# ROME AND THE COLONIAL CITY

Rethinking the Grid

Edited by
Sofia Greaves and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

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Front and back cover artwork by Sofia Greaves.

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Series preface

The present series of three volumes was made possible by a five-year Advanced Grant from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 693418). By an ironic twist of fate, our 'Impact of the Ancient City' proposal was submitted to and accepted by the ERC at the very period when many in the UK seemed to have lost sight of the power of the ideals of free movement of goods, people and ideas. The University sector in general – and Cambridge in particular, the Classics Faculty of which hosted the project – felt that popular rhetoric had lost sight of solid advantages. The benefits reaped from the circulation of people and ideas go beyond the economic. The academic enterprise is and always has been a cosmopolitan one, and it is a relief that our government has agreed that this is one aspect of the old relationship with Europe worth preserving. Our gratitude to the European Union is therefore heartfelt.

In Europe and across the globe today there is tremendous interest in urbanism as a defining feature of our world, but often without sensitivity to the historical depth of cities. What we proposed was to think again about the relationship between cities with a Greco-Roman past and the long history of urbanism across the Mediterranean that has continued to the present. To do this, we felt it would not help to suggest a single story line. The story of 'Classical reception' increasingly concerns Classicists who, when challenged on the relevance of this past world to the present, point to a long and changing story of relevances. Strangely enough, there has been surprisingly little attention given to the 'reception' of ancient, Greco-Roman urbanism. To fill that gap, what we hoped to explore was how the city is not only a fundamental characteristic of Greco-Roman civilisation, but has acted as a vital mechanism by which that civilization was generated, transmitted and transmuted. Our project is about understanding changing responses to the urban past over the duration of two millennia, with a focus on the Mediterranean region.

The ERC Advanced Grant presented us with the exceptional opportunity to be ambitious in both scope and range while creating a small community of scholars with expertise from different periods and areas that reached beyond the capacities of any single scholar. From the outset the project was designed to range chronologically from late antiquity to the present, geographically across the Mediterranean, east and west, culturally across the Christian and Islamic worlds, and in disciplinary terms across the study of texts and physical remains. Despite the generous support, we soon discovered that it was impossible to do more than sample this vast area, selecting a group of scholars who both complemented and challenged each other: a late antique archaeologist specializing in Visigothic Spain (Javier Martínez Jiménez),

an early medieval historian focusing on relations between the courts of Charlemagne and Umayyad Spain (Sam Ottewill-Soulsby), an Arabist and historian of the medieval Middle East (Edward Zychowicz-Coghill), an archaeologist working on late antique and early Islamic Jordan and Egypt (Louise Blanke), an architectural historian exploring the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman (Suna Çağaptay), a late antique historian who has turned her attention to Ottoman Greece (Elizabeth Key Fowden), a PhD student with a background in Classics studying urban planning in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italy (Sofia Greaves) and a principal investigator specializing in Roman social history and urban archaeology in Italy (Andrew Wallace-Hadrill).

Other Cambridge colleagues joined our discussions on a regular basis, notably Tom Langley, writing a PhD on ideas of the city in Greek Patristic writers, Professor Amira Bennison, a historian of the medieval Maghrib, especially its cities, Professor Rosamond McKitterick, a leading figure in the study of Carolingian France and papal Rome, and Professor Martin Millett, a Roman archaeologist with a longstanding interest in urbanism. We benefited from the support and advice of the members of our Advisory Committee, both in Cambridge (in addition to the above named, Cyprian Broodbank, Robin Cormack, Garth Fowden, Alessandro Launaro, Robin Osborne and John Patterson) and beyond – Luuk de Ligt (Leiden), Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Istanbul), Ray Laurence (Sydney), Keith Lilley (Belfast) and from Oxford, Josephine Quinn, Bryan Ward-Perkins and Chris Wickham. We also enjoyed the invaluable support of two administrators, Nigel Thompson of the Classics Faculty and Beth Clark, whose calm efficiency facilitated conferences and seminars, enabled foreign travel and smoothed contact with the bureaucracies at both ends.

We invited many scholars, from Cambridge or further afield, to share their knowledge with us at our weekly seminars. We also organised one-day workshops, including one on the Roman and Islamic city in North Africa and one on Cities and Citizenship after antiquity (that led to an *Al-Masāq* special issue)[1], as well a panel for the 2018 Leeds International Medieval congress on 'Memory' and two three-day conferences, one in Istanbul and one in Rome. The last three underlie the three volumes in the present series. In each of those conferences, the members of our group contributed, but we knew that to cover the ground we needed to bring in international colleagues. The three volumes that constitute the present series are far from exhausting the output of the project, and each of us has papers and monographs in the pipeline or already out. Each of the three volumes has its own set of questions, but together they build up an overriding collective agenda of exploring how the cities of the Greek and Roman past, and such ideas of the city that were articulated around them, have impacted on the city and the idea of the city in later periods.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill
29 July 2021

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[1] Javier Martínez Jiménez and Sam Ottewill-Soulsby, *Cities and Citizenship after Rome*, Al-Masāq. Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean vol. 32 no. 1 (2020).

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Decolonising the Roman grid

Sofia Greaves and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

> One day a man stepped forth called Hippodamos, a Pythagorean, and consequently learned in mathematics and a philosopher and an architect. He first opposed a scientific system of town planning to the old practice, as Aristotle tells us, κατα τὸν νεώτερον τρόπον – the new method opposed to the old practice. He planned the town according to the rectangular system, and he divided the land – let me see, it must have been something like Hampstead Garden Suburb, so you know it all, and I need not describe it.[1]

These words, delivered by the German planner Rudolf Eberstadt at the world's first *Town Planning Conference* held in London in 1910, represent a claim to an affinity between ancient and modern town planning that was widely shared by the delegates. Architects, engineers and medics saw in the urban environment a tool for improving society, after revolution, disease, population expansion and technological development placed this matter at the forefront of government concerns. At this *Town Planning Conference*, the first of its kind, over one thousand participants gathered from nations across the West, including Italy, France, Britain and the United States, so that they might study 'the questions involved in our cities' improvement and extension'.[2]

Aristotle does indeed tell us that Hippodamus of Miletus 'discovered how to cut up a city', though he had little patience for a figure he criticised as 'a strange man' and 'not a statesman'.[3] Eberstadt's Hippodamus was instead 'a philosopher and an architect', allegedly just as rational as Raymond Unwin (1863–1940), planner of Hampstead Garden Suburb and author of *Town Planning in Practice* (1909). Eberstadt might be forgiven for falling into the widely shared misconception that Hippodamus was first to plan on the grid.[4] Dr. Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College

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[1] Eberstadt, 'Toast to Science', 104.
[2] The conference took place between the 10th and 15th of October, 1910. 'Record of the Conference' Simpson, 'Preface', p. iii. Its significance for Haverfield is incisively discussed by Ray Laurence, 'Modern ideology and the creation of ancient town planning'.
[3] Aristotle, *Politica*, 1267b22–1268al4. See the chapter by Wallace-Hadrill in this volume for more detail.
[4] See Mazza, 'Plan and constitution'.
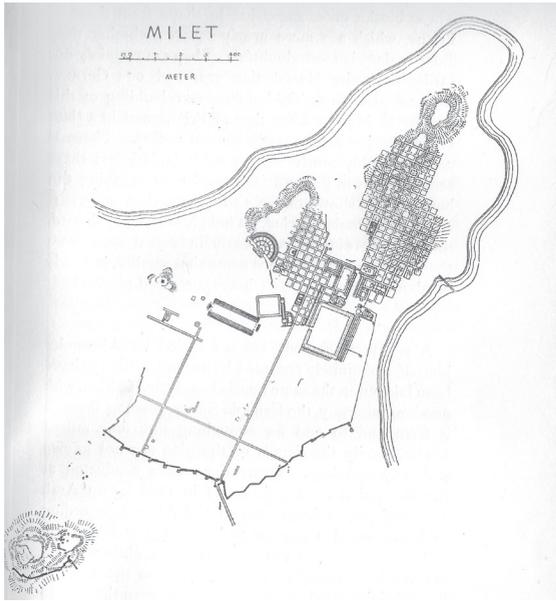
Figure 1.1. Plan of Miletus, as published in Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning, *45, fig. 9.*

Oxford, also told his students how 'Aristotle tells us in "The Politics", Hippodamus of Miletus, the famous philosopher and *savant*, invented town planning'.[5] The plan of the recently excavated Miletus seemed to certify this hypothesis (Fig. 1.1).

However, Eberstadt's misunderstanding was welcome to urban planners because Hippodamus 'stepped forth' just like the architects of his generation. Hippodamus 'the architect' provided them with an ancient ancestor who lent weight to their assertions that 'it is as *a branch of architecture* that the Town Planning movement will go down to posterity'.[6] Aristotle's Hippodamus, who applied 'a scientific system of town planning to the old practice', also verified the superimposition of new 'rational' schemes over other settlement types. It could be argued that since 'the birth of planning' such settlements had *always been* deemed 'unplanned'. This notion legitimised the erasure of 'the old practice' in present day: 'the *laissez-faire* period of town growth corresponding to the last half of the last century [which] has proved its wastefulness as well as its hideousness'.[7]

A cursory glance at Hampstead Garden Suburb (Fig. 1.2) and the supposedly Hippodamian Miletus (Fig. 1.1) immediately shows that Eberstadt made a questionable generalisation. Hampstead was clearly not laid out on 'the rectangular system'. Hampstead was indeed laid out according to a very specific sequence. First the topography was surveyed, second the position of all the trees was devised and finally the central square was laid out. Then followed public buildings and the 'wide avenue' which formed its central axis.[8] We cannot know how Hippodamus 'planned', because no treatise survives, but suddenly Hampstead – a new scheme following a unique logic – found legitimacy in an ancient, Hippodamian precedent.

To some extent it was unsurprising that Eberstadt and others chose to discuss ancient urbanism in the context of the *Town Planning Conference*. Greco-Roman writers left a legacy of texts which discussed urban layout and aesthetics, with the result

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[5]   Attendees visited Cambridge and Oxford on 15th October 1910. Warren, 'Oxford', 89.

[6]   Lanchester and Unwin, 'Notes on the exhibits', 734. Emphasis in original.

[7]   Reilly, 'The Immediate Future in England', 339.

