

## 6 Urban commons in Alpine areas

### The case of the *Bürgergemeinde* Chur (Canton Grisons)

*Martin Stuber*

#### 6.1 Introduction

The Alpine city of Chur demonstrates a particular phenomenon of Swiss *Gemeindedualismus* (municipal dualism): From the Late Middle Ages until today the forests and pastures were owned by the citizenry, the later *Bürgergemeinde* (Corporation of Citizens), but from the late nineteenth century their utilisation has been a matter for the *Politische Gemeinde* (municipality of residents).

#### *The Bürgergemeinde Chur today*

Chur is the capital of the Canton of *Graubünden* (Grisons), and with 37,687 inhabitants is the sixteenth largest city in Switzerland.<sup>1</sup> This Alpine city is located at the entrance to the Schanfigg in the broad valley of the Alpine Rhine. It is the starting point of several mountain passes, which makes it a natural traffic hub, traditionally functioning as an important place of transit trade. Its topography is characterised by the river Plessur which cuts through the city and forms an alluvial fan, until it flows into the Rhine. A 35-metre-high rock rises from the alluvial plain, on which is the Bishop's seat. The territory of the city has its lowest point at 554 metres above sea level; the mountain slopes rise up to 1,885 metres above sea level. These steep slopes are mostly wooded and serve as protective forests. No less than 54% of the entire territory is woodlands; another 16% is used for agriculture.

As in most places in the Canton Grisons, there is a *Bürgergemeinde* (Corporation of Citizens) in Chur in the form of a corporation under public law, additional to the *Politische Gemeinde* (municipality of residents). About 15% of the inhabitants are members of the Corporation of Citizens. Its highest authority includes some 5,755 citizens who elect the 9 members of the *Bürgerrat* (Citizens Council, including the Mayor and Deputy Mayor), and the Audit Commission every four years. The administrative team, headed by the Scribe of the Citizens' Council is in charge of the operative business. There are special commissions for specific topics, consisting of four to six elected citizens, the most important of which are the Domains Commission, the Naturalisation Commission, the Budget Commission and the Commission in charge of

running the *Bürgerheim* (home for elderly people), and there are also the two Inspectors of the *Gemeindegüter* (full properties of the Corporation) The link between the authorities and the citizenry is the *Bürgerverein* (Association of Citizens), which has more than 2,100 members. When there are elections or other votes, the *Bürgerverein* organises general meetings to inform about and nominate the people who will run for office, and to decide about slogans. It furthermore organises cultural and social events.

The landed property of the Corporation of Citizens covers 4,212 ha and goes beyond the territory of Chur. More than 60% of the Corporation's lands are in other municipalities, particularly in Arosa (2,221 ha), which is about 25 kilometres away. Of the Chur territory 1,593 ha are owned by the Corporation of Citizens, comprising 57% of the 2,810 ha of the total area of the city. There are 18 farmers in Chur, and 11 lease their land from the Corporation of Citizens. The agricultural holdings of Chur include nine alps with more than 2,000 ha of pastures. These are also owned by the Corporation of Citizens, such as a number of *Maiensässe* (a particular kind of alp) which serve as seasonal pastures in spring and autumn. Leasing is via the *Bauerngenossenschaft*, as the organisation of Chur farmers, which elects one *Alpmeister* (alpine supervisor) for each alp, who then appoints a herdsman for that alp. The four cattle alps of Maran, Sattel, Carmenna and Prättsch in the region of Arosa accommodate 400 cattle, producing about 400,000 kg of alpine milk per summer. This allows the dairy of Maran, which the Corporation has leased to the Farmers' Cooperative and which is connected to the four cattle alps by a pipeline, to produce more than 35 tons of Alpine Cheese. Another 400 cattle, mother cows and calves, spend the Alpine summer on the young cattle alps of Campadiel, Wolfboden and Ochsenalp in the back part of the Schanfigg, La Motta at Mormorera and Starschagns at Oberhalbstein. Chur is closely connected to Arosa and is developed as a tourist place. Large parts of this well-known tourist destination have been built on property formerly owned by Chur, and two-thirds of the ski area are on the Chur Alpine pastures. (see Figure 6.1)

Only 5% of the property owned by the *Bürgergemeinde* (206 ha) is *Gemeindegut* (full property of the Corporation), which the Corporation has the exclusive right to use, as its historical origin is the *Bürgergut* (property of the full citizens) and the *Armengut* (property for the poor); today these are leased agricultural land as well as *Baurechtvergaben*, which means agreements on building rights, which grant the utilisation rights for a plot for a certain time against payment of a certain interest rate while the estate owner retains ownership. The *Bürgergemeinde* generates its main income in this way, to finance its social and cultural commitment to the City of Chur.

Of 95% of the property owned by the *Bürgergemeinde* (3,986 ha), on the other hand, the Corporation holds only property rights, but the administration is carried out by the municipality and the revenues flows into the municipality's finances. Accordingly, the Department of Building, Planning and Environment, which includes the section *Wald und Alpen* (woodlands and alps) of the *Grün- und Werkbetrieb* (Green Spaces and Maintenance Office), is in charge of their

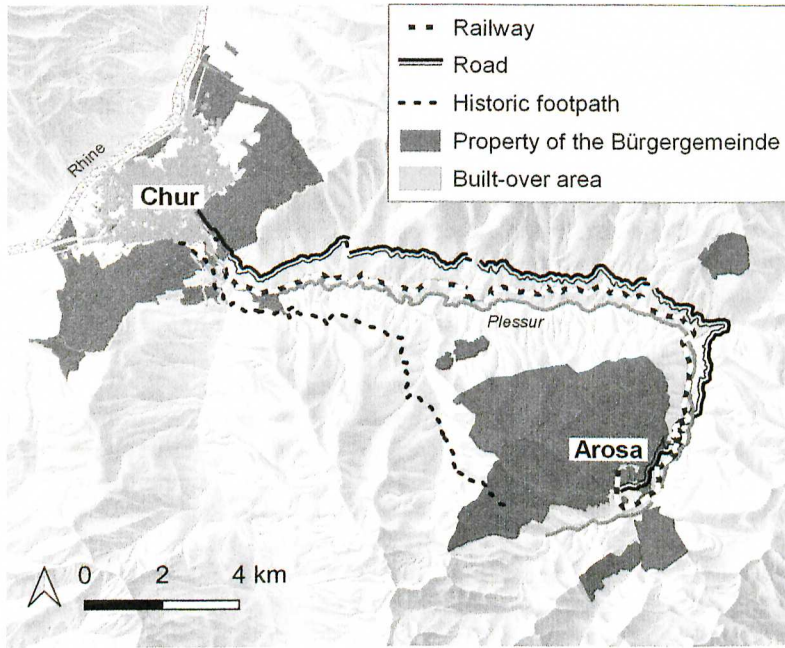


Figure 6.1 Map of the landed property of the *Bürgergemeinde* Chur today, including the Chur Alpine pastures at Arosa, in about 2018. Map compilation and design by Sarah Baumgartner, University of Bern; geodata source: Amtliche Vermessung (AV), Kanton Graubünden, 2020; hillshade: Relief PK50, reproduced with permission of Swisstopo (BA20043).

administration. They are supported by the Alps Commission, which consists of five members elected by the *Gemeinderat* (Municipal Council). According to the Alps Law of 2005, these members represent the different positions of Chur's alpine farming: the Corporation of Citizens has at least one representative, there is a representative for the municipal administrative section of the *Wald und Alpen* and one for the *Bauerngenossenschaft* (Farmers' Cooperative). Apart from providing *Realersatz* (purchase of new land as a real replacement for the land sold), the so-called *Bodenerlöskonto* (Land Revenue Account), into which most of the revenue from estate sold by the Corporation at Arosa is placed, serves most of all for improving the Alpine pastures, which in each case requires a joint decision by the *Bürgergemeinde* and the *Politische Gemeinde*.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Approach, research literature and sources**

Our starting point is a finding formulated in an important European comparative edited volume on *Rural Commons* (Grüne et al. 2016): in the *longue durée*

and particularly in the course of political, legal and economic transformations, common property underwent extremely different developments, from being dissolved to being integrated into the (post-) industrial structures of economy and constitution. In this context, changes in the utilisation of woodlands and pastures must preferably be interpreted as depending on multiple factors. The formerly predominant, purely demographic, patterns of interpretation, which assumed that the sustainability of the areas was determined by the natural space, must be replaced by socio-economic explanations, and completed by local and regional power constellations. One crucial initial factor, however, is the topography. The common property still existing today mostly consists of areas where the soil was less suitable for intensive farming, and which, according to Thünen's model of land utilisation, were located on the outer, unprofitable fringes of the spaces.

When considering the historical effect of topography, a *longue durée* perspective must be assumed, in order to examine the various transformations of the Chur citizenry and its way of exploiting resources. This long-term approach is in line with the way in which the actors under analysis understand themselves. *Bürgererrat* and President of the *Bürgerverein*, Martin Studer, explains: 'To judge what is done today, one must take a brief look into the rear-view mirror, to see what it was like in the past. And of course we are proud to say that the Corporation of Citizens is older than the *Politische Gemeinde*.'<sup>3</sup> In this historical way of understanding oneself it is of interest that the citizenry has always attempted to bring the consciousness of tradition together with adaptability. A former member of the Citizens' Council, Ruth Bianchi, identifies this combination as the secret of the success of the Corporation of Citizens: 'After all, the whole thing is running like a river, with new water coming and old water running downstream ... If only the tradition is continued and nothing is added, this isn't good.'<sup>4</sup>

Any long-term analysis of the Chur citizenry and their resources starts from a rich yet heterogeneous state of research. The history of the Corporation of Citizens is described in an overview by Enrico Giacometti which sheds some light on all essential aspects since the beginning of the municipal dualism (1875) (Giacometti 1999). Extensions and differentiations are to be found in the voluminous dissertation thesis by Simon Bundi who not only reconstructs for Chur the citizenry's political conflicts with the *Niedergelassenen* (residents) and later with the *Politische Gemeinde* (municipality), but also embeds them in the appropriate conflicts at Canton level (Bundi 2016). The *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte* (2000) gives a comprehensive overview of the Canton context, however only rarely referring to the municipal dualism. This gap is only partly filled by a short edited volume on the development of the Grisons communities from the Late Middle Ages until today (Hitz, Rathgeb and Risi 2011). The two-volume history of Chur provides both rich and differentiated information concerning the development of the citizenry and their commons from the Late Middle Ages until the end of the guilds regime in the mid-nineteenth century (Jecklin 1993). Schorta (1942) reconstructed the Chur

commons in the Late Middle Ages, and *the Churer Stadtbuch* gives some brief historical descriptions of Chur's forests, the Chur Alps and the Constitution of the City (Mohr 1953, Pieth 1953, Waldungen 1953). The state of research is consolidated by a more recent historical analysis of the city's spatial development (Fuchs 2011) and of the guilds regime (Wendler 2015, Wendler 2018). Stimulating in the Swiss comparison are analyses of the land policy at Chur in the second half of the twentieth century (Buchmann 1977, Gerber 2008). Embedding the citizenry's alpine farming and land policy at Arosa may rest on local history works which, however, only cover the period until the first third of the twentieth century (Just 1907, Maron 1934, Casti 1971). In the context of the SCALES project there are two exam papers from the field of social anthropology on today's collective cultivation of the Chur Alpine pastures (Stoinescu 2018, Andermatt, Freiburghaus and Koch 2019) as well as three historical analyses about the Corporation of Citizens since the nineteenth century, of the financial development, of the administration of the *Gemeindegüter* and of the land policy in the city (Brändli 2019, Moll 2020, Plüss 2020).

The *Staatsarchiv des Kantons Graubünden*, the *Stadtarchiv* and the *Archiv der Bürgergemeinde* provide an extraordinarily satisfying number of sources. For pragmatic reasons, printed sources were used first. This includes laws and decrees, as well as their drafts, reports by the administration to the Corporation of Citizens<sup>5</sup> and the municipality,<sup>6</sup> reports by the Canton's forest and alps administration, announcements and official statements by the authorities, forestry plans, as well as a number of printed publications from public discourse. Several local and regional newspapers were examined for specific periods for relevant topics, and most systematically the *Arosener Zeitung* and the *Bündner Tagblatt*. In addition to the written sources, six extensive oral history interviews were conducted with important actors of the Corporation of Citizens and the Chur municipality. These expert interviews on the more recent past and the current situation of the Corporation of Citizens were conducted in accordance with the jointly determined interview guidelines of the SCALES project, and have been transcribed in their entirety.

## 6.2 Transformation of the Corporation

The Chur citizenry looks back on a long history. In the course of emancipation from the Bishop, in the Late Middle Ages there developed the community. By the mid-fifteenth century it had consolidated to the guilds regime which lasted for almost four centuries. With the abandoning of the guild constitution, in 1840 there started a period of transformation characterised by conflict between citizens and residents. In 1875 this resulted in a new constitution for the city which, complementarily to the *Politische Gemeinde* (municipality of residents), constituted a *Bürgergemeinde* (Corporation of Citizens). Subsequently and to this day, the Corporation of Citizens has worked out its new role in the context of the municipal dualism in the twentieth century.

***Emancipation from the Bishop in the Late Middle Ages***

The topographic and constitutional starting point dates back to the fifth century. Since then Chur has been characterised by the classical dualism of the Bishop's residency and the market settlement below. The latter had moved from the Roman *vicus* of the 'Welschdörffi' on the left bank of the Plessur to the area immediately below the rocky plateau where the Bishop's court had been established. The full development into the Bishop's rule of the city was based on the privileges (e.g. market rights) granted by Emperor Otto I. in the second half of the tenth century. The background was the Ottonians' Imperial and Church policy, who made the bishops their most important supporters in the Empire and made them the sole rulers of cities (Bühler 1993a: 220–223, Fuchs 2011: 17–18).

Concrete indications of the formation of a community of citizens date from the thirteenth century, when for the first time the sources used phrases such as '*universi cives Curienses*' (1227) or '*cives et consules*' (1282). The developing organisation of the citizenry was still highly dependent on the Bishop, however. More influence for the citizenry resulted from the organisation of watch duty and the building of a city wall. The population of Chur, which in the thirteenth century was 1,000–1,500 people, consisted mostly of farming citizens, craftsmen and tradesmen benefitting from the lively building activities and Chur's favourable geographic location. The political emancipation of the citizenry developed fully from the late fourteenth century on. The first city statutes were created between 1368 and 1376. In a number of episcopal cities such developments ended with the city lord being expelled, such as in Basel and Lausanne. In Chur the *Hof* (court) was not completely incorporated into the city, which was not least due to the particular topographic location of the Bishop's residency (Bühler 1993b: 229–232, 250, Bundi 1993a: 266, Fuchs 2011: 22–23, Bühler 2015).

