urbanization processes within the framework of post-colonial nation-building, which now, more than previously, concerned the highlands, but, for the time being, transformed the old mobility patterns only partially.

**ALEJANDRO BENEDETTI, THE EFFECTS OF INCORPORATION.
TERRITORIAL CHANGE AND SETTLEMENT RE-ORGANIZATION
IN JUJUY, REPUBLIC OF ARGENTINA, IN THE 20TH CENTURY**

From 1880 to 1910 the international borders among Argentina, Bolivia and Chile were fixed. Since then Argentina possesses in the highlands sovereignty over a territory of approximately 150'000 square kilometres, that is governed by three provinces. The article examines the re-organization of the settlement pattern in the province of Jujuy since the late 19th century. This period brought about a considerable, yet unequally distributed, population growth: in the upland it was ten times smaller than in the lower-down valleys surrounding the provincial capital. The formation of new population concentrations and urban settlements was stimulated by the railway, by administrative and military establishments, and by the growing agro-industry. An important driving force for change was the political incorporation of the province into the state. So, in the end, this part of the Andes, which once had been the most populated region of present-day Argentina, became a marginal border region of the nation.

**CHETAN SINGH, RIVERBANK TO HILLTOP. PRE-COLONIAL TOWNS
IN HIMACHAL PRADESH AND THE IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE
ON URBAN GROWTH**

The present-day Indian State of Himachal Pradesh in the Western Himalaya consisted in the pre-colonial period of a number of small, independent principalities. The urban settlements were, as a rule, the seat of the political

and religious authorities of these principalities and lay in the important river-valleys, which made possible the control of more high-up territories. With the arrival of British colonial rule, the pattern of urban development changed. It became centered on the «hill-stations», which the new rulers planned and set up, from the 1820s onward, on certain hills. They served them for strategic purposes and, more and more, as refuges from the tropical climate of the lowland. Other than the old capitals of the principalities, the rapidly growing hill-stations were not integrated into the mountain society. The British exploited the local environment and, at the same time, used the vast resources of the whole Indian colony. Generally, one might say that the new cities on the hilltops derived from a specific mixture of political calculation, ethno-medical theories, colonial ideology, and the nostalgia of a foreign population.

RATTANLAL HANGLOO, LADAKH. CITY FORMATION IN A HIGH-MOUNTAIN REGION

Ladakh lies in the Western Himalayas, measures about 100,000 square kilometres, and – as a very high-up area – disposes of restricted environmental resources. The present contribution deals with the long-term developments of religious and political power structures and with the long-distance trade in the region, which were of importance for city formation. Other than in many parts of the Indian sub-continent with dense population, intensive agriculture and state structures based thereon, in Ladakh the long-distance trade played a great role in urbanization processes. The history of the region illustrates, too, the difficulties that were aroused for a weaker political entity in its relations with powerful neighbouring states. With the closing of the national borders in the 20th century, Ladakh became a peripheral territory of India that receives little attention from state authorities.

**SHARIKA KAUL, EUROPEAN COLONIAL POLITY AND
URBANIZATION IN THE 19TH-CENTURY HIMALAYAS.
THE KASHMIR EXAMPLE**

In the long and varied history of the cities in Kashmir the 19th century formed, without any doubt, a special period. After a time of stagnation and crises, the British colonial rulers took over power in 1846 and insisted more and more on reforms. It can be shown that the advance of the British accelerated the urbanization of the Himalayan region. Their presence affected not only the political structure, but had important economic consequences. The linking of the regional economy with the world market weakened the monopolistic control of the native rulers. The industry began to employ a large number of people, and the re-organization of the agriculture increased the surplus for the urban market, where demand was stimulated by the growing population. This, again, increased the social mobility and the interaction between city and countryside. The fact that Kashmir lies in the mountains delayed certain developments, but did not stop them.

**SHRAWAN KUMAR ACHARYA, POPULATION,
URBANIZATION AND TRADE IN THE STATE OF SIKKIM
(19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES)**

Sikkim lies in the Eastern Himalayas and is nowadays a State of the Indian Union. Around the year 1900, there were only 8 persons per square kilometre in the region, yet during the 20th century, the population grew, by immigration and natural increase, by almost ten times. Since 1950 the urban population also increased rapidly, from a bare 3000 to 60,000 people. Two thirds of them live in the capital Gangtok. In general, the distribution of the population and the cities in the region is very unequal. Historically and functionally the cities may be assigned to several types: centres of political and religious power; small market centres; settlements for long-distance trade. This trade was, above all, between Tibet and India. It increased strongly under the influence of British colonial rule since the 19th century, until it came to

an end with the closure of the borders by China in 1962. The demographic, economic and political factors created among the various ethnic groups of Sikkim a potential for conflict that endangers the pluralistic identity of this small mountain state.