[8]   'Hampstead Garden Suburb', *Members' Handbook*, 72.
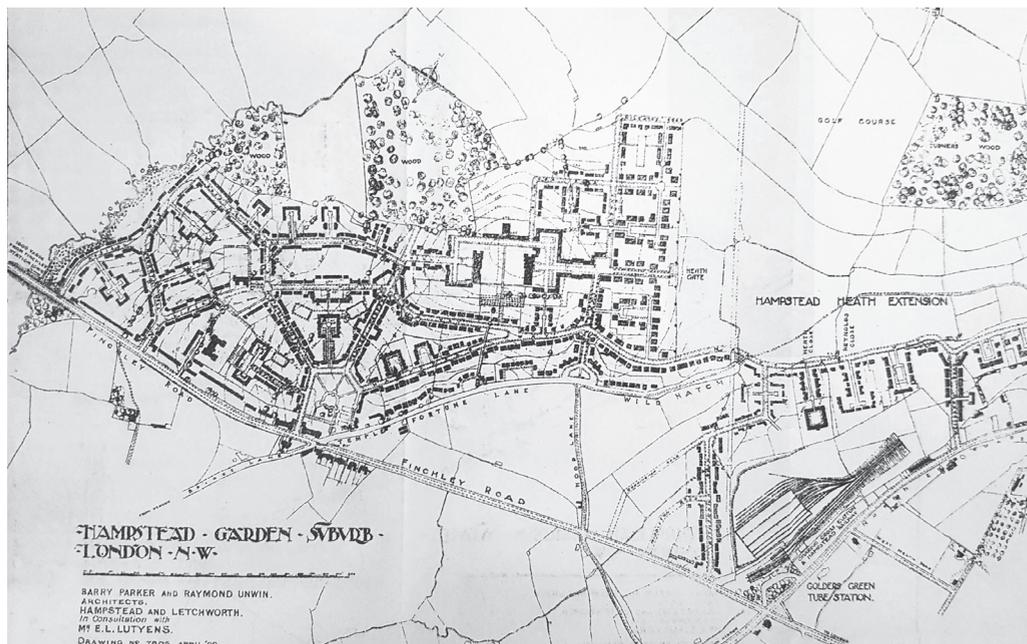
Figure 1.2. Hampstead Garden Suburb, *plan drawn by Edward Lutyens. Unwin designed Letchworth Garden City in 1903, after which he designed Hampstead Garden City in 1905.*

that the subject of ancient town planning had long been debated in the Western tradition. Vitruvius, author of the *de Architectura*, the only extant Roman architectural treatise, taught how to build an ideal city.[9] Renaissance writers Alberti and Averlino Filarete interpreted Vitruvius for their world, adding their own diagrams. Even if their presentation of the ideal layout as radial and octagonal derived from their misinterpretation of the Latin text, these diagrams built upon and became a part of Vitruvius' legacy.[10] The reception, transmission and interrogation of Greco-Roman ideas about cities also legitimised later theories and planning projects, from Palmanova (1658) to London, reimagined by Christopher Wren after the fire of 1666 (Fig. 1.3). This process continued up to the conference in 1910, where we can also hear clear echoes of Vitruvian paradigms for the healthy city in the words of Ebenezer Howard, author of *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, who emphasised that 'The most essential needs surely are adequate space, light and air. No city will ever be an ideal city unless it provides those essential conditions for all the people'.[11]

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9 Vitruvius, *de Architectura*. Vitruvius was translated into English by Valentin Rose in 1867 and 1899.
10 See Wallace-Hadrill, this volume.
11 Howard, 'The city of the future', 384. Initially published in 1898 as *Tomorrow! A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, republished as *Garden Cities* in 1902. See Alston, 'Class cities', on the importance of Vitruvius to Howard and Unwin's thinking.
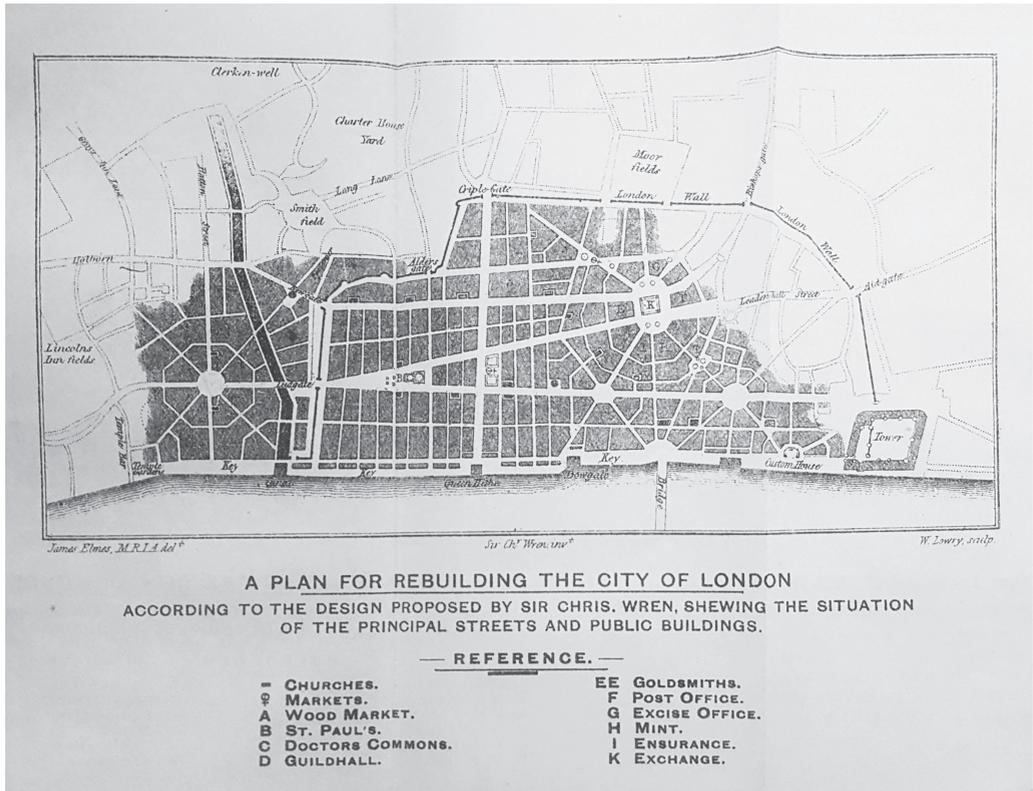
Figure 1.3. Christopher Wren's 'A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London', 1666. Unbuilt. Reproduced in the Members' Handbook *given to attendees of the* Town Planning Conference*, London, 1910.* Members' Handbook*, 8.*

Planners of Howard's generation looked back to antiquity for solutions because they hoped to civilise society, 'to sweep away the poisonous atmosphere of the dens of infamy', and to make 'better citizens, better men'.[12] They continued a process which has progressively reshaped the very idea and legacy of 'the Roman city' in material and conceptual ways.

For example, comparisons between Hampstead and a Hippodamian city continued a process of distorting the very image of the latter. Just as Hampstead was now linked to Hippodamian cities, Miletus was associated to Hampstead Garden Suburb. This introduction began in the Edwardian period because it represented a crucial moment in this tradition of reinterpretation; as a result of the interaction between disciplines, which occurred within the domain of 'the city', the reconceptualisation of ancient and modern urbanism occurred simultaneously and symbiotically.

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[12]   Redesdale, 'Toast to art', 100.

Architects, engineers, medics and archaeologists worked alongside each other and were influenced by one another. They shared an intellectual framework because they were educated in the classics and were therefore receptive to similarities between their practice.[13] Planners were interested in and exposed to archaeological material because it seemed relevant. Antiquity also underpinned their discipline, which was preoccupied with public health infrastructure; for example, excavations in Pompeii and Ostia clearly showed that Greco-Roman cities had (already) possessed straight streets, water distribution, public fountains, sewers, private pipes, toilets and baths.[14] Equally, archaeologists were involved in urban planning processes, which facilitated excavation and necessitated a memorialisation of the ancient past. Their excavations and publications were consequently influenced by assertions such as Eberstadt's. The picture of the 'Greco-Roman city' formulated in this period was deeply shaped, both conceptually and materially, by nineteenth-century preoccupations and what we might term 'the modern city context'.[15] As a result, the modern city and ancient city came to reflect one another; our picture of ancient urbanism has been rationalised, regularised, even 'sanitised'.

The *Town Planning Conference* provides an excellent case study through which to explore this problem. The conference began with 'Cities of the Past,' which had long been, by their definition, the cities of Greece and Rome despite their broader knowledge of ancient civilisations.[16] Here, British archaeologists Francis Haverfield and Thomas Ashby presented 'the Roman City', while Percy Gardner covered 'the Greek city'.[17] German art critic Albert Brinckmann presented 'The Evolution of the Ideal in Town Planning since the Renaissance'.[18] Papers then progressed, chronologically, through the 'Cities of the Present' to 'Cities of the Future.' The structure schematised and simplified cities into periods and models, creating 'a certain logical scheme', in order to construct an understanding of civilisations with practical value. As Leslie Cope Cornford[19] summarised it: 'If those who build the city of the future will take what serves their need from the cities of the past, what they shall build will be a new thing answering to the new need.'[20]

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[13] For classical literature and the professional education systems, see Malatesta, *Professionisti e gentiluomini*; Stray, *Classics transformed.*

[14] Kosak, 'Polis Nosousa' and Nutton, 'Medical thoughts', discuss how different understandings of disease causation make ancient and modern cities different, despite their infrastructural similarities.

[15] See Fustel de Coulanges' *The ancient city* and Momigliano 'The Ancient city of Fustel'. For debates surrounding the economy, see Derks, '"The ancient economy"' and Reibig, *The Bücher-Meyer Controversy.*

[16] For a broad discussion of archaeological practice and its development across the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, see Diaz Andreu, *A world history of nineteenth-century archaeology.*

[17] Francis Haverfield (1860–1919). Archaeologist and professor of Ancient History at Oxford, from 1907. Percy Gardner (1846–1937). Professor of Classical Archaeology at Oxford from 1887.

[18] Albert E. Brinckmann (1881–1958). Art historian, early exponent of the study of Baroque art.

[19] Leslie Cope Cornford (1867–1927) was a journalist and short story writer. He worked at the *National Observer*, *Morning Post* and the *Standard.*

[20] Cope Cornford, 'The city of the future', 380.

The archaeologists and historians who were present at the conference openly encouraged the notion that modern urbanism had been 'inherited' from ancient Greco-Roman practice. Brinckmann believed that Rome brought about the birth of town planning, claiming, 'The influence of Rome is immense. If it had not been for the efforts of that city modern town-planning would be inconceivable'.[21] He argued that post-Roman urbanism owed its forms to antiquity, 'The development of the idea of town planning, conceived in Rome, was taken up by France and above all by Paris, under a monarchy which looked upon the architecture of its towns as the highest expression of its power'.[22]

Similarly, Francis Haverfield indicated that ancient Roman planning embodied the same aesthetic concerns as contemporary planners.