The emancipation of the Chur citizenry is embedded in the general movement of *communalisation* which arose in Late Middle Ages in the territory of Grisons. In the beginning neighbourhoods developed (*vicinitas*, *vicinantia*, *vischnaunca*) as groups of households, settling close to each other. The purpose of such associations was to peacefully organise the commons as a resource, that is, woodland, pasture and water, which was becoming scarcer, and to pass village statutes for this: in the form of alp and meadow statutes, and provisions about fences, walls, ditches, troughs and farm lanes. In the Bishopric of Chur the communal movement resulted in a corporative constitution. Under the name *Gotteshausbund*, in 1367 a representation of the estates developed which was characterised by a particular feature wherein, apart from nobility and clergy, citizens and peasants were also represented in the form of communities. Constitutional principles were fixed as we know them from the *Magna Carta libertatum* in England (1215): no administrator of the Bishopric was allowed to take office without the consent of the estates, real estate owned by the Bishopric was not allowed to be sold without their consent, the safety of castles

and thus the defence of the country were to be funded from the Bishopric's revenue and only in urgent cases would the country help by way of a tax it would levy (Bundi 1993b: 356–358, Sablonier 2000, Blickle 2011: 16–18).

### *Exclusive guilds regime in the Early Modern Period*

Installing the regime of the guilds was a crucial step in the emancipation of the citizenry, and provided the foundation of Chur's political, economic and social life for almost four centuries. The immediate starting point was the conflagration of April 27th, 1464, which destroyed most parts of the city, including the City Hall and the liberty charters. Chur sent his Scribe to Emperor Frederick III. in Vienna. This enterprise was successful. On July 8th, 1464, the Emperor issued a document which – in addition to confirming the liberties granted by him – allowed the citizenry the right to appoint a Mayor and the Council members, as well as to found guilds. Just one year later the Chur citizenry consolidated its extended self-organisation by way of the *Zunftverfassung* (Constitution of the Guilds) (1465).<sup>7</sup> All professions were incorporated into the five guilds of *Rebleute* (wine growers), *Schuhmacher* (shoemakers), *Schneider* (tailors), *Schmiede* (smiths) and *Pfister* (bakers). This provided the basis for the numerous guild statutes and decrees which were formulated according to the needs of the individual branches. Throughout the entire Early Modern Period Chur's economy moved most of all within the narrow frame of the guilds regime. In a city characterised by agriculture, the landowners from the Guild of Wine Growers as well as the *Säumer* (pack animal drivers) of the Guild of the Smiths, who participated in transit traffic, were highly influential. Accordingly, the Transport Statutes of the Guild of the Smiths (1592) regulated the entire transport business, which was economically very important for the city.

Beyond the realm of handicraft, the *Zunftverfassung* served as a city constitution, and the community met in the form of guild assemblies. Each guild elected eleven of their guild members to the Council, and they also elected a *Zunftmeister* (Guild Master) who was in charge of deciding on inner-guild matters. The *Elfer* (Eleven) from all guilds together formed the Extended Council. The fifteen members of the Small Council were elected by the Mayor, the Small Council and the Extended Council from the ranks of the Eleven, and together with the five Guild Masters they formed the Extended Small Council. Together with the Extended Council and the incumbent Mayor, the Extended Small Council appointed the new Mayor. This complicated election procedure, which here is given in a somewhat simplified way, shows how, generally, both urban regulations and those meant only for the guilds blended into each other. The *Zunftverfassung* provided the foundation on which the urban administration and the city's law were built. The path to membership of the two Councils, the Mayor's chair, and to other positions in the city was exclusively via the guilds. At the same time, however, the Mayor, the two Councils and the law court were superior to the guilds. The historian Uwe Wendler, the archivist of Chur and the foremost expert

of the guilds regime, concluded that the complexity of the system reflected the well-balanced power relations in the city, reserving important positions for certain circles among the citizenry and keeping other groups away: 'For the community was at best in theory but not at all in reality a community of people with equal rights, although the Guilds Constitution attempted to give this impression' (Wendler 2018: 41, Jecklin 1993a: 303, 314, Bundi 1993c: 462–464, Fuchs 2011: 44, Bundi 2015).

From the sixteenth century on it became apparent in Chur, as in other cities, that access to exclusive citizenship was distinguished by raising the prices to be paid for it, or by temporarily blocking it completely, and thus permanently limiting the other inhabitants of the city to a minor status. In the seventeenth century, only half of the population in Chur counted as full citizens. By the end of the eighteenth century, of the 3,442 people living in the city just 937 – that is, about one quarter – were full citizens.

Apart from the citizens, a great number of *Hintersassen* (socmen) lived in Chur without citizenship. They had no access to political positions and were allowed to make use of the commons land only in a very limited way. If the guilds had granted them the right to work with a craft, they had to pay a regular fee (guild's shilling), but they had no say concerning craft or guild matters. Taxable socmen at least had a temporary residence permit, but this was conditional on behaving well, and a minor violation of the laws could mean losing their residence permit for good. Among this group, which in the eighteenth century constantly numbered about 300 households, there were specialists such as armourers, pharmacists and even aristocrats who had come to the city as Huguenot refugees. The *ungestürten Hintersassen* (non-taxable socmen) held even more minor status, had only temporary residence permits, worked mainly as day labourers and were each accepted or sent away according to the interests of the citizenry. The citizenry's relationship with the *Hintersassen* was ambivalent: on the one hand, the citizenry craftsmen always feared the socmen as competitors, on the other hand the citizens could not do without the socmen, who bought their craft products, took over some of the watch duties, paid taxes and did inconvenient work. (see Figure 6.2)

Processes of exclusion targeted not only the socmen but even full citizens, as a few families increasingly monopolised access to the Council and other high positions. This restriction was not simply accepted, as demonstrated by a memorandum, for example, which in 1728 was handed in to the authorities by the majority of the citizens: in order to abolish corruption and clientelism in the context of elections, they demanded that ballots be secret in the future. The introduction of the *Klag-* or *Schmähsonntag* (Grievance or Defamation Sunday), which was introduced by proposal of the Guild of Winegrowers in 1737, also increased the permeability of citizenry and authorities. Now, guild assemblies were held one week before elections, where each individual could present their complaints and wishes, as far as they referred to the administration, and to the Guild Master who had then to present them to the authorities for deliberation, without giving the name of the claimant. Over the years





Figure 6.2 View of Chur from Haldensteiner Berg, taken by Johann Aschmann at about 1780. Stadtarchiv Chur, G I\_1.0004.119.

this developed into common law which was respected and tolerated by the authorities, but was never fixed in writing or adopted as city law. The Sunday before the annual elections served as a kind of wailing wall for all guild members who could not participate in government, as an opportunity to let out all their built-up anger towards the Council and the law court, and as an opportunity to vent grievances and make their own suggestions. The most frequent demand was to send away the socmen – who competed with the full-citizenship craftsmen – but also revisions of the city law were requested, and proposals for establishing an orphanage, a library or for financial recovery were made. The Council did not consider such complaints binding, however. After the guilds had several times complained about the Council not supporting their claims, the Council reacted in 1752 with a sharp written response, pointing out that, first, the unlimited exploitation of the woodlands, as demanded by the citizens, would be possible only at the expense of future generations and would furthermore inevitably result in landslides (see Section 6.3), and that, second, it was the citizenry itself which prevented any solution for the socmen problem (Bundi 1993a: 289–292, Jecklin 1993a: S. 316–318, Jecklin 1993b: 122–128, 136–144, Hilfiker 1993: 22–28, 58–59, Fuchs 2011: 34, 42, Bundi 2015, Hilfiker 2015).

***From exclusion to municipal dualism in the nineteenth century***

The invasion by the French as well as the Helvetic Revolution marked the end of the *Ancien Régime* (see Chapter 2). During the French occupation (for the first time in 1799), Chur was governed by a municipality government which abandoned any *Zunftzwang* (guild coercion). The Mediation of 1803 provided the guilds with political power again, but the old crafts privileges were limited. In spring 1804, the outrage of the craftsmen resulted in acts of violence. Two foreign carpenters had their tools smashed, the shops of some butchers were broken and meat was carried away. Only after intervention by the Canton authorities, to which the victims had turned, did the Council ensure that the stolen goods were returned. The guild coercion was also loosened in the Chur Trade Statutes of 1814, so that it allowed any Swiss (and French) citizen to settle in Chur and pursue a trade there. Apart from the crafts and trade statutes, however, the entire Guilds Constitution was subject to increasing criticism. There were complaints about the non-separation of powers, the sluggish administration and voting by guilds instead of by citizens. The ferocity of the struggle becomes obvious from the conflict about a paper against the Guilds Constitution, published anonymously in 1838, where the latter was called inappropriate: 'But still your shrinking citizenry is wearing the traditional armour of the constitution, out of which your shrunken cheeks and dying eyes are staring, to – be frightened by themselves.' The Chur citizen, who was later identified as Ludwig Christ, particularly demanded the abandonment of the indirect election system in favour of secret ballot at a general assembly of the citizens. He refuted the arguments of the opponents by pointing out appropriate historical experiences in Switzerland:

For centuries, in other valleys of Switzerland thousands of people assemble every year, to peacefully and orderly elect their authorities, and the 300 citizens you have tamed, jammed and taught to be obedient, actually slaughtered, for so long, are not supposed to come together and elect someone without the danger of high treason and blood and thunder?<sup>8</sup>

The attacked supporters of the Guilds Constitution responded in a similarly fierce way and declared the 'suspicions and accusations to be found in the diatribe nothing more than vicious and bold lies' (Metz 1991, Jecklin 1993b).

With the Constitution of the City of Chur (1840), the guilds lost both their political and commercial significance (§ 14). Apart from this fundamental change, however, the city's new constitution still included the *Klag- und Schmähsonntag*, which had been so important in the guild regime as an opportunity to let out suppressed anger, and has now been enshrined in written form for the first time: 'Any citizen may at any time present the authority with their desires, complaints or motions concerning public issues [...] The authorities will discuss them and present the next citizens' assembly with the results' (§ 5).<sup>9</sup>

However, the transition from the guilds to the citizens' assembly was clearly no solution to the lack of representation. The vast majority of Chur residents without full citizenship were still excluded from voting on municipality issues. There were two options for tackling this imbalance. On the side of the citizenry there was an attempt to make the purchase of citizenship easier. In 1835 an applicant still had to provide evidence of assets of 8,000 fl., 700 fl. *Einkaufsgebühr* for themselves, and another fee for unmarried daughters and underage sons; had to provide evidence of their good character and decent way of life; and had to join a guild to which they had to pay additional fees, and also 'he as well as his family has to acknowledge the Christian-Protestant Church, and have his children to be raised within that said Church.'<sup>10</sup> The citizenry loosened the conditions for purchasing membership several times, such as in 1845, when it was emphasised that the citizenry was supposed to be 'strengthened towards the outside and the inside [by way of] accepting good and useful citizens'.<sup>11</sup> In 1852 the citizenry transferred the authority to accept new citizens from the *Bürgerversammlung* to the Council to accelerate proceedings, and in 1866, not only was the fee reduced but all denominational restrictions were also explicitly abandoned.<sup>12</sup> However, success was limited: 73% of residents in Chur were without full citizenship in 1860 (Giacometti 1999: 100–103, Bundi 2016: 76).

On the other hand, there was an effort to extend municipal participation by way of amendments to the constitution. The lines of conflict ran along the contradicting models of the 'traditional-republican' civic society, with its roots in the pre-modern age and the 'liberal-universalist' civic society as it developed in the wake of the French revolution and the Helvetic Republic (Jäger 2000: 316–317, Bundi 2016: 83, 86–87, 93). In 1860, lawyer Julius Caduff, a resident of Chur, and 75 other signatories handed in a petition to the *Bundesrat* (national government). They requested that equal rights be granted to the residents concerning the use of the municipality's assets. When this petition had no effect, Caduff reacted through a printed publication, in which he gave detailed reasons for the establishment of a municipality of residents.<sup>13</sup> He countered his opponents' argument, according to which the residents were not at all oriented towards the common welfare, by saying: if the virtues of citizens were so much reduced to the interests of each citizen's own community that they would become non-existent already in the neighbouring village, 'then it would truly be a good thing if such a philistine and outdated attitude came to an end as soon as possible!' By constituting civic society not according to a corporation but to the individual, Caduff followed the liberal-universalist model which was typical of the democratic movement as it could be identified in many cantons at that time. In the same way, 18 residents petitioned the *Schweizerische Bundesversammlung* (Swiss National Parliament) in 1865 to grant them the right to vote on municipal issues by way of federal law. In explanation they lamented the intolerable situation in the Canton Grisons, in their opinion, which, they stated, treated the residents as 'a class of humans without rights' and exploited them financially. Although this petition was also

unsuccessful, it resulted in serious tensions in Chur and forced the authorities to look for a local solution (Giacometti 1999: 12–16, Bundi 2016: 80–92).

On June 30, 1866, the Council published a draft constitution accompanied by a message which outlined and substantiated in more detail their proposal for moderately extended participation. First, they stated, along with ‘increasing traffic’, there was strong growth in the number of those residents of the city who were not full citizens; and second, given the poor financial state of the city (high taxes, debts), the desire of the residents to participate was more than understandable. At the same time, however, they emphasised that the ‘unity of the community’ was to be maintained, for it was important to ‘maintain at any rate the full-citizen-element as the core of the community’. On the whole, the scope of this revision was much emphasised, by historically placing it among the fundamental decisions in the city’s history: ‘Since our City’s emancipation from the Bishop’s dominion and since the introduction of Reformation, the citizenry of Chur have not dealt with an issue of such importance.’<sup>14</sup>

On August 26th, 1866, the citizenry, which was solely entitled to decide, rejected the motion with a great majority, and they rejected two similar reform proposals from the authorities in the following two years. The contradicting opinions are illustrated by the fierce reaction to these negative decisions by citizen Peter Jacob Bauer in the *Bündner Volks-Zeitung*. The citizenry of Chur, he said, consisted of too many ‘nitpicky philistines’ who had an interest in the city’s politics only if it was about ‘wood, commons and Alpine pastures’. It was absurd, he said, that in Chur often only 100–120 full citizens were sufficient for an outright majority of votes, and even fewer in elections, to then govern ‘more than 7,000 souls’.<sup>15</sup>

The authorities became increasingly puzzled, and on May 2nd, 1868, they called on the citizenry. They stated that ‘there are very different opinions about the nature and direction of these proposals’ and asked ‘associations and private persons to hand in their motions in this concern within 3 weeks’. Five detailed proposals were handed in, the majority of which spoke out against the creation of a *Politische Gemeinde* but wanted to make naturalisation easier (Giacometti 1999: 16, Bundi 2016: 82). Accordingly, on April 9th, 1870, the Council prepared a bill concerning the easier purchase of citizenship, in the context of which the fee was supposed to be reduced from 1,000 to 600 Francs. The Council commented on the results of the survey and placed it in the wider context of communication: ‘The negotiations and voting results at the assemblies of citizens, the proposals and petitions handed in, the voices to be heard from the citizenry and the press contained hints we would not like to go unheard.’ Easier naturalisation, they said, was the right decision, as on the one hand it allowed for the joining of new, stimulating elements and on the other hand maintained the principle of full citizen, for the citizenry had ‘since times of old been a source of patriotism, devotion and self-confident civism’.<sup>16</sup>

The motion was passed by the citizenry but did not solve the participation deficit; a total of 66 people made use of the opportunity for easier naturalisation, which meant a moderate growth of just 3.5%. A motion was made by

the *National- und Grossrat* Rudolf Planta, which was declared significant by the *Grossrat* (Great Council) of the Canton Grisons – not least against the current background of the total revision of the Federal Constitution – which, apart from improving the voting status of the residents, also demanded a more just regulation of the commons. On February 1st, 1874, the resulting Law on the Settlement was passed by the people in a Canton-wide vote, with 6,553 in favour and 3,037 against. Therewith, the residents were obliged to ‘bear all taxes and burdens like any citizen’, taxation only being allowed if the revenue from the property of the full citizens was not sufficient to cover the needs of the municipality (§ 14). Every Swiss-resident citizen was granted suffrage concerning municipality matters, although suffrage was still limited to full citizens in issues concerning granting citizenship, *Armengut* (property for the poor), *Bürgerlöser* (distributed parts of the commons) and the selling of corporation property (§ 16).<sup>17</sup>

In the course of working out the bill, a fear of creating a dualism between the *Politische Gemeinde* (municipality of residents) and *Bürgergemeinde* (Corporation of Citizens) had been a major point of discussion. On the one hand, the smaller communities were believed to be too weak to establish double authorities. On the other hand there was a fear that by creating a Corporation of Citizens the new municipality of residents would become financially incapable. Notwithstanding all assertions by the special parliamentary commission, however, the division of the community into two distinct election and voting bodies was predetermined by the Canton’s new Law on the Settlement. In Chur, the implementation of the municipal dualism became really exemplarily obvious (Giacometti 1999: 16, Schuler 2011, Bundi 2016: 92–106). All Corporations of Citizens in Grisons had been told to adjust their statutes to the Canton’s new Law on the Settlement, and the constitution commission of Chur presented a new constitution for the city which was passed by the assembly of residents on March 7th, 1875, with 408 in favour, 285 against and 55 abstentions. In the *Kleiner Stadtrat* (Small Council – executive) four full citizens and three residents were represented, and in the *Grosser Stadtrat* (Extended Council – legislative) 14 full citizens and 11 residents.