FRANZ MATHIS, TRADE AND URBAN GROWTH. THE EXAMPLE OF THE AUSTRIAN ALPS

Cities often form the most dynamic and important factor in the socio-economic development of regions and their societies. Whoever seeks the profound causes for urbanization finds a series of conditions, which, however, all are to be traced back to the central role of population growth. In explaining the origin of towns in the Austrian Alps between the 12th and 14th centuries, one must attach great importance to transalpine trade. Further urban growth was, above all, favoured by central administrative functions and, since the 19th century, by industrialization. The services connected with administration, and the industrialization, offered new possibilities of employment for rural immigrants, whose purchasing power subsequently stimulated local and regional trade and, more recently, granted additional chances of urban growth. Altogether, the development of the towns in the Austrian Alps was not so much determined by geological or climatic conditions, but by population growth in connection with the aforementioned factors.

ANDREA BONOLDI, THE PLACES OF EXCHANGE. CITIES, FAIRS, AND MARKETS IN ALPINE REGIONS (18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES)

For quite some part of the urban centres in the Alps the commercial function played an important role. The cities were dependent on a constant supply of foodstuffs from the hinterland, and thus formed an outlet for the peasants' surpluses. In return, the cities offered artisan, administrative and religious services and, at the same time, guaranteed connection with the larger markets. Furthermore, by means of information exchange and contract

security, the cities often contributed to the reduction of transaction costs, which was of great importance for commercial activities. The extent and form of these activities were influenced by various factors: position within the system of traffic roads; size and composition of the urban territory; demographic structure; infrastructural and institutional setting. In this sense, there were also in alpine regions networks of small and large centres with functional specializations.

LUCA MOCARELLI, MILAN – AN ALPINE CITY? TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

The article examines the question whether Milan during the early modern period was in some way an alpine city. The qualification is justified by the intensive relationships with the nearby mountain valleys. These relationships concerned the exchange of agricultural and pastoral goods, raw materials, semi- and finished products, as well as the temporary migration from mountain regions into the city. Both sides profited thereby: for the metropole in the Po plain the position on transalpine traffic routes and between the economically complementary zones of the lowland and highlands belonged to the factors of its astonishing success; for the development of the alpine regions the contacts with a very lively, urbanized area offered decisive advantages. Many indications suggest that this close connection between the city and the mountain valleys was loosened as a result of the rise of the national state and of industry in the 19th century. The alpine economy thus was caught up in a crisis, whilst Milan lost some of its “alpinity”.

RENÉ FAVIER, THE BIRTH OF AN ALPINE CITY. GRENOBLE, 17TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

The perception of the mountain character of a city is subject to historical change. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the fact that Grenoble lay in an alpine environment had hardly been taken notice of in geographical descriptions.

Even in some pictorial representations, the city appeared without the impressive mountain ranges that surround it. It was not until the 19th century, and mainly after 1850, that the image of Grenoble as an alpine city began to confirm itself in the minds of the people and nowadays, for example, post-cards label it the “Capital of the Alps”. The article focusses on various factors that have led to this change: the military function of Grenoble; the growing tourism and alpinism; the electric power sector; and the university. At the scientific level, especially the foundation of the “Institut de Géographie Alpine” by Raoul Blanchard in the year 1906, shows how strongly the city now turned towards the Alps.

VICENTE PINILLA, MOUNTAIN ECONOMIES AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN SPAIN. THE DEPOPULATION OF THE ARAGONESE MOUNTAINS IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The Spanish region of Aragon is, to quite an extent, characterized by mountain landscapes: in the North it is the Pyrenees, in the South the Iberian mountains. Between 1860 and 1991 the mountain population decreased by more than half, whilst in the Ebro Valley the cities increased considerably. The change was a result of migration, which led many mountain dwellers to Zaragoza, and to more distant cities, such as Barcelona. The attraction of the large centres grew with industrialization. The author shows in detail how, and why, the agriculture of the mountain areas was not competitive within the developing vast markets, and, despite attempts at adjustment, found itself in a permanent state of crisis. The few small centres in the Pyrenees, too, were not able to prevent the downward trend. In many mountain districts of Aragon, nowadays, there are not even five persons per square kilometre. The whole region belongs to the European territories with the lowest population density.

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