> The great gift of the Roman Empire to Western Europe was town life and during the Roman Empire the creation of new towns went on a pace ... Ancient life I think, differed from modern in nothing so much as in its preferences for set and almost crystallised forms within which to express itself. This is specially seen in the form given to the town.[23]

Haverfield also echoed Eberstadt's ideas about Hippodamus, who was for him 'first of all architects' and took an interest in the town as a 'harmonious whole centered around the market-place'.[24] Gardner similarly read the Hippodamian grid as an expression of public health concerns, believing that Hippodamus 'the architect' showed, 'the course of the ancient world is in many ways parallel to that of the modern world'.[25] He projected modern logic onto the ancient grid plan, arguing that, 'As with us, so among the Greeks, there was a contrast between the old cities with their narrow and crooked streets and the new cities with their unity of plan and search for convenience'.[26] This showed, in Gardner's words, that 'Architecture and the planning of cities went through, in the ancient world, the same two phases through which they have gone in the modern world'.[27] Compare how art historian Gerald Baldwin Brown also implied that Hippodamus was interested in order, imperialism and good hygiene; Hippodamus set an example for ancient governments just as modern Paris did for the western world: 'Hippodamus of Miletus, in the spirit of the pedagogue, superimposed on the broken and hilly side of the Piraeus the Babylonian scheme of straight streets and regular intersections, just as in our own epoch Napoleon III straightened out old Paris'.[28]

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[21]   Brinckmann, 'The evolution of the ideal', 161.
[22]   Brinckmann, 'The evolution of the ideal', 163.
[23]   Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world', 123.
[24]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 29.
[25]   Gardner, 'The planning of Hellenistic cities', 122.
[26]   Gardner, 'The planning of Hellenistic cities', 122.
[27]   Gardner, 'The planning of Hellenistic cities', 112.
[28]   Baldwin Brown, 'Town planning and the preservation of ancient features', 189.
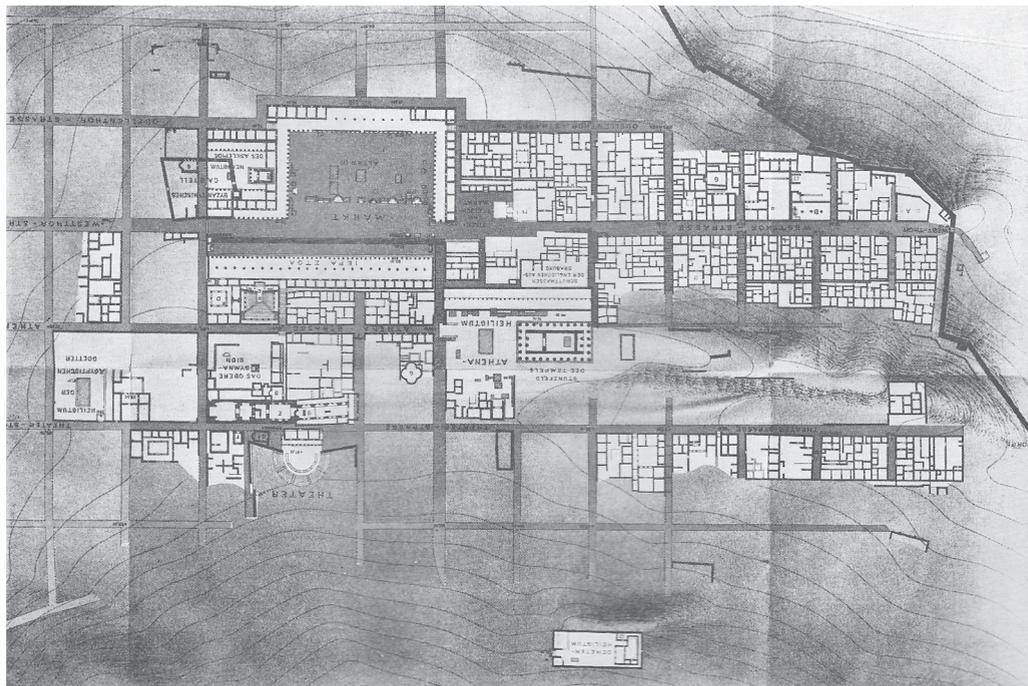
Figure 1.4. Plan of Priene, shown by Gardner, as in Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning, *42, fig. 7.*

By helping to construct this image of a 'modern ancient town' archaeologists proved the importance of their discipline during its technical formation. They even placed the modernity of antiquity into competition with present schemes. Gardner presented Priene (Fig. 1.4), in Ionia, and claimed:

> This plan may well surprise all to whom it is new. The market-place lies foursquare in the centre of the city and about it the whole town is cut up into square blocks of uniform size by straight streets which cross each other at right angles and run through the town from wall to wall. Surely no American city was ever planned on a more regular scheme.[29]

Rodolfo Lanciani (1846–1929), who held a degree in architecture and engineering, asserted that Roman Ostia, where excavations were ongoing, was built 'by a man whom we might almost call a builder of an American modern city, for he was absolutely devoted to right angles'.[30]

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29   Gardner, 'The planning of Hellenistic cities', 114.
30   Lanciani, 'Discussion', 178. Lanciani excavated in Ostia, 1877–1889. He acted as discussant for papers on the 'Cities of the Past' and was only included at the conference because he 'happened to come to London by accident'. He was 'quite unprepared', Lanciani, 'Discussion', 178. American cities such as San Francisco (1852), Paris (1854), Manhattan (1811) and Chicago (1909), all had plans defined by roads running north to south, and east to west. For Lanciani and Ostia, Palombi, *Rodolfo Lanciani*, 41.

Subsequent generations of scholars have built their understanding of ancient urbanism upon two primary assumptions made by Haverfield's generation. First, that 'the Greco-Roman city' could be simplified into a model, and second, that this model embodied values of civilization in contrast to barbarism. Such assumptions were the product of the Edwardian mindset, and we can explore them here through Haverfield's conception of 'Town Planning'. His conference paper, 'Town Planning in the Roman World', later expanded as *Ancient Town-Planning* (1913), constituted the first study of Greco-Roman urbanism. He claimed that it was an opportune moment to study antiquity because modern town planning lacked 'the method and recognized principles which even an art requires', and 'Little attempt is made to assign [it] any specific sense'. Haverfield argued that classicists could provide such sense; therefore he wrote the first collection of Greek and Roman town planning principles 'in a manner useful to classical scholars and historians'.[31] As he put it, 'a student of ancient history might proffer parallels from antiquity, and especially from the Hellenistic and Roman ages, which somewhat resemble the present day in their care for the well-being of the individual'.[32] Both his paper and his monograph were written whilst keeping the 'use' value of antiquity in mind.

> The Roman town was usually a rectangle broken up into four more or less equal and rectangular parts by two main streets which crossed at right angles at or near its centre. To these two streets all the other streets ran parallel or at right angles, and there resulted a definite 'chess-board' pattern of rectangular house-blocks (*insulae*), square or oblong in shape, more or less uniform in size.[33]

Haverfield was not wrong to emphasise the influence and extent of Greco-Roman urbanism, but as Ray Laurence first argued, his conceptualisation of Roman urbanism itself was problematic and highly artificial.[34] Haverfield 'created' a model for Roman town planning by presenting a selection of Roman colonies. To him, Florence, Aosta, Turin and Trier represented a 'set' which showed the consistency of Roman construction practice; he ignored their topographies, cultural differences and historical contexts. Certainly, Haverfield's model was substantiated by the empirical evidence provided by ongoing excavations: 'archaeological remains testify abundantly to the character of this Roman town plan' (Fig. 1.5).[35] However, these plans, which reduced the city to a two-dimensional image, quite naturally supported his ideas. They had been produced by archaeologists who also believed in the rationality of antiquity. In many cases these grids were based upon conjecture, a failing shared by many schematised plans of ancient cities, a theme explored by Martin Millett in this volume.

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[31]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 4.
[32]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 4.
[33]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 17.
[34]   Laurence, 'Modern ideology and the creation of ancient town planning'.
[35]   Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world', 125.
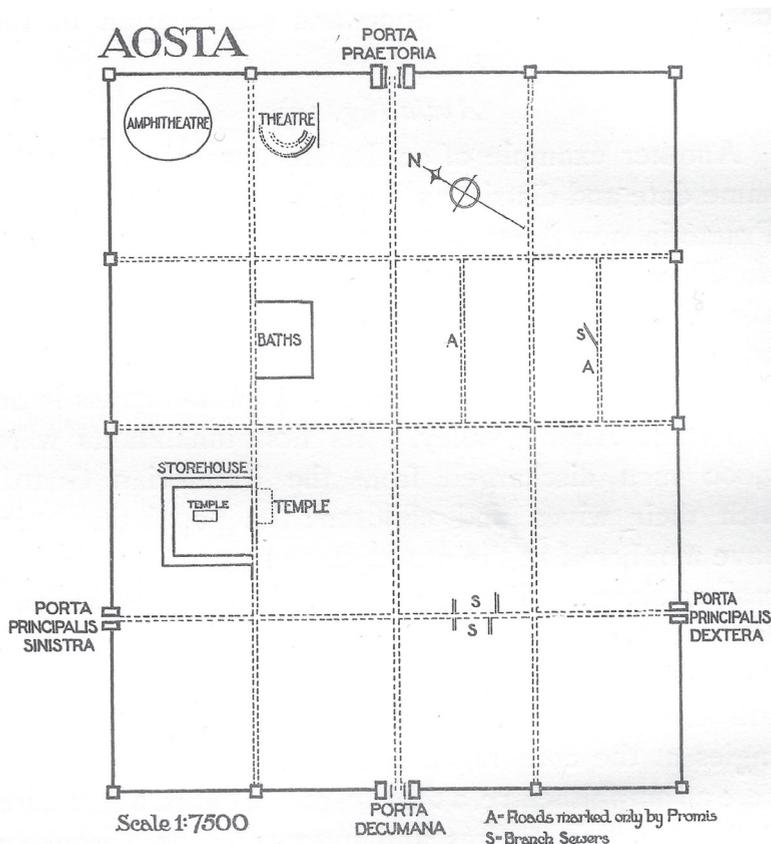
Figure 1.5. Plan of Aosta, as in Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning*, 90, fig.16.*

To see some of the implications of Haverfield's 'Roman city model' we must turn to his statement that 'The square and the straight line are indeed the simplest marks which divide civilized man from the barbarian'.[36] Such a remark equated rectilinearity to civility, whilst categorising organic settlement types as 'barbarian' and 'rural'. On this basis, Haverfield claimed that in antiquity 'the Roman Empire *was* the civilized world', and made the rectilinear plan synonymous with clarity and morality.[37] He claimed therefore that the Romans planned with 'consciousness' and were an 'orderly and coherent civilization'.[38] He belittled the winding roads produced by

> the savage, inconsistent in his moral life [who] is equally inconsistent, equally unable to keep straight in his house-building and his road making.[39]

[36]   Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world', 124.
[37]   Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 3. Emphasis mine.
[38]   Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*.
[39]   Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 2; Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 14–15.