The *Vermögensaufteilung* (Distribution of Assets) of the City of Chur was a difficult enterprise. In their message to the citizenry concerning their draft inventory, the Council emphasised that all rejected proposals had lacked a clear foundation for basic law. Only now, through the Canton’s Law on Settlement, and the revised Federal Constitution of that same year, was it clear which regulations the city’s constitution had to keep. The departing administration had to provide the newly elected bodies with an overview of the financial status ‘which must at first be passed by the citizenry before it may be presented to the municipality’. In this context, they stated, everything would have to be done to maintain the *Amort der städtischen Schulden* (1869), by way of which the citizenry had ‘voluntarily accepted burdens to terminate this awful financial mess’. Previously the revenue from the woodlands had provided more than

two-thirds of the amortised contributions; now the city administration was supposed to receive another 10,000 Francs from forestry.<sup>18</sup>

One month later the draft inventory was discussed at the assembly of citizens. Due to criticism that woodlands and Alpine pastures were listed as property of the municipality, which, it was said, went too far even according to the Canton's Law on Settlement, the majority of the 212 full citizens present voted against the inventory. Three months later a new draft was passed which included the amendment that 'alps and woodlands were to be considered *Bürgergut* (property of the full citizens) for the inventory'. It also said that although the Corporation of Citizens was no longer involved in the administration, as the owner it was nevertheless 'fully entitled to determine the relevant economic regulations for administering'. Accordingly, in the message to the inhabitants of July 7th, 1875, the Assets of the City of Chur were distributed as follows:

- Assets of the municipality (Inventory No. I): buildings (e.g. City Hall, Municipal School House, churches), real estate (e.g. orchards, field on the Rhine, Rossboden), movables (e.g. stalls, military goods, fire-fighting equipment), stocks (mostly railroad shares), funds (e.g. fund for the building of hospitals)
- Property owned by the Corporation of Citizens (Inventory No. II): woodlands and alps, amendments to forestry plans and alp statutes depending on being passed by the citizenry but revenue being delivered to the General Municipal Treasury, after having deducted expenses for general administration
- *Gemeindegüter* (full properties of the Corporation) and *Armengut* (property for the poor) of the 'citizenry and particularly its administration and utilisation' (Inventory No. III).<sup>19</sup>

The Distribution of Assets was constitutive for the Corporation of Citizens as an autonomous entity. On May 4th, 1876, the Citizens' Council passed a Provisional Regulation of the Corporation Administration of the municipality, which served as a basis for employing a Scribe of the Citizens' Council (Giacometti 1999: 42, 175, 190–192, Mohr 1953, Bundi 2016: 109–110, 129–132).

### ***The new role of the Bürgergemeinde in the twentieth century***

Even after the municipal dualism had been created, the assemblies of citizens at first remained as the crucial body of the Corporation of Citizens. Due to the assemblies of citizens being sparsely attended, all matters were decided by way of ballot after 1894, and there was only one assembly per year of the citizens, which had to decide about the accounts being passed by the administration and the yearly accounts (Giacometti 1999: 29–30). Finally even this assembly was abandoned. In general, the Administrative Regulations for the Citizenry (1923) stated: 'Votes and elections are secret, at the ballot' (§ 4).<sup>20</sup> The regulations of

1923 – partly amended in 1995 and 2002 – served as the basis of the inner organisation and were replaced by new statutes as late as in 2014, determining the way in which the Corporation of Citizens is organised today.<sup>21</sup>

Immediate contact between the citizenry and the authorities it elected was lost due to the disappearance of the assembly of citizens. This gap was filled by the *Bürgerverein* (Association of Citizens). Its President, Martin Studer, emphasises its function as a mediator due to the new statutes of 2014, which once more shifted decision-making from the citizenry to the authorities.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the Association of Citizens had an interest in maintaining sociality. The one-day trips, for which there is evidence since 1914, went mostly to one of the Chur alps or to a *Maiensäss* (seasonally cultivated alp). According to its own wording of 1950, the Association of Citizens considered these trips served the purpose of ‘supporting once again the adherence to the ancient traditions, supporting the love of the home region, and maintaining coherence among the citizens’ (Bundi 2016: 286–294). Martin Studer also considers the significance of the *Bürgerverein* over which he presides to be the maintaining of tradition, which he contrasts with increasing virtual communication: ‘We attempt to make the people somewhat more familiar again with traditional values. I find that, given all digitalisation and the internet, many need opportunities to meet “face to face”’<sup>23</sup> The Association of Citizens still organises ‘a trip to one of the Chur alps every two years, and the participants are offered something to eat, soup, roast meat, and the like. Then up to 400 people go walking up there.’<sup>24</sup> The *Bürgerverein* offers these trips as well as a number of other occasions, such as a New Year’s meeting at the City Hall, and fondue with Chur alpine cheese in a tent on Kornhausplatz for 500 people<sup>25</sup> (see Figure 6.3).

The number of citizens remained more or less constant from the constitution of the *Bürgergemeinde* (1875), until the end of the twentieth century, while the number of residents more than quadrupled. As a result, the percentage of the citizens fell from just under a quarter to one-twentieth. Since 2000, however, the trend has been reversed (see Table 6.1).

In the 1980s and 1990s, a number of applications for citizenship by people with a migration background were rejected by the citizens at the ballot box,

Table 6.1 Development inhabitants/citizens

	<i>Residents</i>	<i>There of citizens</i>	<i>Citizens in % residents</i>
1876	8,177	1,889	23
1900	11,718	1,564	13
1925	15,240	1,650	11
1950	19,277	1,677	9
1975	33,236	1,509	5
2000	33,728	2,351	7
2019	37,687	5,755	15

Sources: Giacometti 1999: 28; VB BG 2000:9; VB BG 2019: 23.



Figure 6.3 Fondue organized by the Association of Citizens, on the Kornhausplatz in Chur 2017 <https://der-buergerverein.ch/veranstaltungen/>.

which led to external and internal criticism. In the 1982 administrative report of the *Bürgergemeinde* it is regretfully stated:

the fact that in the two votes six young and hopeful foreigners born in Chur spent their childhood in Chur, went to school in Chur, enjoyed their education in Chur in whole or in part, spoke Chur German and did not speak the language of their original home country, with which they no longer have any relationship, were rejected, is a sad fact and makes one think.<sup>26</sup>

Due to the decision of the Federal Supreme Court,<sup>27</sup> according to which naturalisations at the ballot box are unconstitutional (2003), the Corporation of Citizens transferred the naturalisation competence to the Citizens' Council in 2004.<sup>28</sup>

Even before that, the *Bürgergemeinde* had already launched a naturalisation campaign in 2001, where it sent out over 8,500 personal invitations to Swiss people who had been resident in Chur for at least 25 years; within six months the number of citizens had almost doubled. In the administrative report of the *Bürgergemeinde*, this success is commented on as a necessity:

The marked increase in the percentage of citizenship in the total population was also urgently needed, as the Corporations of Citizens were repeatedly reproached for having a high level of competence, but being only a small minority that could make exclusive decisions on important general business.<sup>29</sup>



A second intensive advertising campaign, *Khur – mini Stadt*, was run in 2009 with great support from the media (articles, interviews, film reports),<sup>30</sup> and a third in 2019. Flyers informed 13,000 households in Chur about the possibility of being able to apply for membership in the Corporation of Citizens in an administratively simplified form for only 300 CHF per application. The campaign lasted six months and was aimed at all Swiss people who fulfilled the legal requirements at that time.<sup>31</sup> The result of this is the current citizenship share of 15%.

In the Canton Grisons the position of the Corporations of Citizens and its relationship to the municipalities has been legally clarified since the *Gemeindegesezt* of 1974<sup>32</sup> and was consolidated with the current *Gemeindegesezt* of 2017,<sup>33</sup> after previous attempts via cantonal votes in 1945 and 1966 failed (Schuler 2011, Bundi 2016: 183–293). The financial flows between the Corporation of Citizens and the municipality were closely examined in the *Leistungsüberprüfung* (2013, performance audit), and adapted to the cantonal legislation.<sup>34</sup> Despite this secure legal foundation, today's exponents of the Corporation of Citizens are concerned about their public legitimacy. Martin Studer notes: 'With the current political discussions and currents in which the existence of the *Bürgergemeinde* is being questioned, I believe that we must communicate what we are doing much more actively so that we have a right to exist.'<sup>35</sup> Marco Caduff puts it similarly when he wants to emphasise more strongly the role of the Corporation of Citizens as a provider of funds for social and cultural purposes: 'If you give the money, you want people to know that you give it.'<sup>36</sup> For Reto Mani, it is above all important to make visible those services that are complementary to the local community, so that in 10 or 20 years someone could say: 'If it weren't for the Corporation of Citizens, we wouldn't have it now.'<sup>37</sup> The *Bürgergemeinde* implemented these goals together with an advertising agency in the form of a new website, among other things, which focused on the commitment of the Corporation of Citizens to the quality of life in Chur.<sup>38</sup>

### 6.3 Transformation of the forest economy

Since the beginning of the independent development of the city in the Late Middle Ages the Chur forests have been owned by the citizenry respectively the Corporation of Citizens. In the long run, the superior principle of sustainability is realised by way of different and sometimes contradictory goals, which indicates how fundamentally the energetic foundations of 'agrarian society' (solar energy), 'industrial society' (coal imports) and 'consumption society' (global availability of mineral oil) have changed (see Chapter 2).<sup>39</sup>

#### *Exclusive supply with natural products in the 'agrarian society'*

The first comprehensive forest statute of Chur was passed by the Council in 1766. It banned everything from the lower forest areas, which were closer to the city and were thus overused, except for collecting *Windfall* (scrawny

branches on the ground). In the upper parts cutting firewood was still permitted for private purposes. Collecting dry leaves and moss was allowed if ‘done modestly’, but not the use of needles and grass. These forest statutes were passed by the Council but rejected by the guilds. Their resistance must be interpreted in the context of the ancient idea of woodlands as shared property. Whereas the Council considered itself the superior owner, having the authority to supervise, the guild members based their exploitation of the forest on a historically grown network of individual written concessions and customary rights (Spinatsch 2005: 17–21). What made this conflict socially explosive was the previous reduction of the guilds’ regime to only a few families (see Section 6.2).

Legal texts from the Early Modern Period are fruitful sources, not only because they could affect practices but also as declarations of postulated intentions. Accordingly, bans on traditional ways of exploiting woodlands, such as wood pastures or collecting plant litter, are often less indications of successfully suppressing them but rather, on the contrary, evidence of their existence (Ernst 2000; Stuber and Bürgi 2012). From this point of view, the printed *Forst- und Waldordnung Löbl. Stadt Chur* (1791), which also was not met with agreement by the guilds because of their resistance to any professional forest inspector, will be assessed in more detail.<sup>40</sup> The superior maxim was formulated right at the beginning of the forest statutes, that is ‘not to expose our innocent descendants to deprivation’. This implicit sustainability principle found expression in the intention to ‘provide the citizenry with ever more and cheaper timber and firewood’, in the context of which the *Bürgerholz* (the guaranteed yearly amount of wood for the citizens) could not be sold to third parties (§ IX). A continuous supply was supposed to be realised on the basis of a ‘geometric measuring of the width and height of all their woodlands’ (§ I). This was intended to provide for a sustainable structuring of woodcutting, as also presented in the Outline of the *Unterthor Woodlands of the Worthy City of Chur*.<sup>41</sup> The 13 forest districts were structured into a total of 339 *Jahresstriche* (yearly cuttings), and these again into two or three *Holzschläge* (woodcuttings) each. Given a turnover of 100–120 years, sustainable exploitation allowed for three cuttings every year. To guarantee protection against landslides and avalanches, however, this possible yearly area had to be distributed over a total of none yearly cuttings, in the context of which only one cutting took place (§ II). The reforestation of lumbered areas was not supposed to be ‘left to the arbitrary workings of nature’ but to be purposefully supported by clearing and seeding. The city’s foresters were supposed to acquire the necessary knowledge ‘by way of purchasing the most indispensable new books published in this science’, and foresters were needed who did not ‘understand forestry in the traditional ways but as a science’ (§ XI, XXXI). Every September a deputation from the Council had to assess the intended cuttings on site and to estimate how much wood was to be expected. After deducting what was to be given to the municipal administration and the almshouse, the amount left could be distributed among the citizenry (§ VII).

By attempting to connect the *Bürgerholz* to the long-term harvest of the city’s woodlands, the primacy of sustainability was postulated for the first time.

Chur's forest economy thus proves to have been part of the reform movement towards a science-based, sustainable production of wood which was spreading across Europe at that time (see Stuber 2020). At the same time, however, the Chur *Forst- und Waldordnung* of 1791 may be read as evidence of the comprehensible supply function – typical for 'agrarian society' – which went far beyond securing the citizens' needs for timber and firewood. This becomes obvious from the differentiated information about types of wood. Socmen were also allowed to take the branches, *Spitzlinge* (treetops) and sticks remaining after the production of wood (§ IV). The alluvial forests on the banks of the Rhine provided firewood for heating the City Hall and water-resistant alders for protecting the banks, as well as for wooden water supply mains (§ 3). Young birches were used for brooms, bushes for fascines, and fir as well as larch branches were woven into fences (§ XIV–XVII). Additionally, many forms of agrarian use can be described. Wide areas of the city's woodlands served as pastures; and now the forest statutes ensured that areas with trees younger than 20 years would not be used as pastures (§ XIII). The production and utilisation of resin, pitch and tar was also regulated (§ XIX–XXII). The collecting of plant litter was regulated in most detail. Basically, this was only allowed in areas with trees older than 40 years, and only for current private use but not for stockpiling or sale. Exclusively reserved for the citizenry were the forest districts in the closer vicinity 'which are most convenient for them. Only the further forest districts were open to the socmen for collecting plant litter (§XVIII).