Even if Haverfield clearly wished to provide a diverse picture of ancient planning by the standards of his time, cautioning 'it is quite possible for roads to cross at right angles without being Roman', he did little to diversify his picture of Roman urbanism itself. The grid plans of other civilisations seemed to be 'exceptions to the rule', hence 'the rectangular street plan itself was used occasionally in the Middle ages', in contrast to the characteristic use of this plan in Roman antiquity.[40]

Ultimately, Haverfield saw the ancient and modern world through his education in Greco-Roman texts. His comment that 'The square and the straight line are indeed the simplest marks which divide civilized man from the barbarian', superimposed the same categories as the *De architectura*, where Vitruvius described how architecture evolved alongside mankind from its barbaric origins as primitive 'huts of straw', which was the 'practice of uncivilised nations'.[41] As Vitruvius expressed it, 'the rising art was so cultivated that ... by attending to the comforts and luxuries of civilized society, it was carried to the highest degree of perfection' in the Roman period.[42] Haverfield did not question this narrative; he therefore believed that the Roman city was the expression of civilisation.

Haverfield worked out his ideas on the cultural impact of Roman rule with particular reference to Roman Britain. The liveliest discussion of his ideas has occurred within the field of Roman British archaeology, which has rejected his model and its assumption of superiority of Roman culture to that of the 'barbarian' conquered.[43] There is no doubt that Haverfield shared contemporary beliefs about the values of imperial rule which have lost their validity today. He saw urbanisation as an essential ingredient of an imperial 'civilising process' and he was on occasion explicit in seeing the Romans in Britain as a parallel to the British in India.[44] Hence he attempted to pin down the mechanism of cultural transformation which he saw as implicit in urbanisation, and argued that the Romans had 'Romanised' Britain by introducing rectilinear planning. Settlements like Caerwent (Fig. 1.6) were seen to be the product of 'Romanisation', a process which had civilised the British barbarians.[45] This argument underpinned British imperialism and its initiative to colonise and civilize 'barbarian' lands through urban planning projects in India

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40 Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world', 129.
41 Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 2.1.4. This also followed the kind of logic developed by George Cuvier (1769–1832), whose studies of the animal kingdom cast civilisations living in organically planned settlements as less evolved. Cuvier *et al.*, *The animal kingdom arranged in conformity with its organisation.*
42 Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 2.1.7.
43 Hingley, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen* convincingly locates Haverfield's thinking in its Edwardian context; Freeman, *The Best Training-ground for Archaeologists* adds nuance and detail, esp. 334–342. See also Laurence, *Roman Archaeology for Historians*, 13–14, 74.
44 Haverfield, 'Some Roman conceptions of Empire'.
45 Alston has also noted how the image of a Romano-British settlement as a mixture of the Roman 'urban' grid and the 'rural' Celtic settlement provided an attractive predecessor for Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. Alson, 'Class cities'.
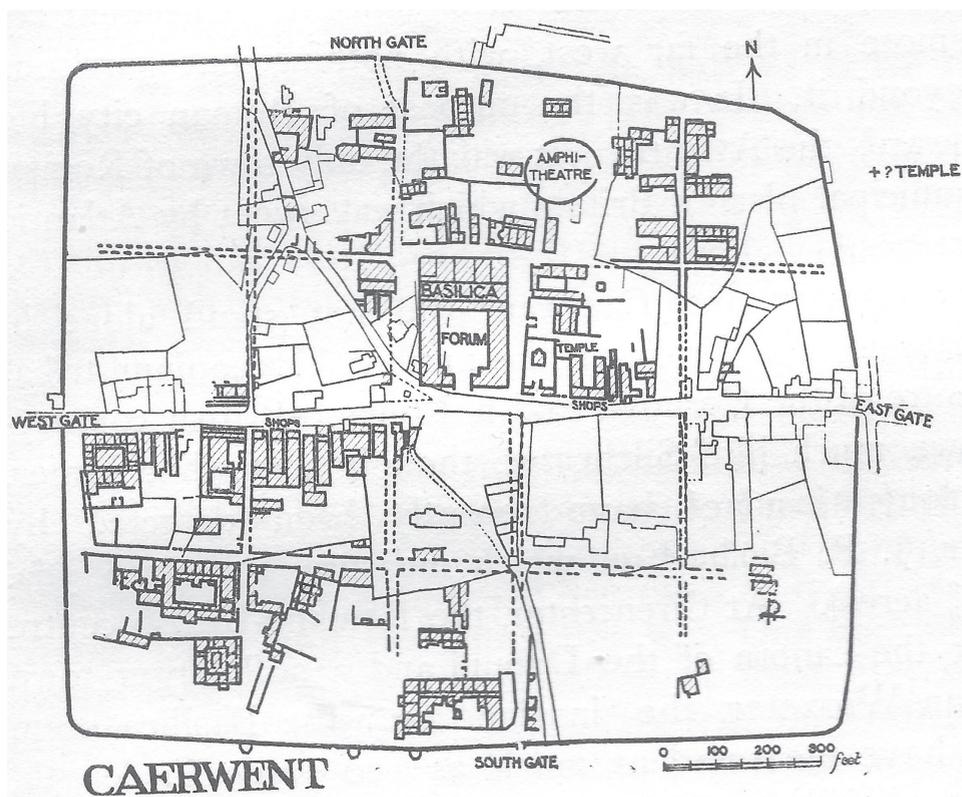
Figure 1.6. 'Venta Silurum (Caerwent)'. Grid planning introduced to 'non-urban' settlement. Shown at the Town Planning Conference, reproduced in Haverfield, Ancient Town-Planning, *133, fig. 33.*

and Sudan, which intended to make New Delhi 'like Rome, built for eternity', as discussed by Robin Cormack in this volume.[46]

Haverfield created a new field of study. Just as 'town planning' itself was a relatively new idea in 1910, to look at it as a phenomenon in antiquity was a new approach. It rapidly caught on. Just over a decade after the publication of *Ancient Town-Planning*, the German archaeologist Armin von Gerkan published in 1924 his *Griechische Städteanlagungen*. The author was part of the team under Theodor Wiegand excavating Miletus; von Gerkan's plan of Miletus has been endlessly reproduced for a century, though nobody seems particularly concerned that his plan fails to distinguish archaeological evidence from speculation (Fig. 1.7).

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[46] McLean showed the plan of Khartoum under Gordon, stating that at the time of British occupation in 1898, 'Khartoum was found to be almost entirely in ruins', McLean, 'The Planning of Khartoum and Omdurman', 579.
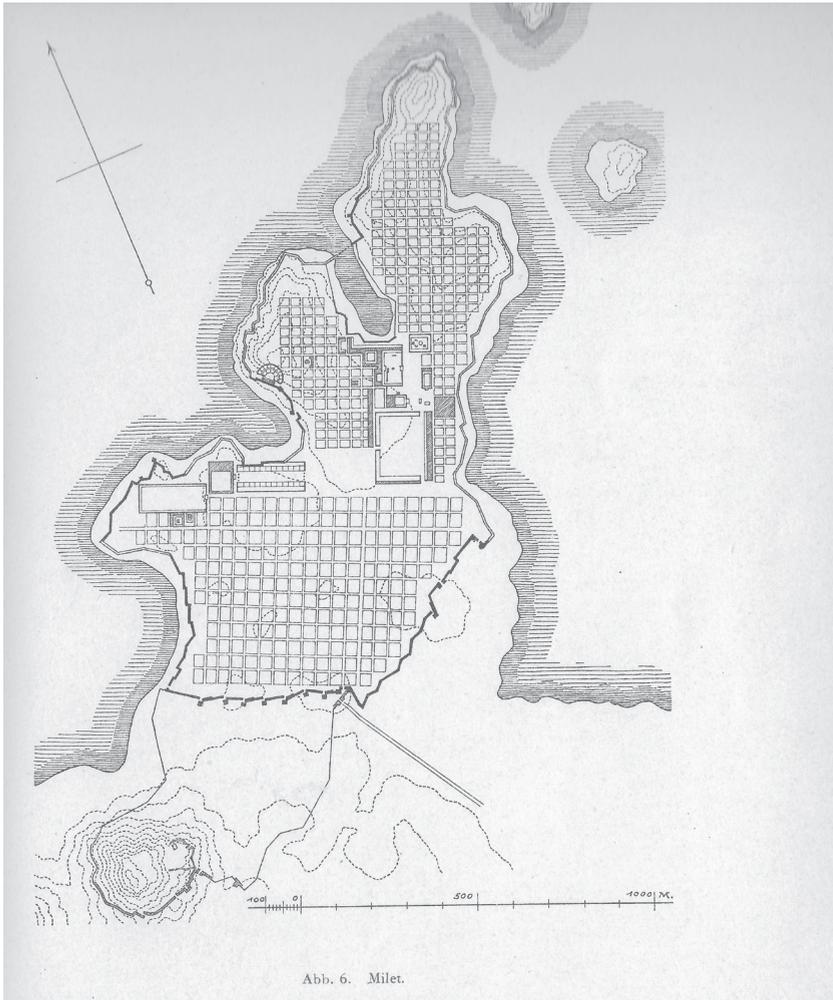
Figure 1.7. Plan of Miletus from van Gerkan, Griechische Städteanlagen, *Abb. 6.*

Consequently, Miletus plays a central role in von Gerkan's story – he saw the reconstruction of the city in the aftermath of the Persian sack of 494 and its liberation in 479 as the turning point in the development of orthogonal planning, something which made it easier to credit Hippodamus with the crucial conceptual role. Effectively, von Gerkan took over Haverfield's argument about orthogonal planning, even if he was highly critical of some of his assertions (he was equally peppery about other scholars like Nissen); but while Haverfield was more cautious about the origins of such planning, von Gerkan had a definite date in the fifth century. In the very process of criticising Haverfield, he made the centrality of the grid more explicit.

It took scarcely a decade of further archaeological exploration to undermine von Gerkan's dating. Ironically, von Gerkan opens his book with remarks on the difficulty of producing an overall synthesis when new archaeological evidence keeps emerging. Italian excavations at Selinunte strongly suggested that its orthogonal layout dated back to the sixth century, rather than to a fifth-century rebuilding.[47] By the time the next major synthesis emerged in 1956 by Ferdinando Castagnoli, it had become apparent that a whole series of Greek colonies in Sicily and south Italy, including Agrigento and Metaponto, had orthogonal plans dating back to the early period of colonisation in the seventh century. The idea that the new look came from Miletus and the new thinking from Hippodamus was no longer sustainable. Even so, the desire to give primacy to Hippodamus can be seen in the title of his work (*Ippodamo di Mileto*), though this was dropped from the English translation two decades later.[48]

The evidence by now had set up a major tension between two hypotheses: that orthogonal planning was a fifth-century development and that it emerged from the colonising movement two centuries earlier. The tension is visible in Roland Martin's *L'Urbanisme dans la Grèce Antique* of 1956; even in the second edition of 1974, he maintained that the originality of the 'villes neuves', that is the colonies, was far less than supposed, simply a matter of conveniently setting out roads at right-angles without a true master plan, something he attributes to the 'école milésienne' and Hippodamus.[49]

By now, ancient urbanism had emerged as a busy field, with a particular focus on Greece (including Wycherley's *How the Greeks Built Cities* of 1949, and Giuliano's *Urbanistica delle città greche* of 1966). It had become possible to produce a synthesis in which illustration outweighed texts, like John Ward-Perkins' *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy* of 1974, significantly subtitled *Planning in Classical Antiquity*. The enduring influence of Haverfield is clear. The history of urban design in antiquity had become a field to study at university, fed by handbooks like the *Storia dell'Urbanistica*, with a volume for the Greek world by Emanuele Greco and Mario Torelli (1983) and a companion volume for the Roman world by Pierre Gros and Mario Torelli (1988), or, far more succinctly for the British student, E. J. Owen's *The City in the Greek and Roman World* of 1991. All of these give a central, though far from exclusive, role to orthogonal planning. The missionary zeal of Haverfield in advocating the ancient city as a model for the present had faded; yet some of the underlying assumptions, like the cultural superiority of the grid plan and the beneficial effects of ancient imperialism and colonisation, were by now hard-baked into the system.

It was only around the turn of the millennium that Haverfield's ideas came under serious scrutiny. Just as his ideas of 'Romanisation' seemed increasingly unacceptable in a post-colonial Britain, so his privileging of the gridded city came

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[47] Gabrici, 'Selinunte'.
[48] Castagnoli, *Ippodamo di Mileto*, translated as *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*.
[49] Martin, *L'urbanisme*, 94–99.

under fire. Since Ray Laurence, scholars of Roman Britain have rejected Haverfield's model and the sharp distinction he drew between the civilised classical city and barbarian settlements termed *oppida* rather than cities. How then can we rethink the ancient city, freed from its colonialist framework and its projection of pre-Roman peoples as barbarians? Part of the answer must be to interrogate our category of 'the ancient (Greco-Roman) city', and the idea that the cities of antiquity had certain common characteristics (whether orthogonal planning or not) which separate them equally from earlier nucleated settlements, including those of Minoan Crete, and the cities of the European Middle Ages and the Islamic world. Hugh Kennedy in a justly famous paper, 'From *polis* to *madina*', argued convincingly that the supposed transformation of the classical city with its straight colonnades and open spaces to the Islamic madina with its cluttered and twisting suqs was not supported by the archaeology, which showed that many of the supposed changes already took place in the late Roman ('Byzantine') period. Few today would accept the 'Islamic city' as a reality – not only is there a vast variety of urban forms across Islam, but some of the most conspicuous examples of orthogonal planning in late antiquity, like Anjar in Lebanon, are the work of Umayyad rulers.[50] The idea of a quintessential contrast between 'chaotic' Islamic cities with their winding streets, and the orderly planning that unites antiquity with western modernity, comes out of the liberation of Greece from Ottoman rule in 1830 and the conscious creation of 'modern' cities in a classicising idiom.[51]

This book, developing the ideas explored together at a conference held in Rome (above), sets out to explore the shortcomings of the narrative which makes the orthogonal plan the great contribution of classical antiquity to urbanism and an embodiment of civilised values. It offers new perspectives by exploring the ideals articulated both by ancient city founders and their modern successors (Part 1); it looks at new evidence for Roman colonial foundations to reassess their aims (Part 2); and it looks at the many ways in which post-Roman urbanism looked back to and redefined the Roman model, with a constant reappropriation of the idea of the Roman (Part 3).

Grids and ideals (Part 1)

The use of the grid in town layout is one of the central themes of this volume. A series of papers in the volume show that the grid is met in numerous variations, which have in common the setting of streets in parallel with and at right angles to one another, not only throughout antiquity from the Greek colonial foundations of the seventh century BC onwards, but also through the Middle Ages into the early modern period of colonial foundations in the new world and into the later modern period of colonisation. But is that simply a banal observation about a convenient way

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[50] For a summary, Valérian, 'Middle East'.
[51] See Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 'City form and national identity'; Koumaridis, 'Urban transformation and de-Ottomanization'.

of ordering a new settlement, or did the grid carry ideals and values for those who used it? The following chapters allow us, and indeed require us, to move on beyond Haverfield's vision of the grid as an embodiment of civilised values.

Without doubt, a grid plan can be an expression of values, and might be intended to inculcate those values into the inhabitants who populated it. However, as Spiro Kostof showed, it is vain to see any one set of values as immanent in the grid, which might equally express the dream of equality of a democratic society or the urge to control of an autocratic one.[52] Here Reuben Rose-Redwood's discussion of the grid in the American dream in this volume offers a lesson equally for all periods: the issue is not of what values the grid embodies, but of the successive 'enframings' of the grid, the choices of what to make the grid stand for. In the American case, where the division both of the territory and of urban lots into regular plots was explicitly celebrated as 'a peculiar invention of the American spirit' which 'resonates still as an institutionalization of America's particular brand of social, political, and spatial ideals', we can follow commentators who endow it with the political values of democracy, the economic values of stimulating the free market in land and the cultural values of aesthetic elegance, though its critics loudly decried its negative connotations and conjured up the counterimage of Rome's seven hills levelled and subjected to its imprint.

This concept of 'enframing' can liberate us from Haverfield's colonialist equation of the grid with civility. Of course Greek and Roman grids might have been 'enframed' by ancient planners in such a way. We do not know how Hippodamus theorised the grid – he may indeed have offered a Periclean vision of democracy. But this vision, as Irad Malkin shows, was not what lay behind colonial layouts from the seventh century BC onwards. Here, the fundamental concept is of allotment: every settler was offered an equal plot as his membership right in the new *polis*, but the mathematical equality of a plot did not equate, as Plato explains in the *Laws* (745c), to equality of wealth, since the value of land could vary sharply (Plato points out the plots closer to the city centre are more valuable). The instrument of drawing lots ensures that everybody starts with an equal chance, but nobody could imagine that this would result in an equal spread of wealth. What Malkin says of the Greek colony applies with equal force to the Roman – a distribution of plots of land was a basic feature of the creation of a new city, and was made possible by a simultaneous division of the territory and the town into regular plots. We see this most clearly in the Po valley, as Alessia Morigi shows. Morigi highlights how in Emilia Romagna the grid division of the landscape and the city, which extended across settlements, did result in a form, if not of equality, at least of balance between different centres: it created a non-hierarchical system in which no city was favoured over another. Nonetheless, no equality of wealth was

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[52]   Kostof, *The City Shape*d, 95–157, esp. 99–101 on the variety of ideological implications.

foreseen, even less so than in the Greek case, and some were given larger plots, as Lisa Fentress showed in the cases of Timgad and Cosa, to mark their higher status.[53]

With the concept of 'enframing' must come a greater emphasis not on what the grid meant, but on the values attributed to it. We may search in vain, as Wallace-Hadrill suggests, for ancient authors who see the grid as embodying 'civilisation'. Instead, we find a lively debate around issues of health: should streets be aligned with the winds, to sweep the city clean of pollution, or should they be set at an angle to them in order to break up their impact, as Vitruvius believed? It is a sobering realisation that the Tower of the Winds in Athens was an essay in stone by a theorist, Andronicus of Cyrrhus, on wind direction and urban pollution. It is also a cautionary tale to discover how difficult the great Renaissance architects found Vitruvius' text, and how constructively they misinterpreted him as advocating a radial city. Later colonial foundations, like Dunedin in New Zealand, might be not so much imitations of Roman colonial plans as constructive misinterpretations of them.

The power of the grid persists in medieval Europe, but is enframed by values far removed from those expressed by Vitruvius. The fourteenth-century Catalan theologian, Francesc Eiximenis, as Sam Ottewill-Soulsby shows, attributed much importance to the city, which occupied a full volume of his incomplete encyclopedia, *Lo Chrestià*. Eiximenis' discussion of the functions which cities perform is illuminating; cities were not for the vainglory of the kings who founded them (here he disagrees with a tradition that stretches from Isidore to Thomas Aquinas) but for the benefit of their population, and specifically for commerce and exchange. Eiximenis also appealed to the language of health and hygiene when describing how a city should be organised, but this will not explain why he advocates a gridded street pattern. To this deeply Christian author, the city on earth is a reflection of the City of God, imagined as set on a cross. The grid was thus enframed as the true expression of Christian values. That theme has been vividly illustrated by Keith Lilley;[54] in his contribution to this volume he shows how the numerous new towns founded by Edward I of England in Plantagenet Britain of the thirteenth century were seen as an embodiment of the king's body, and the *virga*, the rule that laid out a town with mathematical precision, was the symbol of the king's rule itself. What thus enframes the gridded medieval town was an image simultaneously of divine and regal order.

It has sometimes been suggested that the gridded plans of the Spanish colonial settlements in North America, in a tradition that stretches from the earliest conquests into the familiar patterns of the modern American city, were descendants of the classical Roman colony. Again, the matter is more complicated – Spanish kings, like Edward I, had been establishing orthogonal cities before Columbus, and though they might give additional authority to their 'Laws of the Indies' by reference to Vitruvius, other considerations may have been to the fore. As Javier Martínez Jiménez and Sam

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[53] Fentress, 'Frank Brown, Cosa and the idea of a Roman city'.

[54] Lilley, *City and Cosmos.*

Ottewill-Soulsby show, the *conquistadores* may have been steeped in classical Latin sources, but they were also responding to the impressive regularity of the cities of the Aztecs and Maya. Far from envisaging a European monopoly of classical urban values, these authors recognised civility in the conquered. The Mayan city of Yucatán evoked comparison with Roman Emerita Augusta, and so became a second Mérida. An author like Peter the Martyr could represent the Tenochtitlán of Moctezuma in classicising terms; for him it had a senate house where justice was administered, and market inspectors like Roman aediles. At the same time, Peter the Martyr used the Latin *colonia* to refer to the new Spanish foundations, starting with Hispaniola. We might profitably think of Spanish colonial practice not so much as imitating Roman practice, but as dressed up and 'enframed' in Roman terms. If the new gridded colonies might seem reminiscent of Roman grids, it was because they chose to see them in such terms, despite simply continuing existing Spanish urban practices. The enframing of the city that these authors found in Latin texts served to enframe the practices of the new colonising power.

The Islamic world represents in many ways a world apart from that of the classical tradition. But as Edward Zychowicz-Coghill shows, though the early Islamic conquerors often chose to avoid existing urban centres, they saw cities and the foundation of new cities as essential for their control and organisation of territory. Two new capitals, Kufa and Baghdad, may be seen as 'colonies' in the same sense as Greco-Roman ones, providing a settlement for settlers transplanted from their Arab homeland, and enshrining ideas of the power of the calif and models of social organisation. Given Haverfield's urge to contrast ancient planning with the imagined disorder of later periods, it is remarkable to see in Baghdad a classic example of a city planned as a diagram, its circular arrangement with radiating spokes an anticipation of what the Renaissance architect, Filarete, proposed for his ideal city of Sforzinda.