How indispensable these agrarian ways of exploiting woodlands were during the 'agrarian society' is clear from the fact that violations of these regulations were at that time hardly sanctioned. A comprehensive analysis of the Chur court files shows that plant litter offences were systematically recorded at the *Stadtvogtegericht* only from 1800 on, and pasture offences only from 1830 on (Spinatsch 2005: 33).

### *Municipal financial resource in the 'industrial society'*

In the course of the nineteenth century the city woodlands as an exclusive supply for the citizenry was transformed into a municipal financial resource. Whereas only in the last third of the century was access granted beyond the exclusively entitled citizenry, the gradual reorientation of the sustainability goal from supply to monetary return had already started in the first half of the century. One trigger was the *Forstordnung des Kantons* (1839) which obliged the communities to devise regulations for their woodlands (§ 20).<sup>42</sup> In 1842, the Council of Chur suggested such a forest law to the citizenry. It explained the need for this as the yearly deficit of forestry was, it said, due to the large amount of cheap *Bürgerholz*. Part of the yearly harvest of wood should be sold freely, it was stated, in order to balance the accounts (Waldungen 1953: 163). Only a modified Proposal was met with agreement. The introduction spoke of a 'regulated cultivation and exploitation of our forest property', giving expression to the shift from natural revenue to monetary revenue. At the same

time, however, supply priorities were still fixed. The need for firewood and timber of the administration and public institutions were to be supplied first from the forest revenue (§ 2). In the next step, the Council had to fix the size of the *Bürgerholz*, based on an assessment by the forest commission (§ 3). The surplus was only to be publicly auctioned among the citizenry in the last step (§ 7). Citizens who were residents of Chur, as well as the widows of citizens, were entitled to a complete *Holzloos* (lot of wood) – for 15 Francs. Unmarried women with citizen status and living in their own households were entitled to half a *Holzloos* (§ 4). Tax-paying residents living in their own households were also entitled to half a *Holzloos*, however only ‘as long as nothing else is required from the side of the worthy citizenry’ (§ 5). Being supplied with plant litter – for 15 kreutzers a cart load – was reserved only for those entitled to a complete *Holzloos*, the total amount being fixed by the forest commission (§ 8).<sup>43</sup> Also subject to the verdict of the forest commission was grazing on wood pastures, which was now allowed only in those forest districts where it was considered ‘not disadvantageous to the forest culture’. Possible claims to grazing rights by other communities or private people were supposed to be ‘claimed, investigated and stated in an appropriate way, and those which seem to be legal [are] supposed to be released, if possible’ (§ 11), according to the above-mentioned forest statutes of the Canton (1839).<sup>44</sup>

The Forest Policing Ordinance (1846) was passed one year later to sanction any violations of the ‘forest-appropriate treatment’ of the city woodlands, which were published in Chur’s official gazette. It was also distributed among the communities in the vicinity, ‘so that any evildoers can no longer pretend not to have known’. Without the permission of the forest inspectors and forest wardens, who had been sworn in by the city, nobody, ‘neither citizen nor resident’, was allowed to make use of anything coming from the forest (§ 2). Anybody who was encountered in the forest away from the common paths wearing ‘a cutting or sawing weapon bigger than a common pocket knife’ was considered an evildoer (§ 4). A number of traditional ways of exploiting the forest were explicitly mentioned as punishable violations if used without written permission, such as collecting forest fruits, moss and stones (§ 5), taking away minor assortments of wood (slips, sticks, windfalls), as well as making plant litter, resin and juice (§ 6). A double fee was to be paid for deeds committed on Sunday and holidays, or during conflagrations, and the fees for deeds committed between dusk and sunrise were raised by another pound (§ 10). In cases of recurrence the fee doubled, and the socmen were expelled from the city after the fourth recurrence (§ 11). Parents were held accountable for violations committed by children younger than 16 (§ 12). Every month the forest wardens had to hand in their diaries to the forest inspector, ‘where they exactly record the violations, giving all the details’ (§ 14).<sup>45</sup>

The Chur forest economy was praised for its successful combination of professionalisation and repression by the Canton’s forest administration, as a pioneer achieving the highest net revenue. In its Report on the Administration of the District it stated:

However, for the time being, all over the Canton it has been possible to speak of appropriate forestry only in the City of Chur which is thus ahead of all other communities, giving a praise-worthy example and thus achieving the greatest return from its woodlands.

The same report lamented that the neighbouring communities of Haldenstein and Maladers were lagging far behind concerning forestry. There, it said, was a 'terrible mess', as many inhabitants of these municipalities were 'striving for unlawful gain' and were not prevented from trading in wood with the nearby City of Chur.<sup>46</sup> The reporting author was Johann Coaz, who had been the Canton's *Oberforstinspektor* and later Superior Forest Inspector of all Switzerland. Coaz and Elias Landolt were the leading duo shaping Switzerland's forest policy until the end of the nineteenth century and firmly rooted sustainable forestry at the national level.<sup>47</sup> It was Coaz who, in 1854, together with Chur City forester Sixtus Camenisch, worked out the first *Wirtschaftsplan* (business plan) for the city woodlands. The core of this plan was the determination of the yearly, sustainable amount of wood to be cut. This depended on the exact mapping of the age of a tree population at a given date.<sup>48</sup> The first finding was that especially in the lower districts of the City forests 'too many trees had been cut down, so that they had to be careful'; the plan provided for the exploitation of the upper areas and pointed out the necessary improvement of transport routes. In retrospect, this business plan was the starting point for the comprehensive exploitation of Chur's city forests (Waldungen 1953: 164).<sup>49</sup> In the 'agrarian society' the principle of spatial closeness and distance resulted in a patchwork of different degrees of exploitation – which from today's ecologic point of view must be considered an advantage – whereas a network of transport routes and systematic planning is used in 'industrial society' for a homogeneous degree of exploitation. (see Figure 6.4)

The Distribution of Assets (1875) which left the property rights to the city woodlands with the Corporation of Citizens but attributed the exploitation rights to the municipality was crucial for the transformation from woodlands exclusively for the benefit of citizens to a municipal financial resource (see Section 6.2). Under these new auspices, the *Forstordnung der Stadtgemeinde Chur* (1886)<sup>50</sup> continued the development towards a market-oriented forest which was supposed to generate monetary return, whose revenue, however, no longer exclusively benefitted full citizens, but all residents. Within the 'limits of the revised forest statutes' (1877)<sup>51</sup> there was an attempt to 'increase the value and yield capacity of the entire City woodlands'. The business plans with the fixed yearly amount of wood to be cut were usually presented to the Citizens' Council for assessment according to whether 'the sustainability of the woodlands was not affected' (§ 1). Within the fixed scope, however, the actual amount per year had to be oriented at the respective market situation: 'in case of high prices for wood more shall be sold, and less in the case of low prices' (§ 8). As always, the yearly harvest of wood was used for, first, covering the needs of the municipal administration and poor welfare, second, for handing

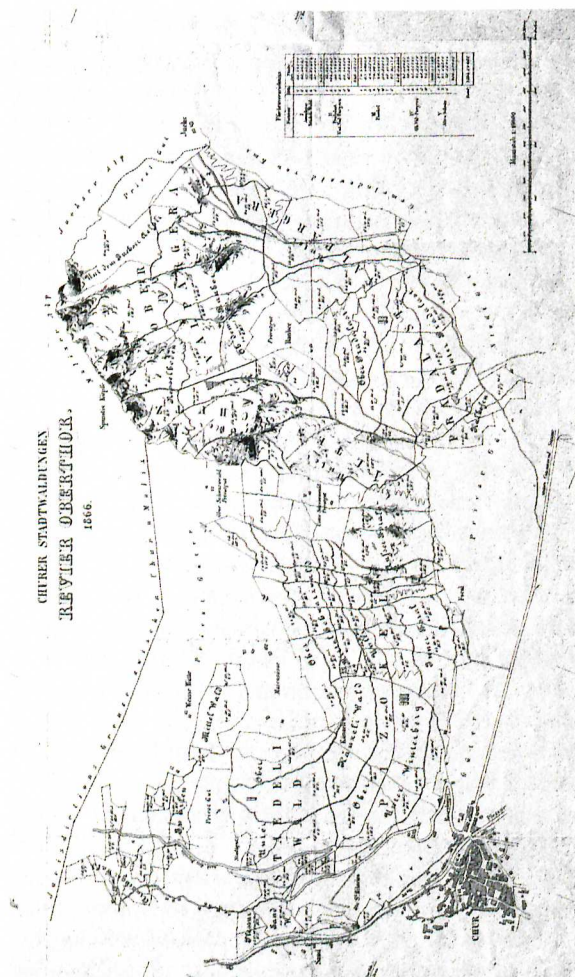


Figure 6.4 The Chur municipal forests, Oberthor District (1866) are divided into districts Stadelwald (I), Pradalast Val Parghera (II), Pizokel (III) and Obere Val Parghera (IV), departments (Arabic numerals) and subdivisions (attached lower-case letters). The latter are marked with the age of the stock in a kind of *Altersklassen-Verfahren* and assigned by a Roman numeral (I, II, III, IV) to a certain period of time in which the stock is to be used. Kantonsbibliothek Chur, KBG K III 64.

out the *Bürgerholz* – 30% below the market price – and third for selling the surplus. It was new that now the latter took place not only among the citizenry but on the free market (§ 9, 12). The agrarian exploitation of the woodlands was only mentioned in passing. Grazing was banned, with the exception of the Mittenberg pastures, as was the production of resin, and the harvesting of grass; only the controlled collection of dry leaves in sacks and moss, as well as small Christmas trees, was still legal for a fee (§ 19, 20).

It seems that the City woodlands had largely lost their supply function at that time, which is in line with the general transformation from an ‘agrarian society’ to an ‘industrial society’. The developing railway network, which allowed access to coal from France and Germany, was crucial for the transition from one energy system to the other. Chur was connected to the St. Gallen–Sargans line in 1858, which resulted not only in relief for the City woodlands but also new sales opportunities. In the *Auszug aus dem Wirtschaftsplan* (1907) there is the remark:

Timber is sold easily for good prices to the local shops, and also abroad. Every year large amounts go to the sawmills on Walensee and often even to the Cantons of Zurich, Aargau, and Schaffhausen, for which the nearby train station is very helpful, of course.<sup>52</sup> (see Figure 6.5)

Until the mid-1960s the goal of the continual financial gain pursued by Chur’s forest administration produced more or less regular surplus revenue. In this way the dynamically developing municipality – the number of inhabitants more than doubled, from 8,177 in 1876 to 19,277 in 1950 – was provided with essential funding (Töndury 1949, Giacometti 1999: 80, Bundi 2016:

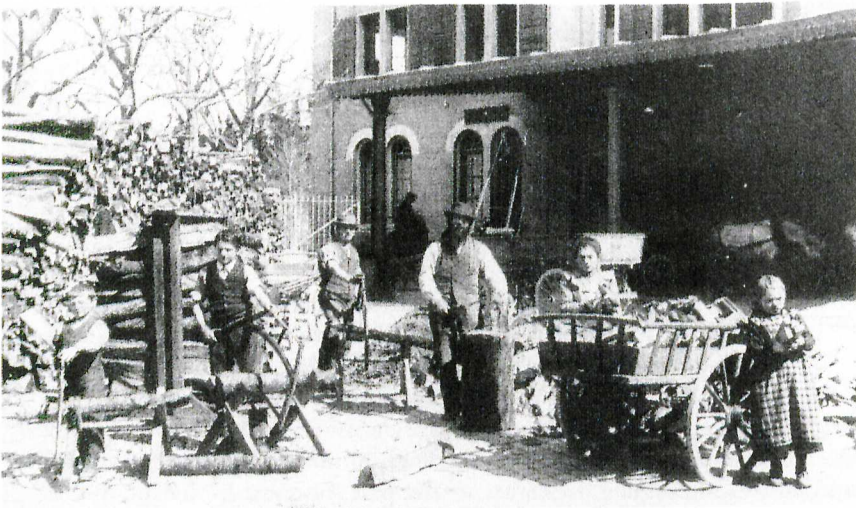


Figure 6.5 Wood processing on Post Square, Chur 1909. Stadtarchiv Chur, F 10.014.088.

106–111, Brändli 2019). That the forest administration was still operating in the black by the end of the 1950s despite rising wages was believed to be due to, first, mechanisation,<sup>53</sup> and second to the skilfully arranged wood assortment which was oriented at a dynamic market. Accordingly, given the decline of timber prices in 1958, the municipal forest administration noted: ‘It would be pointless to work towards a price slump by way of oversupply. We have thus extended our exploitation to the younger population where almost no timber but much pulpwood can be produced.’<sup>54</sup>

### *Protection, recreation and nature in the ‘consumption society’*

With the beginning of the ‘consumption society’, as a result of declining prices for fossil energy resources, the revenues from the timber industry went down. Despite mechanisation and rationalisation, since the mid-1960s Chur’s forest administration had started operating in the red. The stagnating or even declining wood prices could not keep pace with the rising production costs. Accordingly, the municipal forest administration reported for the year 1966 that cost accounting was on the one hand burdened by rising wages while on the other hand sales were declining: timber, it said, was replaced by alternative building materials, firewood was under pricing pressure, and pulpwood was suffering from foreign competition.<sup>55</sup> For the year 1975 it stated: ‘The forestry situation is characterised by production costs having risen enormously over time, whereas sales revenues have been stagnating or even declining.’<sup>56</sup> And for the year 1988 it was emphasised that currently there was no stopping the worsening economic situation of the forestries, ‘not even given the paid subsidies.’<sup>57</sup> As another reason why the forest administrations were operating in the red, District Forester Toni Jäger names the additional tasks given to them, namely building supervision structures for debris and all ravines, drainages and road constructions, all of which had in the past been the business of the civil engineering department and the works yard. Although such construction works were subsidised by the Confederation and the Canton, still the remaining costs and maintenance expenses were a burden for the coffer of the forestry.<sup>58</sup>

The most important revenues are today the subsidies for the maintenance of the protective forests – 80% of Chur’s woodlands counted among this category. Jäger compares the present to the recent past:

In the past we spoke of revenues from wood, then we made almost one million in wood, and today it’s just half of it, and the other half is covered by contributions from the Confederation and the Canton – thanks to our extended maintenance of protective forests.