Rethinking the Roman colony (Part 2)

In any history of gridded cities, Roman colonial foundations play a central role. It is no ambition of this volume to provide an overview of Roman colonisation. Our aim is rather to question some of the assumptions about the use of the grid in colonial settlements and its significance. As both Andrew Dufton and Javier Martínez Jiménez stress, the grid may indeed tell us something about the values and intentions of those involved in the moment of laying out the city for the first time; but that by no means determines the views of the inhabitants, who may over the course of time adapt and change their urban environment to suit better contemporary conditions. This reflection alone makes it imprudent to see the grid as embodying an overarching ideal of civilisation, and to characterise any deviation from the grid as a decline of those values. Gridded cities persist in the Iberian peninsula from the Iron Age to the present, but continuities of form are no indicators of continuities of values.

If we think rather of the grid as illuminating the more limited moment of foundation, there is a consistent story to be told, at least for antiquity. The grid is wrapped up with the distribution of land to new settlers, and with the idea that those settlers (*coloni*, cultivators of the land) have a stake in the running of their city-state (*cives* in a *civitas*). We have already seen Irad Malkin's illuminating observations on the process of allotment: the settlers are given equal 'lots' of land, the potential inequality of which is balanced by the random procedure of distribution by 'lot'. The consequence is that the territory has to be divided by a grid, creating equal lots for each settler. They require not only 'lots' of land, but urban lots, and so the urban landscape needs to be gridded on the same principle. We can follow exactly the same pattern in the colonies of the Roman republic, and with particular clarity, as Alessia Morigi shows, in the Po valley. Here in the second century BC, in the attempt both to bring an area previously inhabited by Celtic peoples firmly under Roman control, and to distribute land to Roman settlers, the long triangle of land following the new 'consular' road, the Via Aemilia, running 260 kilometres from the Adriatic coast to Piacenza, was gridded almost continuously to provide settlers with their plots. The division of the landscape, made more possible by the flat conditions of the Po valley, left such a deep imprint as to condition many developments, like the placing of new emergent centres, up to the present day, long after the needs of the first settlers have passed. The grid plan also conditions urban form, which we can trace from antiquity to the present, from major settlements of the colonial cities to minor ones, some of which become more important later, but without losing their original imprint. The result of this fractal relationship, where town and country mirror one another at different scales, is arguably to create a sort of maxi-city, an interconnected organism of autonomous but closely networked centres.

The case of Emilia Romagna may indeed illustrate how a system of grids can have a lasting impact. Once a grid is there, you can use it in different ways. But that is far from implying a continuity of values. If the Po valley was the area most densely colonised in the Republican period, North Africa is the corresponding hotspot for the early Imperial period. Here the cities with gridded plans are numerous, and also, thanks to a discontuity that does not apply to the Po Valley, archaeologically visible. That fact alone meant that the French, as the dominant colonial power of the modern Maghreb, were able, as Said Ennahid shows, to associate regular urban plans with western *civilité*. Yet the case studies which Andrew Dufton explores show that the grid might be the fashion of a moment: the city of Timgad (Thamugadi), which is so often used as the type-site for a regular grid, is also the city in which the grid was abandoned most swiftly as it expanded, with developments that obliterated the old city walls and embraced the very different orientation of the suburbs. Dufton makes striking comparison with the development over time of New Orleans, and its adaptation to a 'creole' society. Whether or not we can see the inhabitants of a Roman colonial foundation as being 'creolised' in succeeding generations, it is evident that the priorities that drove the military planners of the first founders of Thamugadi

swiftly ceased to apply. This is a story that Martínez Jiménez can show in city after city in Roman Iberia.

No less striking than the gradual adaptation, if not abandonment, of the grid during the classical period itself is the virtual abandonment of the grid in the new foundations of late antiquity. Efthymios Rizos, whose edited volume on the new cities of late antiquity has drawn to our attention how numerous and varied were the new cities of the period between Diolcletian and Justinian,[55] here underlines the significant difference from the colonial foundations of the classical period. If the classical colony has as a central function the allotment of land to settlers, the new cities of later antiquity have very different priorities, of military defence and the provision of administrative centres for the Christian church and its bishops (whose presence becomes definitive of the 'city'). So Justinian's Justiniana Prima (near Caričin Grad in Serbia) may indeed boast a colonnaded street and a magnificent circular piazza, leading to the administrative centre and the bishop's palace, the signs of orthogonal layout as such are minimal. If there was a model, it was not the gridded colonial city, but Constantinople with its colonnaded *mesē*. A similar model may underlie the remarkable Visigothic new city of Reccopolis, named by King Liuvigild for his son Reccared, as Martínez Jiménez shows.

Grids, then, were significant, especially in the context of Greek and Roman expansion into new territories, but can scarcely carry the sort of significance which Haverfield, following the model of nineteenth-century colonial powers, attributed to them. There is also an important note of caution on the methodological front sounded by Martin Millett. The neat grids of so many archaeological plans have been constructed by archaeologists who already have their ideas of what the grid means. Excessive willingness to join the dots in the town plans, where only limited stretches of road are archaeologically confirmed, combined with lack of interest in local variations and subtle changes over time, leads to a simplified picture of the classical city in which the grid is too perfect and too dominant. Modern study by remote sensing creates new opportunities for looking at ancient cities on a broader scale and in their landscape context. Rather than simply joining the dots in straight lines, we need to think of the classical city, albeit often gridded at its moment of foundation, as more organic and more adaptive.

The appeal of the grid long outlasts Roman imperialism. It has long been observed that the explosion of new towns that characterised northern Europe in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; many of these adopted a more or less regular orthogonal form, familiar as *bastides*. Wim Boerefijn raises the question of whether there is a debt to Roman models. Though some of the founding cities, like Florence, were themselves based on Roman colonial grids, there is a lack of textual evidence to suggest that there was a conscious Roman model. Paradoxically, the period from the fifteenth century onwards, when there is an explosion of interest in Vitruvius, was also a period in

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55   Rizos, *New Cities in Late Antiquity*.

which there was far less building of new cities than in the preceding centuries. Again, one may ask whether there was an underlying egalitarian motive in the assignation of regularly sized plot in the new cities; but since these cities are so often expressions of regal or aristocratic power, such an ideology seems implausible.

Frank Vermeulen offers a diachronic study of foundations in the coastal area of Le Marche. *Potentia* (Potenza) is a classic example of a second-century BC Roman Republican foundation, strategically located at a river mouth on the Adriatic coast. The campaigns of excavation conducted by his team show how the gridded layout is made to fit neatly into the natural topography. The same area provides two examples of post-Roman gridded towns that for once are nothing to do with Fascist imitation. Porto Recanati, the modern town just north of the site of *Potentia*, traces its origins back to the 'Swabian' castle of the thirteent-century, but as the population grew in the early nineteenth century, a grid was established following the older coastal road. A century earlier than this is the striking example of Cervia, relocated and built anew by Pope Innocent XII on a rigidly orthogonal plan for forty families of salt-diggers. Rather than ancient Roman colonial alotments, these are the symbol of papal rule and its concern for promoting the economy.

The Roman model? Use and abuse (Part 3)

In the context of the colonialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many writers and urbanists saw modern empires as reincarnations of the Roman empire, and cast their modern colonial foundations as an extension of a Roman tradition. Haverfield, as we have seen, was far from alone. There are numerous examples, from the Spanish in Latin America to the British in South Africa and Australia, to the French in North Africa and the Italians in western North Africa, who went out of their way to underline a link between modern and ancient practice which involved redefining what was 'Roman' to fit their objectives.

We are most familiar with the Fascist reinvention of tradition, which occurred under Benito Mussolini, and produced a vast array of material which discussed the affinities between ancient and modern Rome. The Istituto di Studi Romani brought architects, engineers, medics and archaeologists together in order to 'articulate a coherent Fascist discourse on Rome', as Joshua Arthurs has argued.[56] In this volume, Aristotle Kallis shows us how the Fascist discourse on Roman urbanism, which fed into the overarching mythic and elastic concept of Fascist 'Romanità', provided new urban planning projects with an invented genealogy running back to ancient Roman colonisation.[57] The Fascist discourse has indelibly altered our understanding of 'Roman town planning', not least because archaeologists and planners imposed an imperialistic ideal upon material remains.

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56   Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity*, 7.
57   See Kallis, this volume.

Said Ennahid examines how French archaeological and urban planning initiatives interconnected in colonial Morocco, where the contrast between orthogonal and *laissez-faire* settlement types was taken to represent the meeting of civilised and barbarian cultures. The French *ex nihilo* and orthogonal 'villes nouvelles' were intended to embody peace and order, values which planners considered to be both 'French' and 'Roman' in contrast to the backwards, walled and 'winding' Arab medina. Ennahid shows us how this contrast was falsified by archaeological excavations which 'resuscitated' Roman archaeological sites at the expense of native pasts, and so works to deconstruct this colonialist narrative.

French colonisation efforts competed with British attempts to be 'the new Rome'. Both nations pursued this title with imperial planning projects. Robin Cormack offers an analysis of British planning in New Delhi and Khartoum which draws out the importance of considering individual conceptions of Roman urbanism. Cormack highlights that a city is the product of competing visions; in both cities, the British aimed to emulate Rome by building elite capitals abroad, but planners differed in their understanding of how to materially express this idea. Some, like Edward Lutyens, directly copied ancient Roman architecture to express the values Cormack argues were key to British imperialism: language, class hierarchy, Protestantism and liberty. Others introduced a diverse mixture of arts and crafts aesthetics, despite the 'similarities of political intention'. This produced an eclectic approach to planning which may obscure that the process of 'civilising' the colonies ultimately took a Roman model.

We have therefore seen that in France and Britain, the colonialist image of 'Rome' was constructed by excavations and urban planning projects which symbolically linked colonies to capital cities. In such contexts, Roman urbanism connoted civility and modernity. Sofia Greaves diversifies this picture by discussing the famous *Eixample* grid plan built by engineer Ildefonso Cerdà in nineteenth-century Barcelona. Greaves analyses Cerdà's *Teoría de la Urbanización* (1867) and provides the first discussion of the 'History of Urban Planning' contained therein. Cerdà acknowledged the ubiquity of the grid plan, and wrote a history on this subject which aligned his example with the cities he preferred – those which attributed attractive values to his own new scheme. By discussing ancient Greco-Roman urbanism, he responded to other modern cities, like Paris and London, where Greco-Roman thinking about health and urban layout had been applied to implement modernist schemes. However, as Greaves shows, in contrast to such examples Cerdà justified the *Eixample* grid, and the demolition of Barcelona's medieval walls, by rejecting 'the Roman city model' as he conceptualised it. Cerdà may have appropriated the idea of the Roman city, but he did so to build a grid plan which was intended to express values which were anything but Roman.