Jäger also mentions the thus resulting, radical consequences for the understanding of sustainability. Whereas in the past ‘sustainable’ meant first of all ‘no overuse’, today it is almost the other way round. For the sustainability of a protective forest, a minimum amount of cutting is indispensable as otherwise it will become overmatured.<sup>59</sup>



Furthermore, gradually the recreation function and natural values of the woodlands moved to the fore. The *Waldgesetz der Stadt Chur* (1999), depicts this extension of the functions of woodlands:

Within the limits of superior law, the Chur woodlands must be cultivated sustainably and close to nature. Its many functions, in particular those of protection, utilisation and welfare, must be considered for forest planning and be guaranteed by way of forest tending' (§ 6).<sup>60</sup>

Accordingly, the *Betriebsplan* (2004) emphasised a number of nature conservancy measures. In Chur's woodlands, it said, no chemical aids were used. Furthermore, one proceeds mostly by way of regeneration, in the context of which deciduous trees and rare conifers such as the yew were particularly supported. Individual, old or particularly beautiful trees are left untouched to reevaluate the habitats of insect and bird species, just like deadwood and pioneer tree species. Open pastures, it says, are mowed at regular intervals, drains are left open if possible.<sup>61</sup> It may also be considered a consequence of such measures that two years later the municipal forest administration was glad to announce that it had successfully passed the audit for the International Certificate of Sustainable Forestry (FSC Label).<sup>62</sup>

Urs Crotta, head of the *Grün- und Werkbetrieb* of the City of Chur, uses drastic wording: 'Without intact woodlands, the city would partly be uninhabitable.'<sup>63</sup> Member of the Citizens' Council Martin Studer emphasises that same fact and assumes that the people are indeed aware of this.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, he says regretfully, the urban milieu often ignores the fact that the forests also serve production purposes.<sup>65</sup> Already in the *Betriebsanalyse* of the year 2003 there is the statement that people are much aware of the prioritised protective function but little aware of the production function. This finding leads to the recommendation to emphasise the ecologic advantages of woodcutting by way of 'political and environmental education communication' (Forst- und Alpverwaltung 2003: 17).

Urs Crotta emphasises, it is not at all a matter of course that such attempts at raising awareness are successful. For example, a Forest Day organised by the municipal administration had been attended by hardly 30 people – 'those people who are anyway interested in the forest'. On the other hand, the Association of Citizens had tried to 'organise a Citizens' Day in the forest, and on that occasion there appeared quite a number of people – 200 to 300, however, that was connected to eating out.'<sup>66</sup> Also Martin Studer remembers this occasion, for which the Association of Citizens he presided over had been responsible:

Five years ago, for example, we organised a Day when Toni Jäger with his team demonstrated how forest management works, so as to give the people an idea. On the one hand, the citizens are certainly interested in how the forest in its function as a local recreation area is tended and cultivated. On the other hand, the members of the Association appreciate any occasion on which they may experience a cosy get-together with food and drink.<sup>67</sup>

Behind this different response there might be more than food and drink. Probably the citizenry's centuries-old forest property resulted in a closer emotional relation to the forest resource than sheer residence would. The longevity of the *Bürgerholz* points into a similar direction. Still today the citizens are granted firewood from woodlands with a 20% allowance. The difference to the normal price is paid back to the municipality by the Corporation of Citizens. Maintaining this symbolic gesture for the members may definitely be considered a strategy, says Urs Crotta: 'The Corporation of Citizens pursues an offensive practice of granting citizenship, and it is interesting that, among others, the people respond to this because there is cheap wood to get.'<sup>68</sup>

#### 6.4 Transformation of the land use

In the time of the 'agrarian society', the majority of the population of Chur was involved in agricultural self-sufficiency. Livestock farming was clearly at the centre of this. Even in about 1800 there were still more than 800 head of horned cattle from about 200 owners to count in Chur, and the city's own livestock farming largely covered its meat and dairy product needs (Jecklin 1993b: 146–148).<sup>69</sup> But the range of food security went beyond the boundaries of the city. On the one hand, Chur depended on grain imports from the Swabian and Milan regions, while on the other hand, Chur extended its resources by way of purchasing Alpine pastures at Arosa.

##### *The Chur Allmende*

In the Statutes of the City of Chur of 1368/1376 under the name '*der burger waid*', the *Allmende* (common lands) can be basically identified for the first time. Council and citizens, as well as the Bishop, agreed, that 'everybody in his own way shall make hay, and may do so, after having been treating it with dung, and water, and may take it in and has fenced it off.'

In the Early Modern Period the Churs' *Allmende* was regulated by the two sub-communities of *Oberthor* and *Untertor*. They were spatially separated by the *Mühlebach* which ran right through the city. The members of the two sub-communities gathered at the town hall on the first Sunday in March and elected the administrative authorities. Voting rights and full access to the *Allmende* was exclusively reserved for guild citizens; the *Hintersasser* (socmen) on the other hand were only limitedly entitled to utilisation. By the *Zunftverfassung* (Constitution of the Guilds) it was determined which guild had to provide herdsmen for which kinds of animals. The *Rebleutezunft* was in charge of cattle, the *Schuhmacherzunft* was in charge of oxen, sheep and calves, the *Schneiderzunft* was in charge of pigs, the *Pfisterzunft* was in charge of goats and the *Schmiedezunft* was in charge of horses. If Guild Masters were not able to employ the shepherds in time, fines were imposed both on the town treasury and the guild treasury (Jecklin 1993b: 144, Bundi 1993a: 266, Bühler 1993b: 232–233, Bruggmann 2017: 224, Wendler 2018: 44;).

The different usable areas of agricultural land in the Chur territory largely followed a topographical order:

- On the higher-lying areas, which were less exposed to the floods of Plessur and Rhine, the intensively cultivated land with fields, vineyards and meadows, which – at least in the reconstruction for the period 1775–1820 (Fuchs 2011: C1) – largely consisted of private properties; the hay-making on the meadows was central to the agriculture of Chur, which was oriented towards livestock farming, but also for the transit trade.
- On the plain between the city and the river Rhine below the elevation curve of 570 metres above sea level, there were originally uncultivated wetlands with alder woods, reeds and sandbanks, which were covered by river debris and boulders, changed their appearance after each flood and were used as extensive pasture. The cultivation of such land was largely a joint effort by the citizens. The newly acquired land was divided into plots of land and handed over to the individual citizens for use for a modest interest. Especially in the eighteenth century, such common land was repeatedly segregated, parcelled out and given to citizens for individual use as private property – or on a temporary basis as *Bürgerlöser*, which often served the self-sufficiency of poorer families of the citizenry (Schorta 1942, Jecklin 1993b: 147, Bundi 1993c: 462–464, Plüss 2020: 11–20).<sup>70</sup>

An additional dynamic can be observed. *Gemeinatzung* or *Trattrecht* was the temporary grazing right of the community on all private plots of land located on its territory and not expressly exempted from it. The Council had to intervene time and again and demand that private individuals undo the fencing they had erected. Sometimes, however, it complied with requests for fencing, especially if the citizens concerned were influential and wealthy. The two tendencies observed since 1600 – first to distribute pasture land to private individuals, second to withdraw it from the *Gemeinatzung* – led to a sharp diminution and reduction of the *Allmende*. This development is only understandable in view of the fact that Chur was concerned about pasture replacement elsewhere, namely in Arosa (Bundi 1993a: 268–270, Bundi 1993c: 457, Jecklin 1993b: 144–146).

However, the collective pasture in Chur itself remained indispensable as part of the transhumance system until well into the nineteenth century. The *Weidgangs- und Allmeindenordnung* (1830) precisely recorded the collective grazing rights, which were finely differentiated in space and time (see Figure 6.6) The spring and autumn grazing before and after the Alpine summer in Arosa was the main focus; the corresponding areas were on the right side of the Plessur for the sub-community *Untertbor* and on the left side of the Plessur for the sub-community *Oberthor*. Particularly noteworthy are some higher-lying areas that were used as an intermediate stage during the course of the year (including *Maiensäss*, *Pramontan*, *Rüti*, *Mittenberg*). To supply the town during the Alpine summer, the summer pasture was used for milking cows; every citizen could buy a home cow at the May market and drive it to the pastures,

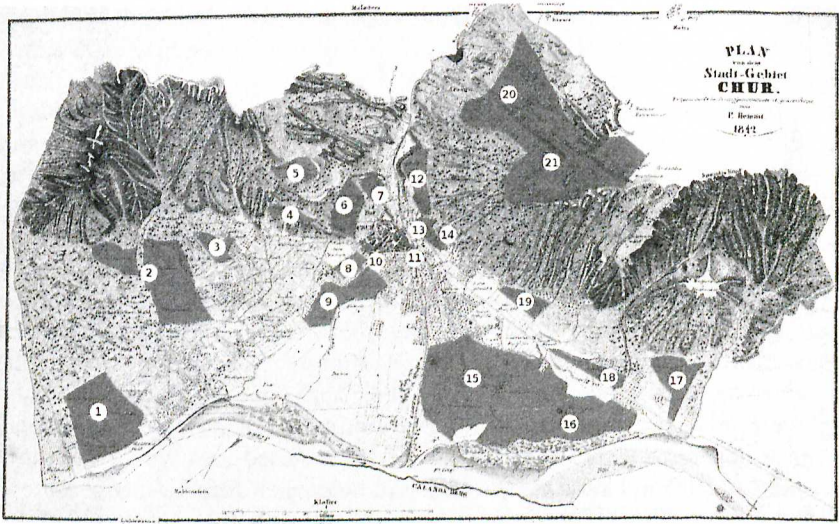


Figure 6.6 Common grazing in Chur, at about 1830. Sources: Weidgangs- und Allmeinden-Ordnung löblr. Stadt Chur, wie solche durch die Mehren löblr. Zünfte vom 25 April 1828 zum Gesetz erhoben worden ist, Chur 1830; Plan von dem Stadt-Gebiet Chur (1842). Trigonometrisch aufgenommen und gezeichnet von P. Hemmi. Stadtarchiv Chur, E 0-222.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1 «Unterthorer Allmend»<br/>                     - spring and summer pasture (horses)<br/>                     - 25.05 until the «Alpfahrt» (cows <i>Unterthor</i>)</p> <p>2 «Praserin, Campodels, Böschchen»<br/>                     - until 25.05. (cows <i>Unterthor</i>)<br/>                     - 17.09.-10.10. (cows <i>Unterthor</i>)<br/>                     - 4.10.-11.10 (horses)</p> <p>3 «Lürlibad»<br/>                     - 11.10.-13.10. (oxen)</p> <p>4 «Vogelboden»<br/>                     - summer pasture (dairy cows)</p> <p>5 «Mittenberg»<br/>                     - spring pasture (oxen)<br/>                     - summer pasture (dairy cows)</p> <p>6 «Halde»<br/>                     - spring pasture (oxen)<br/>                     - summer pasture (dairy cows)</p> <p>7 «St. Luzi»<br/>                     - sheep</p> <p>8 «Untere Quader»<br/>                     - 29.10. (cows &amp; horses)</p> <p>9 «Lachen- und Sagenwiesen»<br/>                     - 21.-29.10. (cows <i>Unterthor</i>)<br/>                     - 12.10.-29.10. (horses)</p> | <p>10 «Unter der Stadt» (Lokalisierung unsicher)<br/>                     - 21.-29.10. (cows <i>Unterthor</i>)</p> <p>- 11 «Unter der Stadt» (Lokalisierung unsicher)<br/>                     11.-20.10. (cows)</p> <p>12 «St. Hilaria und St. Antonien»<br/>                     meeting place «Alpfahrt» / «Alpentladung»</p> <p>13 «Kälberweide, Galgenhügel» sheep</p> <p>14 «Stierenwiese»<br/>                     - 29.9. until 10 Uhr (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)</p> <p>15 «Gross- und Kleinbrucker-Wiesen»<br/>                     - 17.-29.10. (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)</p> <p>16 &amp; 17 «Oberthorer Allmend»<br/>                     - Spring pasture (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)<br/>                     - 3.10.-08.10. (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)</p> <p>18 «Plankiswiesen»<br/>                     - 29.09.-02.10. (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)</p> <p>19 «Trist»<br/>                     - 14.10.-29.10. (oxen)</p> <p>20 «Pramontan, Rüti»<br/>                     - until 25.5. (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)<br/>                     - 26.09.-11.10. (cows <i>Oberthor</i>)</p> <p>21 «Mayensässe»<br/>                     - 27.9-10.10. (oxen)</p> |
|--|--|

even if he had no other cattle or meadows on Chur territory. The importance of the transit traffic is indicated by the separately listed grazing rights for the oxen and horses used as draught animals.<sup>71</sup>

The cantonal constitution of Graubünden (1814) already provided the sale of common grazing rights. In the following years, the Grand Council of the Canton unsuccessfully recommended that the communities put this into practice. Two proposals for laws to replace the grazing rights in 1836 and 1841 were rejected in the cantonal referendum. In 1850, the cantonal law *Die Loskäuflichkeit der Weidrechte auf Privatgütern ist zugesichert* was passed. In 1861, the City of Chur decided on the compulsory replacement of grazing rights, after several proposals of the Council had not been implemented (Moosberger 1891: 133–140, Curschellas 1926: 29–34, Passini 2004: 26–28).

In the Distribution of Assets (1875) between the *Bürgergemeinde* and the *Politische Gemeinde*, the *Gemeindegüter* was assigned to the full ownership of the Corporation of the Citizens (see Section 6.2). In addition to various buildings, the *Gemeindegüter* included above all the aforementioned *Bürgerlöser* (distributed parts of the *Allmende*). While these still fully performed their supply function for citizen households even in the outgoing ‘agrarian society’, this changed fundamentally in the last third of the nineteenth century with the onset of the ‘industrial society’. Increasingly, the *Bürgerlöser* were no longer farmed by the citizens themselves, but were leased to the remaining agriculturally active population at profitable field rates. In line with the transition from a subsistence to a commercial economy, the structure of small plots of land was dissolved in favour of large contiguous areas that were more suitable for mechanised farming. With the transition to the ‘consumption society’ since the mid-twentieth century, the *Gemeindegüter* has taken a new turn. Strong population growth led to the gradual expansion of Churs’ built-up urban area into the Rhine plain, which resulted in land cessions by the Corporation of Citizens and the relocation of the agrarian used *Gemeindegüter* to the periphery of the territory (Plüss 2020) (see Figure 6.7).

At the same time, however, a continuity can be observed, since a large part of the present agricultural area is owned by the Corporation of Citizens, the former *Bürgerlöser*. Also among the *Gemeindegüter* in the town area are numerous buildings and *Bodenrechte* (leasehold estates), as well as the *Maiensässe*, which are recognisable as large forest clearings (see Figure 6.7). These different categories of *Gemeindegüter* listed here represent, first, central sources of income for the Corporation of Citizens. Second, in their present situation they are to a large extent the result of purchase and exchange processes in the twentieth century. And third, they are linked to Arosa via the *Bodenerlöskonto* (land revenue account), in that the land sold there financed the purchase of land in the City of Chur (Buchmann 1977, Gerber 2008, Moll 2020).

### **The Chur alps at Arosa**

Today, the Chur alps at Arosa are considered a showpiece Grisons’s alpine agriculture and a perfect example of the successful symbiosis of alpine agricultural

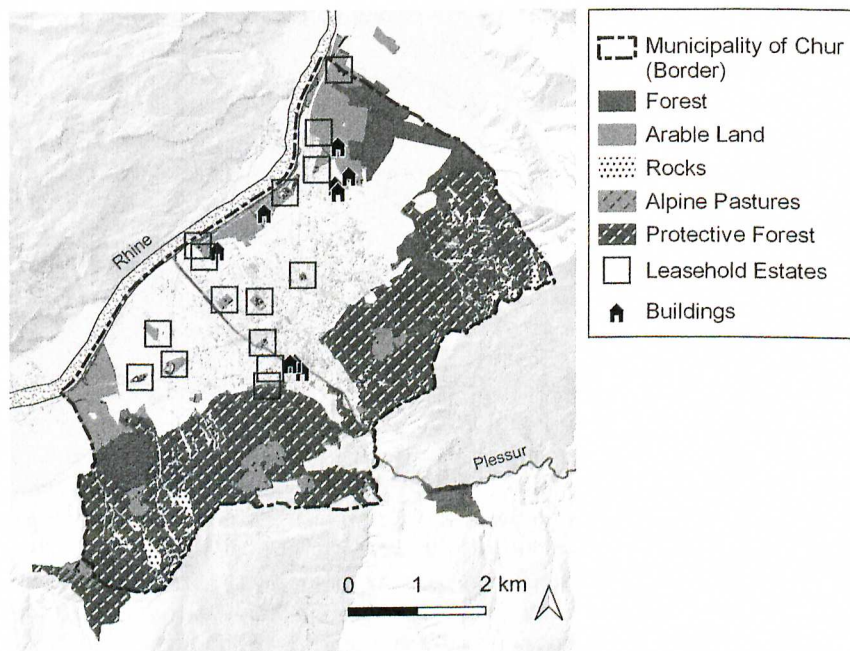


Figure 6.7 Landed property of the *Bürgergemeinde Chur* in the territory of the city, about 2020. Map compilation and design by Sarah Baumgartner, University of Bern; geodata source: Amtliche Vermessung (AV), Kanton Graubünden, 2020; hillshade: DTM-AV, Kanton Graubünden.

and tourist development.<sup>72</sup> Behind this there is a restructuring of space which was to a large extent moderated by Chur.

Chur as an agricultural city was based on the system of transhumance, completing the scarce commons in the city territory. In 1544, Chur appeared for the first time as an owner at Arosa; in the further course of the Early Modern Period the city purchased most of the Arosa Alpine pastures. As early as 1600 those from Chur were grazing 516 cows, 66 cattle and 33 calves there, including almost one-quarter of the cattle owned by *Hintersassen* (socmen). The rule was that only cattle which in winter had been grazed on the Churs' *Allmende* were allowed to be driven to the Alpine pastures at Arosa, and the citizens were allowed to have their cattle listed one week before the socmen (Bundi 1993c: 457–462). In the mid-nineteenth century the Chur Alpine pastures at Arosa comprised a total of 353 drives on the *Kuhalpen* and 175 on the *Galtviehalpen*. On each of the four *Kuhalpen* the milk was jointly processed into cheese and butter, mostly for the self-subsistence of the approximately 80 Chur households entitled to driving; although cheese was stored in cellars until the cattle were driven down in autumn, butter was taken to the city every week.<sup>73</sup>

According to the Distribution of Assets (1875), the Chur Alpine pastures remained the property of the Corporation of Citizens; their administration and use, however, passed into the hands of the Chur municipality (see Section 6.2). Alpine agriculture experienced a commercial boom when, after Arosa was connected to the roads (1890) and railway (1914) networks – the latter being co-funded by the Corporation of Citizens and the municipality Chur – there was a rapid development of tourism. Sales market of milk multiplied at the growing spa of Arosa, and there was a growing demand for building land, which was met by the Chur Corporation of Citizens selling meadows plot by plot (Just 1907: 40–43, Maron 1934: 100, 135). Sales revenues, a result of the long-term land policy, were achieved over many decades, and transferred to the *Bodenerlöskonto* (Land Revenues Account) which was – in addition to the purchase of land as a real replacement for the land sold – mostly meant for funding improvements to the system of alpine agriculture.<sup>74</sup> It was thus possible to continually invest in the modernisation of the Chur alps, which were indeed granted an award for ‘exemplary’ cultivation by the *Alpwirtschaftlicher Verein* (1946), having been granted the ‘exemplary Alps’ award by that same Swiss Association of Alpine Farming as early as 1864 (Giacometti 1999: 76, 90–95) (see Figure 6.8).

The spatial reorganisation of the Chur alps in Arosa has accelerated since the 1960s. With the help of investments from the *Bodenerlöskonto*, piped milking systems were installed at all dairies, dung water tanks with pumps and pressure lines were established to higher pastures and transportation was improved (Werthemann 1969: 208–210; Hartmann 1970: 160). The large investments

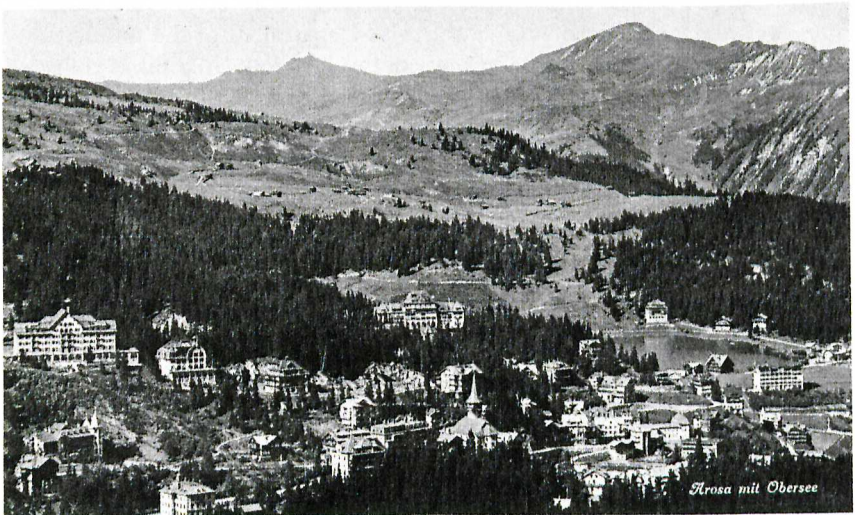


Figure 6.8 Arosa with Obersee, postcard around 1927. ETH Bibliothek Zürich, PK\_006060.

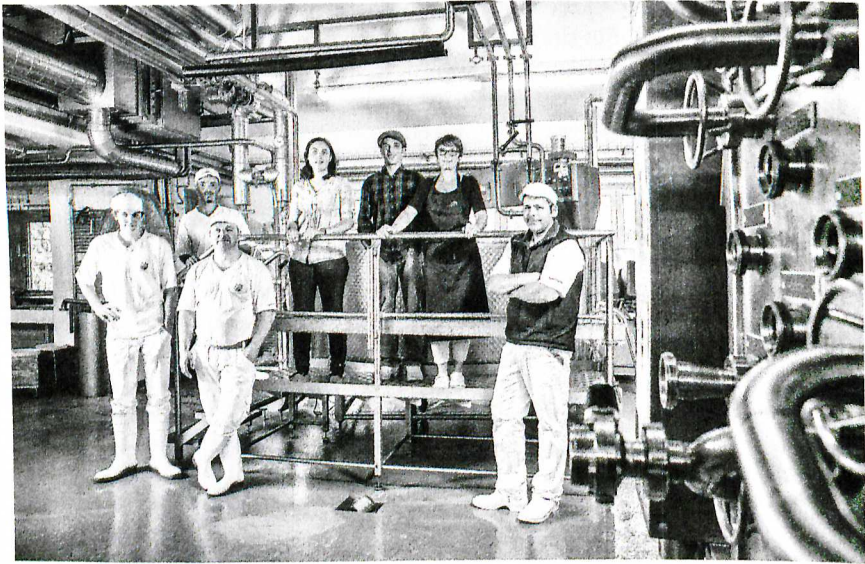


Figure 6.9 Maran Dairy Team, 2017. Foto Homberger, Arosa.

in the Maran dairy were crucial, also funded by the *Bodenerlöskonto*, which was connected to all four *Kuhalpen* via an underground milk pipeline (1967) and was extended to become a high-technology all-year milk-processing hub (2009) equipped with a cheese robot (2017) (see Figure 6.9).<sup>75</sup> In retrospect, Toni Jäger, the head of the Woods and Alps Department of the municipality Chur, highlights the economic efficiency of this decision: ‘All milk is collected at Maran. There we’ve got a large dairy instead of five alps with five small dairies with five infrastructures which would have to be maintained.’<sup>76</sup> This connection was a basic decision by the Chur Alps Commission, according to which the production of milk and not of meat – as the husbandry of suckler cows would be difficult to bring in line with summer tourism – can be counted on in the long run. Reto Mani, alpine farmer and Council member, reports:

Indeed, we have been considering taking one alp out of milk production and driving suckler cows on it. One problem is the potential conflict with suckler cows. After all, Arosa is very, very much a tourist area, and the alps are brutally exploited for tourism, with the hiking trail and the railway running through there.<sup>77</sup>

The Corporation of Citizens and the municipality of Chur have always had an eye on the interests of the booming tourism in Arosa. The Corporation reacted to the enormous consumption of water for the large-scale snow cannon system for artificial snowmaking by selling its water rights and spring



tappings to the municipality of Arosa, for a onetime compensation of 3,906,000 Francs (2001).<sup>78</sup> The Alps Commission reacted to the reduced grass growth on the Alpine pastures, resulting from the increased use of artificial snow using a refined coupling system, by purchasing hay – funded by the *Bergbahnen AG*.<sup>79</sup> The Corporation of Citizens provided pastures and compensated the Farmers' Cooperative from the *Bodenerlöskonto* for the realisation of a bear park as an additional tourist attraction in summer (2015).<sup>80</sup> Chur also acted as a crucial moderator in the initially disputed realisation of the Weisshorn bike-trail (2017).<sup>81</sup>

In the context of a social-anthropologic student investigation, the complex system of the Chur Alpine pastures has been analysed for its financial and institutional dependencies (Andermatt, Freiburghaus and Koch 2019: 49–58). One important starting point is the distribution of direct payments by the Board of Agriculture and Geoinformation (Canton Grisons), paid out after a careful assessment of the framework conditions.<sup>82</sup> The *Sommerungsbeiträge* (summering fees) go to the municipality of Chur which lists them as transfer revenue in its account; the *Alpungs* contributions are, like the *Landschaftsqualitäts- und Biodiversitätsbeiträge* (environmental quality and biodiversity contributions), proportionally distributed among the farmers via the Farmers' Cooperative, one-third of the *Alpungs* contributions being paid to the municipality of Chur for maintenance. The grazing fee that the alpine farmers must pay to Chur per head of cattle, the administration costs which must be paid by the entirety of alpine farmers, and the wages of the alpine staff, paid for each alp individually, together comprise the costs of one alp summer. According to the *Alprechnung* (alp account), made by an external accountancy firm, they are contrasted with the income from milk production (amount of milk multiplied with the milk price), outsiders being paid a lower milk price than the members of the Chur Farmer's Cooperative which, running the Maran dairy, bears the risk.

The efficient production of 35 tons of high-quality alpine cheese and its successful marketing is not only in the interest of the Farmers' Cooperative but also of the Corporation of Citizens and the municipality Chur. Tom Leibundgut, head of the Department of Building, Planning, Environment, gets to the heart of it: 'I use to call it "my dairy", the *Bürgermeister* (Mayor) calls it "his dairy", and the head of the Farmers' Cooperative calls it "his dairy". In a way, it's everybody's dairy.'<sup>83</sup> The integrative power of the complex system of the Chur Alpine pastures is increased by personal connections between the institutions. For example, municipality official Urs Crotta also attends the meetings of the Domains Commission of the Corporation of Citizens: 'I'm aware of what's going on, and that's very helpful.' The yearly inspections of the alps by the municipality's Alps Commission and the Corporations Domains Commission are purposefully carried out jointly.<sup>84</sup> The Mayor of the Chur Corporation of Citizens has a seat on the *Bergbahnen AG*.<sup>85</sup> According to customary law, the *Bauerngenossenschaft* occupy important positions with the Corporation of Citizens, namely in the Citizens Council, in the Domains Commission and as *Gemeindegüterinspektoren* (Corporations Property Inspectors) (Stoinescu 2018: 60).

Despite the commercially successful production of alpine cheese and despite the investments from the *Bodenerlöskonto*, Chur alpine agriculture is today not self-sustaining. The revenue from touristically exploiting the alps is crucial for a positive balance: first, the concessions for the cable cars, and second, the rents from the catering businesses. Urs Crotta puts it in a nutshell: 'You know, with the help of the tourist facilities at Arosa we more or less also fund the facilities on the alps.'<sup>86</sup> However, the harmonious image of a smooth intensification of alpine agriculture and tourism has been regularly disturbed in the course of public debate in recent decades by criticism from the *Heimatschutz* and environmental organisations which object to large building projects on Churs' territory at Arosa, such as the Chairlift Carmenna (2000),<sup>87</sup> Wellness Ressort Prätschli (2003–2007)<sup>88</sup> and Summit Restaurant Weisshorn (2007).<sup>89</sup> The roles of the Corporation of Citizens and the municipality Chur, which in this context were rather in the back seat, would require a more thorough analysis.

Research is even more required when it comes to the ecologically motivated criticism of intensified alpine agriculture, which here, with the example of manure management, has only been hinted at. In 1992 the two Chur Council members of the *Demokratisch-Soziale Partei DSP* demanded a ban on any kind of artificial fertiliser in the Chur Alpine pastures in Arosa, as its use would affect the alpine flora. As a consequence, the Council reduced the loan application of 8,000 Francs for artificial fertiliser by one half, which was considered a pretension by the Chur farmers: at Arosa, they claimed the use of fertilisers was moderate and only included phosphorus and potassium, which was said to be absolutely necessary to prevent the Alpine pastures from becoming overgrown; the criticism offered by laypeople was unfounded, and the farmers claimed that the current 'eco-wave' was an obvious political move.<sup>90</sup> Reto Mani, Council member and alpine farmer, today justifies the use of fertilisers and places it into the context of intensified livestock production:

Of course, we always state our need to fertilise. It is obvious that the animals become ever more productive, so that they consume more. Cows today consumes 20% more fodder than those in the past.'

Also, he says, it is clear 'how much the flora is affected by artificial snow'. The artificial snow means that the soil is insufficiently supplied with oxygen because this kind of snow stays much longer than natural snow, and gradual soil erosion becomes noticeable. More fertiliser is thus used than in the past. This is for the *Plantahof* (Centre for Agricultural Education and Advice) to decide, based on ground samples sent to them.<sup>91</sup>

The goal of Chur's alpine law – 'The alps must be cultivated professionally, sustainably and in an environmentally friendly way'<sup>92</sup> – is not integrated in all fields to the same degree. Whereas professional expertise, as well as the economic and social cornerstones of the sustainability triad, are sufficiently covered internally, the ecologic dimension seems to come from the outside and not to be integrated in the institutional system of the Chur Alpine pastures.