In sum

Taken together, the chapters in this volume demonstrate that despite a recurrent use of the grid in urban planning from antiquity onwards, and despite a recurrent use of

a supposedly Roman model, what matters about the grid is not some essential quality, but what you make of it. A century ago, it could be held up as a symbol of civilised values, in a colonial society that explicitly embraced what it saw as a Roman colonial model. The chapters in this book aim to disentangle the grid from this colonialist vision. It has meant many things over time – a mechanism for fair distribution of plots of land, an instrument of territorial control, a symbolic presence of the ruler's body, an ideogram of divine order or indeed simply a mistaken application of the text of Vitruvius. In an age when environmental concerns are more pressing, it is reassuring to discover that persistent concern for issues of health from antiquity through the Renaissance to the modern period was as important a factor as any other in urban planning. If the Roman city has been used as a model, it has been for bad as well as good – it was not only Mussolini who used a Roman model to reinforce a highly questionable ideology, for he was following the lead of European colonial powers since the discovery of the Americas. The cities we live in today bear many traces of the remarkable experiment in urbanism that characterised classical antiquity. To say this is not to celebrate the achievement of antiquity, but to invite us to rethink how the cities of the present relate to those of the past.

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Part 1

City planning and ideals of the city

Chapter 2

Reflections on egalitarianism and
the foundation of Greek *poleis*

Irad Malkin

When Greeks founded new settlements (see Fig. 2.1), they were facing the question of how to distribute plots of land to individual settlers. The main reason individuals joined a new foundation was to get such a plot of land (*klêros*), regardless of other reasons for colonisation. Back home, two brothers would need to share a *klêros* through partible inheritance by lot.[1] However, if one brother stayed and another left for a new settlement abroad, both would have ended up, each, with a viable *klêros*. In and of itself, a *klêros* provides a basis for livelihood and a mutually recognised share of political and military power within the community. Practices of Greek colonisation are parallel to the Greek practice of 'partible inheritance by lot', since the same general principles and structures apply to both when it comes to land distribution: equality before the chance of the lottery, and, when possible, equality (sometimes equitability) of the size of the *klêros*.[2]

The scale of Greek foundations is astonishing; there were some four hundred colonies established between *c.* 750–500 BC within vast distances, 'From the River Phasis [Georgia in the eastern Black Sea] to the Pillars of Herakles [Gibraltar]'.[3] There was no central direction and settlers came from numerous mother cities. Soon some of the cities they were founding became mother cities themselves. Although the Greeks who were joining new settlements were of varied sub-ethnicities and local traditions, their guidelines and conventions, especially when settling and allocating land, seem to have been similar. When explicitly articulated, the general scheme is consistent in mythological, quasi-historical and historical accounts, from Homer (eighth century BC) through Plato and Aristotle (fourth century BC), down to Diodorus (first century

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[1] For a convenient introduction see Maffi, 'Family and property law'. See Asheri, *Distribuzione*; Lane Fox 'Aspects of inheritance'; Berman, *Myth and Culture*.

[2] This article is based on research for a forthcoming book, *Greeks Drawing Lots*, where there are devoted chapters to practices of inheritance and distribution of *klêroi* in Greek colonies.

[3] Plato, *Phaedo*, 109a–b regards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean as a single sea.

Figure 2.1. *A simplified map of Greek, Phoenician and Etruscan settlements in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (Malkin,* A Small Greek World, *4).*

AD). No alternative scheme is presented in our sources: what people leave out of their horizon of expectations or even that of their imagination is just as significant for our understanding of their frame of reference as what is explicitly articulated.

The founders of Greek colonies would treat the new territory as *eremos chôra* ('empty land'); they would carve out a section of the newly acquired territory and divide that section into private, public and sacred areas. Private 'First Lots' constituted a discrete category; they were equal in size, but probably unequal in terms of location and quality. The chances before the drawing of lots were, on the other hand, equal.

A quasi-historical Roman example illustrates how Greek expectations could be different from Roman ones. It is the story of *un-equal* land allotment for an 'aristocrat.' Appian says that 'Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus ... took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves, to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and the Claudian *gens* received its name from him'.[4] Plutarch provides further details about the land allotment, 'For he at once incorporated the families in the Roman state, and gave each one *two acres* of land on the river Anio. To Clausus [=Claudius], however, he *gave twenty-five acres* of land and

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4   Appian, *Kings*, 123.

enrolled him among the senators ... The Claudian family, which is descended from him, is no less illustrious than any in Rome'.[5] We never hear such a story (not even a concocted one) concerning a Greek founder (Greek tyrants, especially in Sicily, are the exception that indicates the rule).

In contrast to modern colonialism, no empire directed archaic colonisation, the mother cities were numerous and most new settlements acquired the form of the city-state.[6] In their turn, many *apoikiai* too became mother cities. Traditions about the new foundations (some based on fact, some fictitious) all emphasise the existence of a 'mother city', thus distinguishing colonisation from traditions about the earlier Ionian and Dorian mass-migrations which were perceived as an *exodus.* However, the preferred sites for occupation seem consistent in both the 'Dark Ages' and Archaic periods: mostly offshore-islands and headlands, demonstrating the maritime perspective, 'from ship to shore' that most Greeks shared.[7] These could serve as temporary or permanent pirate havens or as actual settlements with maritime advantages. With a permanent settlement, the newly occupied land became 'goods' to be distributed. Settlers were not raiders, robbing and sailing away with pieces of booty; rather the new home had become the 'booty', the newly occupied land.

Colonisation did as much for the rise of the *polis* as vice versa. Young men were less restricted by home traditions and therefore had to abstract their society and prescribe what they would do in advance.[8] They did not grow up in a given situation, but had to formalise a new one. It is perhaps not surprising that the first comprehensive lawgivers (Zaleukos of Lokroi and Charondas of Katane) were from western colonies, and that comprehensive planning according to apparent criteria of equality was found in colonies first. Additionally, it is easier to observe 'urban' plans when the foundations are new.[9] Sicily and Italy provide us with our best, and sometimes only, evidence for the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Comprehensive planning, orthogonal when possible, with equal blocks and a reserved space for an *agora*, seems evident in varying degrees at Syracuse (Ortygia), Megara Hyblaia, Naxos, Himera, Selinous and Akragas. Gela, Zankle and Katane, too, indicate such planning, but the information is less accessible.[10] Traces of city perimeters are sometimes evident as well (see below).

In general, settlements appear to have had three initial phases. First, possession and temporary habitations (tents or huts), second primary organisation and allotment and third development into more of a 'city,' filling up house plots and *klêroi.* Archaeologically what we can observe better is the last phase (*e.g.* mid-seventh century at Megara

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5   Plutarch, *Life of Publicola*, 21.6 [6].
6   There is no good reason to shy away from the term 'colonisation' that derives from Latin. 'Colonialism' is indeed anachronistic, but not 'colonisation': *colere, colonus, colonia* all relate to the tilling of land, as does close to half of the relevant Greek vocabulary around colonisation (*ktizô, ktistês, etc.*). See Casevitz, *Le vocabulaire*; Malkin, 'Greek colonization'.
7   I discuss those issues in my *Small Greek World.*
8   Cf. Link, *Landverteilung und sozialer*, 168–169; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*, ch. 8.
9   See Malkin, 'Foundations'.
10 de Angelis, *Archaic and Classical*, 76–82.
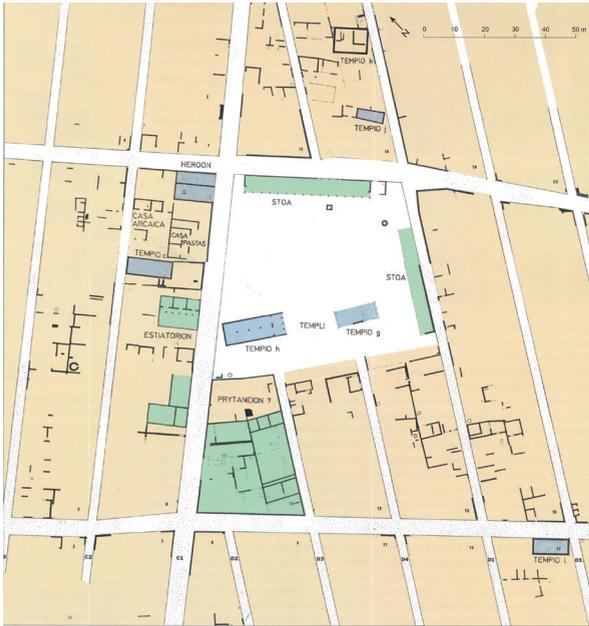
Figure 2.2. Megara Hyblaia, 'Agora'. Mertens, Città e monumenti dei Greci d'Occidente, *p. 68 (permission by Dieter Mertens).*

Hyblaia, Fig. 2.2). Following the excavators of Megara Hyblaia in their most recent publications, we need to see this last phase in terms of development and implementation of the planning and allotment that was started at the time of Megara's foundation.[11] Similarly, Selinous, a settlement founded from Megara Hyblaia, started around the shore near the river estuaries; it became a fully planned city during the first twenty-five years of the sixth century, about a generation after its initial foundation.[12]

Absolute equality had never been on the horizon of expectations of Greek colonists. Arguments against equality in colonies sometimes take the form of denying *absolute* equality, which is easy to refute because it is a non-issue. The exception of prescribed equality was a 'First Lot', *protos klêros*, which each colonist would get as the entry ticket for sharing in the community. Otherwise, colonists were aware of their own social and economic differences, probably from the start. Apparently, some settlers were better off than others, bringing moveable wealth, *chrêmata*, and bringing (or buying on the spot) equipment and animals.[13] Plato was aware of the problem: 'It would indeed have been a splendid thing if each person, on entering the colony, had had all else equal as well. [...] however, [this] is impossible, and one man will arrive with more money and another with less'.[14]

There is no doubt that 'elites' were prominent in the archaic period. However, we need to recognise that those elites were not 'blood aristocracies', and thus were more porous and flexible.[15] I see the movement of founding new colonies conveying, beside the 'elite vector', a competing, egalitarian one, expressed in the institution of drawing

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[11]   See Gras *et al.*, *Mégara Hyblaea*; Gras and Tréziny, 'Groupements civiques'; Tréziny, 'Archaeological data'; Malkin, 'Exploring the validity'. On the mostly exclusive Greek character see Bérard, '*La Nécropole méridionale*'.

[12]   de Angelis, *Archaic and Classical*, 73–76.

[13]   On the category of *chrêmata* in Cretan laws see Link, *Landverteilung und sozialer*, 107–112.

[14]   Plato, *Laws*, 744b.