## 6.5 Conclusion

Until the middle of the 19th century cattle and pasture farming were at the centre of the 'agrarian society' in Chur. This served primarily to supply the citizenry with meat and milk(-products), but was also interwoven with the transit trade (draught animals, nutrition in the guesthouses). In the forests, the aim was not only to produce wood in a regulated and sustainable manner to meet the needs of the citizen households; the forest also had to serve livestock farming in equal measure (forest pasture, forest grass, plant litter). Only the citizens had full rights of use. The *Hintersassen*, on the other hand, were referred to inferior wood assortments or – in the case of plant litter use – to remote forest districts. In accordance with the first Ostrom principle (see Chapter 2), this can be seen as a clear demarcation between those entitled and those not entitled. On the other hand, there is a negative balance if social justice – an indispensable component of our current understanding of sustainability – is taken as an assessment criterion. The verdict on political participation (third Ostrom principle) is also negative, from which not only the *Hintersassen* were excluded, but also the majority of the citizens. In contrast, the *Allmende* appears to be a more integrative system of use. Regulation was not carried out by the Council, but by the two sub-communities and the guilds. There were also compensation areas at lower altitudes towards the Rhine, the cultivation of which offered opportunities especially for poorer families. The intensively used favoured sites were increasingly privately owned but were temporarily left open for collective grazing. In addition, the acquisition of the Chur Alpine pastures decisively expanded the collective resource base.

In the incipient 'industrial society', the operating objective of collective resources shifted to the maximum sustainable yield (financial return). In the Chur forests, the focus was narrowed to sustainable timber production, which was professionalised and spatially homogenised. In contrast, the circle of users was expanded, in that the forests remained the property of the Corporation of Citizens at the time of the constitution of the municipal dualism (1875), but the rights of use were transferred to the newly created municipality, for whom they henceforth represented an important financial resource. The inclusion of the entire population abolished the first Ostrom principle of a clear border; at the same time, all those affected, as postulated by the third Ostrom principle, were able to participate. On the Chur *Allmende*, the *Gemeinatzung* was abolished and the small plot structure of the *Bürgerlöser* was transformed into coherent leased land suitable for mechanical processing. In Arosa, the tourist boom was accompanied by the purchase of building land to finance the modernisation of the alpine economy.

As the 'consumption society' was unable to keep up with the rising costs of timber production, government support payments for the maintenance of protection forests became the most important source of income. Recreational and natural values also came to the fore. There is an attempt to mitigate the decreasing understanding of wood use in the urban milieu through environmental education and political communication. The centuries-old forest property

of the citizens and the tradition of *Bürgerholz* (citizen wood) play a role that should not be underestimated, at least on an emotional level. However, this by no means eliminates the fundamental deficit of participation of all persons affected by a resource system (Ostrom's third principle). In the management of the Chur Alpine pastures, however, there is a deficit in the sustainability triangle. While highly technical cheese production implies economic success and the symbiosis of alpine economy and tourism satisfies the social cornerstone, the ecological dimension still seems to be somewhat left out.

The answer to the initial question about the role of topography in the long-term perspective is ambivalent. The specific spatial conditions of Chur provide a decisive framework for the transformation of citizenship and its collective resources in many respects. Examples include the geographical position of Chur, which is conducive to transit trade, or the rising slopes on the flanks, which are causally related to the protection of forest payments. It also became clear how the topographic conditions can have a different effect, particularly by means of new transport infrastructure (road, rail, pipeline), which in turn is linked to the different energy ages. Collective resources and their spatial arrangement are not static variables but are transformed in changing contexts.

## Acknowledgement

I would like to thank all the actors in Chur who made themselves available for a longer interview and who, in addition, helped me in many ways to understand the Bürgermeinde Chur: Ruth Bianchi, Marco Caduff, Urs Crotta, Toni Jäger, Reto Mani, Martin Studer; all those who read parts of the manuscript and gave me important feedback: Matthias Bürgi, Georg Jäger, Ulf Wendler; the staff of the *Staatsarchiv des Kantons Graubünden*, the *Stadtarchiv* and the *Archiv der Bürgergemeinde*; Mirko Wittwar (Morsbach) for the careful translation of this chapter.

## Notes

- 1 All quantitative data refer to 2019, i.e. immediately before the incorporation of Haldenstein and Maladen.
- 2 Website of the Chur Corporation of Citizens: <https://die-buergergemeinde.ch/>; website of the City of Chur: <https://www.chur.ch/naturwaldstadtgruen/308>; website of the *Bürgerverein* <https://der-buergerverein.ch/>; VB BG 2019; Giacometti 1999; Fuchs 2011; Simonett 2015; Andermatt, Freiburghaus and Koch 2018: 30; Gesetz über die Bewirtschaftung der Churer Alpen (Alpgesetz), 2005, <https://www.chur.ch/rechtssammlung/sammlung99116086>.
- 3 Interview with Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (M. Stuber).
- 4 Interview with Ruth Bianchi, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber).
- 5 *Verwaltungsberichte der Bürgergemeinde Chur* under various headlines, in the following quoted as *VB BG*:
  - Verwaltungsrechnung und Vermögensstand der bürgerlichen Armen- & Waisenanstalt [1879]
  - Bericht über die Bürgerliche Verwaltung, sammt Inventar der Armenpflege [1885]
  - Verwaltungsbericht sammt Jahresrechnung der Bürgerlichen Armenpflege [1887–1939]

- Verwaltungsbericht mit Jahresrechnung der Bürgerlichen Verwaltung Chur [1940–1974]
- Verwaltungsbericht, Bürgergemeinde Chur [1984–].
- 6 *Verwaltungsberichte der Stadt Chur* under various headlines, in the following quoted as *VB Stadt*:
  - Verwaltungsbericht samt Jahresrechnung der Stadt Chur [1885–1960]
  - Verwaltungsbericht und Jahresrechnung der Stadt Chur [1961–1977]
  - Verwaltungsbericht der Stadt Chur [1978–2000]
  - Verwaltungsbericht des Stadtrates Chur [2001 ff.]
- 7 The various traditions are to be found in: Bruggmann 2017: 215–227.
- 8 [Christ, Ludwig] 1838. Was braucht die Bürgerschaft von Chur und was braucht sie nicht. Ein Wort zur Beherzigung für solche die noch athmen dürfen. Chur, here: 6/7, 20/21. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 9 Verfassung für die Stadt Chur: Vom 10. Juni 1840. Chur. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 10 Plan über den Einkauf in das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Chur. 9. Juli 1835. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 11 Ausschreiben nebst Vorschlag eines Gesetzes über den Einkauf in das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Chur, 28. April 1845 (after Giacometti 1993: 100).
- 12 Bürgermeister und Rath, 30. Juni 1866. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 13 Caduff, Julius: Die Einwohner-Gemeinde. Ein Beitrag zum schweiz. Staats- & Gemeinde-Recht. Senti & Hummel: Chur 1864.
- 14 Bürgermeister und Rath der Stadt Chur an die Löbl. Bürgerschaft derselben, 30.6.1866. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 15 Bauer, Peter Jakob: Betrachtungen und Ansichten über die Churer Gemeindwirren, Bündnerische Volks-Zeitung, 4.3.1868, after Bundi 2016: 83.
- 16 Bürgermeister und Rath der Stadt Chur an die Löbliche Bürgerschaft derselben, 9.4.1870. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 17 Gesetz über die Niederlassung von Schweizerbürgern, 1.9.1874.
- 18 Bürgermeister und Rath der Stadt Chur an die löbl. Bürgerschaft derselben, 30.4.1875. Stadtarchiv Chur BB III, 01.041.002; see: Ausführungsbestimmungen zu dem von der Bürgerversammlung am 11.4.1869 angenommenen Tilgungsplane der städtischen Schulden, genehmigt vom Grossen Stadtrath den 17.8.1869. Stadtarchiv Chur; VB Stadt 1869.
- 19 Bürgermeister und Rath an die löbliche Einwohner-Gemeinde der Stadt Chur, 7.7.1875, Vermögenstand der Stadt Chur, pro 1. Januar 1875. Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 20 Verwaltungsreglement für die Bürgerschaft, beschlossen in der Bürgergemeinde am 29. April 1923. Nationalbibliothek Bern.
- 21 Statuten der Bürgergemeinde Chur 2014, <https://die-buergergemeinde.ch/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/statuten-der-buergergemeinde-chur-in-kraft-seit-01.12.2014.pdf>; see VB BG 2014: 2.
- 22 Interview with Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (Martin Studer).
- 23 Interview with Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (M. Studer).
- 24 Interview with Ruth Bianchi, 2.2.2018 (M. Studer).
- 25 Interview with Reto Mani, 1.2.2018 (M. Studer / A. Stoinescu); Interview with Ruth Bianchi, 2.2.2018 (M. Studer); Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.8.2018 (M. Studer / I. Brändli).
- 26 VB BG 1983: 9–10; siehe z.B. auch VB BG 1982: 9; *Bündner Zeitung*, 1.7.1993: 5: Genereller Einbürgerungsstopp nach neuem Bürgerrechtsgesetz unhaltbar; *Bündner Tagblatt*, 5.11.1996: 1: Einbürgerung: 4 Gesuche von Ex-Jugoslawen abgelehnt; *Bündner Zeitung*, 20.4.1999: 9: Dem Unmut Luft gemacht? Die Churer Bürger verweigern Türken und Ex-Jugoslawen die Einbürgerung.
- 27 Bundesgerichtsentscheid 129/217, Urnenabstimmung Emmen, <https://www.servat.unibe.ch/dfr/c1129217.html> [11.8.2020].
- 28 VB BG 2004: 1.
- 29 VB BG 2001: 1.
- 30 VB BG 2009: 1–2; siehe z.B. *Südostschweiz*, 4.10.2010: Khur – die Stadt meins Herzens (Verena Zimmermann).

- 31 VB BG 2019: 23.
- 32 Gemeindegesetz des Kantons Graubünden. Vom Volke angenommen am 28.4.1974. In: *Amtliche Gesetzessammlung des Kantons Graubünden, 1971-1975*. Chur 1977: 541–561.
- 33 Gemeindegesetz des Kantons Graubünden, vom 17.10.2017 [https://www.gr-lex.gr.ch/app/de/texts\\_of\\_law/175.050](https://www.gr-lex.gr.ch/app/de/texts_of_law/175.050).
- 34 Schlussbericht der Arbeitsgruppe ALÜ betreffend Auftrag Nr. 13 (Bürgergemeinde), 2013 [https://www.chur.ch/\\_docn/950092/Schlussbericht\\_Arbeitsgruppe\\_ALU\\_Auftrag\\_13.pdf](https://www.chur.ch/_docn/950092/Schlussbericht_Arbeitsgruppe_ALU_Auftrag_13.pdf); siehe VB BG 2013: 2.
- 35 Interview mit Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (M. Stuber).
- 36 Interview mit Marco Caduff, 20.6.2017 (M. Stuber).
- 37 Interview mit Reto Mani, 1.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 38 VB BG 2019: 3.
- 39 A first outline of this Section 6.3 was presented at *Schweizerische Geschichtstage*, Zürich, 5.–7. June 2019: Panel *L'or vert des Alpes* (Luigi Lorenzetti). For valuable comments on the first draft of the manuscript I am obliged to Urs Crotta, Georg Jäger, Toni Jäger, Martin Studer (all Chur) and Matthias Bürgi (WSL Birmensdorf). A German version will be published in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Forstwesen SZF*.
- 40 Forst- und Waldordnung, Löbl. Stadt Chur (1791). Chur: Otto.
- 41 Grund-Riss der Underthorer Waldung Löbl. Stadt Chur (1788). Stadtarchiv Chur, E-0655.
- 42 Forstordnung (1839). In *Amtliche Gesetzessammlungen für den Eidgenössischen Stand Graubünde*, Vol. 3, Chur 1840: 211–219.
- 43 See the analogous regulations in: Bekanntmachung Losholz, 1845. Stadtarchiv, Chur BD IV / 1.5033.
- 44 Vorschlag der Obrigkeit der Stadt Chur an die löbliche Bürgerschaft derselben zu einem Gesetz über die Benutzung der Stadtwaldungen (1845). Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 45 Forstpolizeiordnung für die Waldungen der Stadt Chur (1846). Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 46 Bericht über die Landesverwaltung des Kantons Graubünden (1851/1852). Chur: Druckschriften- und Lehrmittelverlag Graubünden: 9; see: Amtsbericht des Kantonalen Forstinspektors an den Hochlöblichen Grossen Rath, 1856/1857: 135, 142–143..
- 47 It is only possible to hint here at how much Chur's forest economy was interwoven with the then new Canton and national forest policy; see Schuler 2018; Viallon, Liechti, Stuber, and Wunderli 2019: 130–135.
- 48 On the embedding in the history of knowledge see Mantel 1990: 378–408; Cronjäger (forthcoming).
- 49 Nationally renowned forestry experts also contributed to the revisions of Chur's forestry plans: 1865 (Coaz, Kopp), 1877 (Landolt, Kopp), 1887 (Landolt).
- 50 Forstordnung der Stadtgemeinde (1886). Stadtarchiv Chur.
- 51 Revidirte Forstordnung (1877). In *Amtliche Gesetzessammlung des Kantons Graubünden*, Vol. 4, Chur 1880: 193–207.
- 52 Auszug aus dem Wirtschaftsplan für die Heimwaldungen der Stadt Chur (1907). Chur: Manatschal Ebner.
- 53 VB Stadt 1956: 18.
- 54 VB Stadt 1958: 15.
- 55 VB Stadt 1966: 33.
- 56 VB Stadt 1975: 67.
- 57 VB Stadt 1988: 57.
- 58 Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu), appendix, 27.12.2019.
- 59 Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 60 Waldgesetz der Stadt Chur. Beschlossen in der Volksabstimmung of October 24th, 1999, online-version, [https://www.chur.ch/\\_docn/397714/561.pdf](https://www.chur.ch/_docn/397714/561.pdf) (last access 6 March 2020).
- 61 Betriebsplan Chur Heimwald 2004–2023.

- 62 VB Stadt 2006: 86.
- 63 After *Churer Magazin* 2010, 5: 4–5: Der Churer Wald befindet sich in besten Händen (Peter de Jong); siehe: *Umwelt. Natürliche Ressourcen in der Schweiz* 2013, 1: 41–45: Schutzwald – Waldpflege für die Sicherheit (Urs Fitze), online-version, [www.bafu.admin.ch/bafu/de/home/themen/wald/dossiers/schutzwald-waldpflege-sicherheit.html](http://www.bafu.admin.ch/bafu/de/home/themen/wald/dossiers/schutzwald-waldpflege-sicherheit.html) (last access 6 March 2020).
- 64 Interview with Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (M. Stuber).
- 65 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 66 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 67 Interview with Martin Studer, 14.3.2018 (M. Stuber).
- 68 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 69 A more detailed version of this Section 6.4 is in preparation for the special issue «Tiere und Pflanzen im urbanen Raum. Mensch-Umwelt-Interaktionen vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Beginn der Industrialisierung», *forum Stadt* 2021.
- 70 See Pläne in Betreff der ausgetheilten Gemeindsgütern unter die löbl. Bürgerschaft der Stadt Chur, 1765 und 1794. Chur 1795; Allgemeine Gemeindgüter-Ordnung der Stadt Chur. Chur 1823; Bericht und Gutachten der von einem wohl. Stadtrath und den löbl. Zünften wegen Urbarmachung und Verwendung des noch unangebauten Gemeindsbodens bestellten Commission. Chur 1839.
- 71 Weidgangs- und Allmeinden-Ordnung löbl. Stadt Chur wie solche durch die mehren löbl. Zünfte vom 25 April 1828 zum Gesetz erhoben worden ist. Kantonsbibliothek Graubünden.
- 72 *Schweizer Bauer*, 12.08.2015: 9: Äpler und Touristen brauchen einander. Die Churer Alpen in Arosa sind ein Aushängeschild der Bündner Alpwirtschaft (Daniel Salzmann).
- 73 Die Alpen der Stadt Chur. In: *Schweizerische Alpwirtschaft*, Heft 5, 1864: 59–81.
- 74 Established as *Alperverbesserungskonto* (Alps Improvement Account) in 1894, renamed *Bodenerlöskonto* (Land Revenue Account) in 1906.
- 75 *Arosener Zeitung*, 16.6.2017: 6–7: Sennerei Maran auf neuestem Stand (Christian Jenny); Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 76 Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 77 Interview with Reto Mani, 1.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 78 *Arosener Zeitung*, 16.2.2001: 11: Churer Wasserversorgungsanlagen an Arosa (Christian Jenny); VB Stadt 2001:32; Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 79 *Arosener Zeitung*, 9.7.2010: 1–3: Schanfigger Alpwirtschaft ist in guter Verfassung (Christian Jenny). Interview with Reto Mani, 1.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 80 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli); Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 81 Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).
- 82 Amt für Landwirtschaft und Geoinformation ALG. 2020. Sommerungsbeiträge 2020. [https://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/dvs/alg/dokumentation/agrarmassnahmen/Dokumentliste%20Agrarmassnahmen/Weisungen\\_Sommerungsbeitraege\\_de.pdf#search=s%C3%B6mmerungsbeitr%C3%A4ge](https://www.gr.ch/DE/institutionen/verwaltung/dvs/alg/dokumentation/agrarmassnahmen/Dokumentliste%20Agrarmassnahmen/Weisungen_Sommerungsbeitraege_de.pdf#search=s%C3%B6mmerungsbeitr%C3%A4ge).
- 83 After Stoinescu 2018: 66.
- 84 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 85 Interview with Urs Crotta, 4.9.2018 (M. Stuber / I. Brändli).
- 86 Interview with Toni Jäger, 2.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu); see *Arosener Zeitung*, 9.3.2007: 5: Bodengeschäfte in Arosa. Aus den Verhandlungen des Bürgerrates der Bürgergemeinde Chur (Norbert Waser).
- 87 *Arosener Zeitung*, 12.5.2000: Sesselbahnprojekt Carmenna / Plattenhorn (WWF Graubünden, Pro Natura Graubünden).
- 88 E. g. *Arosener Zeitung*, 30.1.2004: 1: Die Meinungen gehen weit auseinander. Informationsabend Überbauung Prätschli (Peter Lüscher); *Beobachter*. 14.3.2005: Hotelprojekt: Auf der Alm, do gibt's koa Bausünd (Thomas Buomberger). <https://>

[www.beobachter.ch/burger-verwaltung/hotelprojekt-auf-der-alm-do-gibts-koa-bau-sund](http://www.beobachter.ch/burger-verwaltung/hotelprojekt-auf-der-alm-do-gibts-koa-bau-sund); *Arosener Zeitung*, 2.3.2007: Gastkommentar – Entgegnung des WWF auf unseren Kommentar (Anitta Mazzetta).

- 89 *Arosener Zeitung*, 19.10.2007: Das Bundesgericht muss endgültig entscheiden (Peter Lüscher).  
 90 *Bündner Zeitung*, 25.4.1992: Arosa: Churer DSP-Gemeinderäte fordern Kunstdüngerverbot auf Churer Alpen.  
 91 Interview mit Reto Mani, 1.2.2018 (M. Stuber / A. Stoinescu).  
 92 Gesetz über die Bewirtschaftung der Churer Alpen (Alpgesetz), 2005. <https://www.chur.ch/rechtssammlung/sammlung/116086>.

## References

- Andermatt, P., Freiburghaus, L. and Koch, M. 2019. *Die Kollektivbewirtschaftung der Churer Alpen in Arosa. Untersuchung der Robustheit eines Allmendressourcen-Managementsystems aus der emischen Perspektive*. Bern: Bachelorarbeit Sozialanthropologie Universität.
- Blickle, P. 2011. Kommunalismus und Republikanismus revisited. Graubünden als paradigmatischer Fall. In *Gemeinden und Verfassung. Bündner Politik und Gebietsstruktur gestern, heute, morgen*, edited by Hitz, F., Rathgeb, C. and Risi, M., Chur/Glarus: Südostschweiz Buchverlag, pp. 13–34.
- Brändli, I. 2019. *Die Bürgergemeinde Chur. Aus der Zeit gefallen und doch beständig. Eine Untersuchung mit Schwergewicht auf den Jahresrechnungen und -berichten unter Einbezug der Korporation Uri*. Zürich: Masterarbeit Universität.
- Bruggmann, T. 2017. *Wachsendes Selbstbewusstsein und zunehmende Verschriftlichung – Churer Quellen des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Bündner Geschichte, Bd. 35. Chur: Kommissionsverlag Desertina.
- Buchmann, W. 1977. *Schweizer Bürgergemeinden als Landschafts-Aktoren: ihr Grundeigentum und dessen aktuelle Entwicklung am Beispiel von Bern, Chur und Solothurn*. Basel.
- Bühler, L. 1993a. Die Bischofsstadt. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 219–224.
- Bühler, L. 1993b. Stadtbild. Wirtschaft und Bevölkerung bis zum beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 225–265.
- Bühler, L. 2015. Chur (Gemeinde). 450 bis ca. 1450. In *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HLS*. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/001581/2015-11-18/>.
- Bundi, M. 1993a. Aussehen, Bevölkerung, Erwerbszweige. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 266–323.
- Bundi, M. 1993b. Chur in seinen Beziehungen zu den Drei Bünden und nach aussen. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 356–381.
- Bundi, M. 1993c. Wirtschaftliche, soziale und politische Entwicklung bis ungefähr 1640. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 451–493.
- Bundi, M. 2015. Chur (Gemeinde). Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. In *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HLS*. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/001581/2015-11-18/>.
- Bundi, S. 2016. *Gemeindebürger, Niedergelassene und Ausländer. Eine Bündner Abgrenzungsgeschichte 1874–1974*. Baden: hier und jetzt.
- Casti, J.B. 1971. *Monographie über Arosa*. 3 Bde. Arosa: Gemeinde Arosa.
- Cronjäger, L. (forthcoming). *Bäume für das neue Jahrtausend. Die Vorstellung einer genauen und nachhaltigen Ressourcenverwaltung*.



- Curschellas, J.M. 1926. *Die Gemeinatzung*. Ilanz: Moriz Maggi's Erben.
- Forst- und Alpverwaltung der Stadt Chur (2003). *Betriebsanalyse zur Anpassung der Forst- und Alpenverwaltung an die veränderten Ansprüche. Projektbericht*. Chur: abenis AG.
- Ernst, C. 2000. Forstgesetze in der Frühen Neuzeit. Zielvorgaben und Normierungsinstrumente für die Waldentwicklung in Kurtrier, dem Kröver Reich und der Hinteren Grafschaft Sponheim (Hunsrück und Eifel). In *Policy und frühneuzeitliche Gesellschaft*, edited by K. Härter. Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, pp. 341–381.
- Fuchs, K. 2011. *Chur. Historischer Städteatlas der Schweiz*. Zürich: Chronos.
- Gerber, J.-D. 2008. *Les stratégies foncières des grands propriétaires collectifs: Le cas des bourgeoisies de Berne, Soleure et Croire*. Chavannes-près-Renens: Working paper de l'IDHEAP.
- Giacometti, E. 1999. *Die Bürgergemeinde Chur: ihre Entstehung, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Aktivitäten bis heute*. Chur: Bürgergemeinde.
- Grüne, N., Hübner, J. and Siegl, G. (eds.) 2016. *Ländliche Gemeingüter. Kollektive Ressourcennutzung in der europäischen Agrarwirtschaft. Rural Commons. Collective Use of Resources in the European Agrarian Economy*. Innsbruck: Studienverlag.
- Hartmann, J. 1970. Land- und Forstwirtschaft der Stadt Chur. In *Chur. Sammlung Städte und Landschaften der Schweiz*. Genf: Benjamin Laederer, pp. 157–170.
- Hilfiker, M. 1993. Chur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Politik. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 2. pp. 13–66.
- Hilfiker, M. 2015. Chur (Gemeinde). Von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Helvetik. In *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HLS*. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/001581/2015-11-18/>.
- Hitz, F., Rathgeb, C. and Risi, M. (eds.) 2011. *Gemeinden und Verfassung. Bündner Politik und Gebietsstruktur gestern, heute, morgen*. Chur/Glarus: Südostschweiz Buchverlag.
- Jäger, G. 2000. Graubündens Integration in der Schweiz. In *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte*, edited by Verein für Bündner Kulturforschung, Bd. 3, pp. 312–328.
- Jecklin, U. (ed.) 1993. *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, 2 Bde. Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt.
- Jecklin, U. 1993a. Zunftgründung und Zunftentwicklung. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 1. pp. 303–355.
- Jecklin, U. 1993b. Niedergang der Zunfttherschaft und Beginn der Gewerbefreiheit. In *Churer Stadtgeschichte*, edited by Jecklin, U., Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, Bd. 2. pp. 121–172.
- Just, R. 1907. *Die Gemeinde Arosa: Ihr Wirtschaftsleben vor und seit dem Fremdenverkehr*. Zürich: J. Leemann, vormals J. Schabelitz.
- Mantel, M. 1990. *Wald und Forst in der Geschichte. Ein Lehr- und Handbuch*. Hannover: M.H. Schaper.
- Maron, F. 1934. *Vom Bergbauerdorf zum Weltkurort Arosa*. Chur: Verlag F. Schuler.
- Metz, P. 1991. Die Aufhebung der Churer Zunftordnung. *Bündner Jahrbuch* 33: 14–18.
- Mohr, G.R. 1953. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadtgemeinde Chur. In *Churer Stadtbuch*. Chur: Bischofberger & Co., pp. 101–136.
- Moll, D. 2020. *Räumliche Rekonstruktion der Bodenpolitik der Bürgergemeinde Chur. Handänderungen, Baurechtsvergaben und Bauprojekte seit 1875*. Bern: Seminararbeit Historisches Institut Universität.
- Moosberger, H. 1891. *Die Bündnerische Allmende*. Chur: Chr. Senti.
- Passini, F. 2004. *Die bündnerische Gemeinatzung. Ein Überrest des früheren Gemeineigentums*. Zürich: Dissertation Univ.
- Pieth, F. 1951. Der Wald in der bündnerischen Kulturgeschichte. *Bündnerisches Monatsblatt* 44–52; 65–81.

- Pieth, F. 1953. Ein Blick in die Vergangenheit der Stadt. In *Churer Stadtbuch*. Chur: Bischofberger & Co., pp. 27–83.
- Plüss, D. 2020. *Die Gemeindegüter der Bürgergemeinde Chur vom ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert bis heute*. Bern: Bachelorarbeit Historisches Institut Universität.
- Sablonier, R. 2000. Politik und Staatlichkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Rätien. In *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte*, edited by Verein für Bündner Kulturforschung, Bd. 1, pp. 245–291.
- Schorta, A. 1942. *Das Landschaftsbild von Chur im 14. Jahrhundert, eine Flurnamenstudie*. Genf: Librairie E. Droz; Zürich: Eugen Rentsch.
- Schuler, A. 2018. Forstliches Wirken von Coaz. In *Coaz, Pionier seiner Zeit (1822–1918)*. Jubiläumsausgabe Bündner Wald 17, Juli: 26–31.
- Schuler, F. 2011. Die Entwicklung des Bündner Gemeindegewesens im 20. Jahrhundert. In *Gemeinden und Verfassung. Bündner Politik und Gebietsstruktur gestern, heute, morgen*, edited by Hitz, F., Rathgeb, C. and Risi, M. (eds.). Chur/Glarus: Südostschweiz Buchverlag, pp. 135–154.
- Simonett, J. 2015. Chur (Gemeinde). Von der Helvetik bis zur Gegenwart. In *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz HLS*. <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/001581/2015-11-18/>.
- Spinatsch, J. 2005. *Der Waldfrevl in Chur zwischen 1750 und 1840. Eine Studie über das interaktive Konfliktpotential des Waldes während der Übergangszeit vom Ancien Régime in eine neue Gesellschaft*. Zürich: Lizentiatsarbeit Univ.
- Stoinescu, A. 2018. *Optimierung der Wirtschaftlichkeit von Alpweiden durch kooperatives Management. Eine qualitative Forschung in Schweizer Gemeinden*. Zürich: Masterarbeit Ethnologie Universität.
- Stuber, M. 2020. Vom Versorgungswald zum Försterwald – die «Oberaufsicht über die Forstpolizei» in der Longue durée. In *Umweltpolitik in der Schweiz. Von der Forstpolizei zur Ökobilanzierung*, edited by H.A. Mieg and U. Haefeli. Basel: NZZ Libro, pp. 34–53.
- Stuber, M. and Bürgi, M. 2012. *Hüterbueb und Heitsträhl. Traditionelle Formen der Waldnutzung in der Schweiz 1800–2000*. Bern, Stuttgart, Wien: Haupt (2. Aufl.).
- Töndury, O.A. 1949. *Der Finanzhaushalt der Stadt Chur in seiner Entwicklung*. Chur: Bischofberger.
- Viallon, X.-F. Liechti, K., Stuber, M. and Wunderli, R. 2019. Vermittlung, Einbau, Komplementarität – Formen des staatlichen Zugriffs auf kollektive Weiden und Wälder in der Schweiz im späten 19. Jahrhundert. In *Kollektive Weiden und Wälder. Ökonomie, Partizipation, Nachhaltigkeit*, edited by A.-L. Head-König, L. Lorenzetti, M. Stuber, and R. Wunderli (Geschichte der Alpen – Histoire des Alpes – Storia delle Alpi, Bd. 24), Zürich: Chronos, pp. 125–149.
- Waldungen der Stadt Chur. 1953. In *Churer Stadtbuch*. Chur: Bischofberger & Co., pp. 163–168.
- Wendler, U. 2015. Das Churer Zunftregiment: die städtische Zunftverfassung in der zeitgenössischen Literatur. *Bündner Monatsblatt: Zeitschrift für Bündner Geschichte, Landeskunde und Baukultur* 1: 28–57.
- Wendler, U. 2018. Reform und Weiterentwicklung, Die Churer Zunftverfassung von 1577. *Jahrbuch der Historischen Gesellschaft Graubündens*: 37–77.
- Werthemann, A. 1969. *Schweizerischer Alpkataster. Kanton Graubünden. Teil 1*. Bern: Abteilung für Landwirtschaft EVD.