[15]   Duplouy, *Le prestige des élites*; Fisher and van Wees, *Aristocracy in Antiquity*.

lots for selection and distribution. The aim of such lotteries is for all participants to be interchangeable, implying that all are considered equal.[16] In my opinion, whereas elite vectors tended to dominate political communities, archaic Greek societies kept experimenting with 're-starts', which followed an egalitarian vector.

According to Moses Finley, social classes began to differentiate in ancient Greek Sicily during the second half of the sixth century.[17] He was late by about one century: whereas some inequality at Megara Hyblaia is evident right from the start, significant differentiation is noteworthy in the archaeological record already from around the mid-seventh century.[18] This differentiation at Megara Hyblaia, the earliest colony where the archaeological record, points to egalitarianism at the time of its foundation (the last third of the eighth century), and was expressed by Herodotus in his account of Gelon (*c.* 483 BC) as a distinction between the Megarian *demos* and the 'fat ones', *pacheis.*[19] Even if it is perhaps derogatory, the term is descriptive of wealth, not of high-born descent, and has nothing to do with heroic ancestry.[20] Aside from the *pacheis* such descriptive terms that are based on economic status are found elsewhere in Sicily: the *Gamoroi* (owners of the portions of land) at Syracuse, the *hippeis* at Leontinoi (probably a property class) and 'those bearing the purple', *periporphyra echein himata*, at Akragas.[21] Such terms seem to have evolved from local differentiation in economic status. This is the reverse image of a well-entrenched aristocracy going to a new world *as* an aristocracy and replicating the status they had enjoyed back home.[22] As a result, becoming a citizen of a new colony during the first generation was not determined by descent (normally a major criterion for citizenship), arguing against descent-based 'aristocracy'. Aristotle had noticed the difference between citizenship dependent on descent and citizenship in colonies, where all first settlers are citizens by virtue of being sharers in the new community: '… it is impossible to apply the qualification of descent from a citizen father or mother to the original colonizers or founders of a city'.[23]

Equality was not a 'ceiling'. Except for the First Lots, there was no limit to personal enrichment. Egalitarianism seems to have been more prominent in the first and, to a lesser extent, the second generation; unequal land acquisition often developed within

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[16] This claim complements Morris, 'The strong principle of equality'; Morris, 'An archaeology of equalities?'; Morris, 'Equality for men'.

[17] Finley, *A History*, 38.

[18] de Angelis, *Archaic and Classical*, 152–154, 177, noting *indicia* such as tombs, houses, expensive utensils.

[19] Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.156.

[20] See Gras and Tréziny, 'Groupements civiques', 159; Duplouy, 'Observations sur l'usage'.

[21] Cordano, *Antiche Fondazioni greche*, 126–127.

[22] I am in accord with the line developed especially by Alain Duplouy and the general argument of Fisher and van Wees's Introduction, *Aristocracy in Antiquity. Contra* (replication in colonies of elite status 'at home') see Figueira, 'Modes of colonization'. Figueira claims this with no further discussion.

[23] Aristotle, *Politica*, 1275b32. Citizenship in western colonies had its own history, beyond the founding generation, with local specificities. See Lomas 'The polis in Italy', and the unpublished PhD thesis by Jackman, 'Political Communities'.
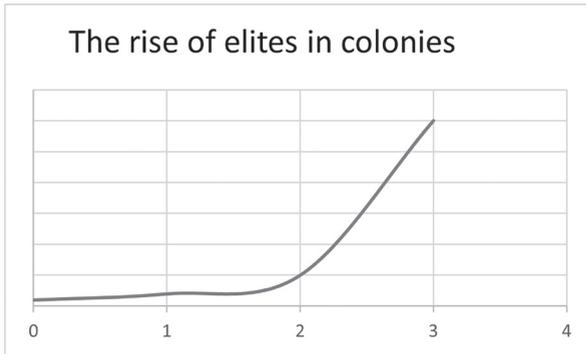
Figure 2.3. Schematic graph: Relative equality in the first and second generation, with a sharp rise in social and economic differentiation toward the third. The bottom line illustrates the number of generations. The upward line marks the inequality rate (I. Malkin).

two or three generations after a settlement was founded.[24] That inequality was not a deviation from any standard, since nobody had ever claimed that *all* lands ought to have been equal. Archaeological surveys often indicate that over time a whole variety of land holdings and land-uses may be observed. However, archaeologists and historians may be observing two distinct phenomena that complement rather than contradict each other. As with other distributive lotteries, the egalitarian spirit was evident in the equal, First Lots. Theirs was not an ideology of primitive communism and total equality was never the aim.[25] Minimum qualification to be a sharer or citizen was the equal *klêros*. As a private person, one could then get more alienable lands (*autokteta*).[26] The latter does not contradict the former.[27]

The values of equality of chance and equality of results, when possible, are typical of Greek distributive lotteries, the purpose of which is a distribution of equal or equitable portions to each member of the pre-defined group. The distributive lottery is the device; it is not a value in and of itself. Distributive lotteries are a 'sub-set' of communal distribution: no lotteries were used when portions were of precise, equal value, such as 'ten drachmas'. In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus distributed by lot nine captured goats to each ship, the reason was fairness. Instead of the simple arithmetic distribution (nine goats per ship), drawing lots was needed because the value of each goat might have been different.[28] By contrast, when distributing precise units of money

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24 Zuchtriegel, *Colonization and Subalternity*. See Fig. 2.3.
25 Borecký, 'Primitive origin'; Borecký, *Survivals.*
26 See Asheri, *Distribuzione*; Morakis, 'The Gamoroi', 37, n. 32.
27 There are various other elements in a territory, of which founders of colonies must have been aware. The terminology varies, including *pedion*, preferably delimited by a river not far from the sea; peripheral zones (*eschatia*); with hills (*periôresia*) and/or forests; Agricultural land, *gê arosimos*, was sometimes called *aristê* or *exairetos chôra* (choice land); Greeks distinguished between barren land, *gê psile*, from merely uncultivated (*agroike*) land. The peripheral lands were not part of the primary division, and belonged to the entire community. Asheri, *Distribuzione*, 10–11, discusses further distinctions between the divided-up land (*he tôn idiôtôn chôra*) and the non-divided, common section (*he koine chôra* or *gê adiairetos*). *Syll3*, 141; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, 16.82.5; the foundation decree of Cyrene (*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* 9.3, line 34).
28 Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.159–160.

there is no reason to employ the lot; one unit is precisely the same as another. We know of a few such cases in the archaic period which contextualise the distributive lotteries as belonging to the same egalitarian mindset and set of practices and reflect on the parallel distributive lotteries of land in colonies. However, occasions for precise distributions without the mediation of lotteries were rare since aside from gold, silver or coin, most 'goods' in the archaic period, such as portions of booty, meat or inheritance, did not have a precise, 'fiscal' value.

The attested, comprehensive community-distributions in the archaic period point to a strong sense of membership in a community on equal footing. All members deserve individual portions; when possible, they simply get them. If not, the lot is used so that each portion is equal (*isos*) or at least 'like' the next portion (*homoios*). We know of three major examples: Herodotus tells of someone called Kolaios from the island of Samos who, in the mid-seventh century, was a captain-trader of a ship who reached the silver mines of Spain and struck it rich. In gratitude, 'the Samians' (not Kolaios personally) dedicated at Delphi a tithe to Hera, their primary goddess. The transition from the private Kolaios to the entire political community, 'the Samians', is remarkable and also testifies, from another angle, to the practice of egalitarian (here actually equal) communal sharing. It indicates that the gain belonged to all with no special mention of the captain.[29]

About a century later (mid-sixth century) the gold and silver mines at the island of Siphnos enriched the entire island-community. The Siphnians' (a term denoting the state) invested in decorating their *agora* and their Prytaneion with Parian marble and dedicated a tithe, *dekatê*, in the form of a treasury at Delphi. In addition, the Siphnians 'divided among themselves each year's income'.[30] Similarly, some fifty years later, when a rich vein of silver was discovered at the mines of Laurion in Attica, it was proposed to share the income among all Athenian citizens.[31] The Athenians voted for another option (to build a navy) but the proposal itself reveals the conventional expectations about the comprehensive nature of the community and 'sharing in the city' in a concrete sense of getting individual portions. Colonial *klêroi*, those allotted lands, were, similarly, 'portions' of the initial 'whole'.

Comprehensive distributions imply a well-defined 'community'. Outsiders do not merit shares. The size may vary from the tiny group of brothers sharing an inheritance, a cult community sharing by lot equal portions of sacrificial meat, a

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29 Herodotus, *Histories*, 4.151.2; Bravo, 'Commerce et noblesse', 115–119. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks*, 168, suggests the 'the Samians' refers to the ship's crew, but the expensive *dekatê* at Delphi seems to have been a state affair, as Herodotus implies. Delphic treasuries were communal.

30 Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.57. Herodotus says that 'At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnos were adorned with Parian marble' which I see as implying communal expenditure from those public revenues.

31 Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.144. As in the case of Siphnos the verb is *dianemein*; cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 22.7; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 4; Cornelius Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2.2. Cf. the equal distribution of Egyptian wheat: Scholia in Aristophanem, *Vespae*, 718a–b; Philochoros, *Fragments of Greek Historians*, 328 F 119.

Homeric army sharing booty by lot or a group of colonists sharing equal portions of land, distributed by lot. These contemporary fields of practice, sharing too the same vocabulary of lotteries and distribution, should be observed together.[32] We may gain a deeper understanding of land distributions for the early periods of Greek colonisation that lack explicit, contemporary textual evidence by recognising the egalitarian mindset, vocabulary, and the practice of other distributive lotteries (inheritance, booty, sacrificial meat, *etc.*) in the same way. We have concrete evidence on the ground for equal parcellation of plots of land in eighth- and seventh-century settlements about which our meagre and lacunose sources are silent; we observe precisely the same pattern of equal plots of land at the other end of our chronological spectrum in the fourth century, but this time we have explicit words in foundation decrees about their being equal and distributed by lot to the settlers.[33]

Moreover, various sources – philosophical, historical, quasi-historical, mythical and poetic – address the issue and consistently support the notion of equal plots of land distributed by lot at the time of foundation; however, they too mostly date to the classical period and later. A wide range of issues are involved here and I now want to focus on the following: to what extent may we assume a consistency of mindset and practice reaching back to the early archaic period, for which our evidence is mostly archaeological?

Archaeologists do not necessarily see their task in terms of correlation with, or the confirmation of, textual statements. Historians, on the other hand, should be able to make use of material evidence to make their assessments.[34] The weakness of a strictly archaeological approach is its inability to assess prescriptions and intentions that are left unrealised, or realised only partially. Some of our textual sources, especially foundation decrees, speak of plans for the future, a future which is not always actualised as preconceived. They, however, testify to a mindset and expected practices. Foundation decrees (mostly inscriptions) are by definition *prescriptive*, never descriptive.[35] Foundation decrees tell what *ought* to happen, specifically, in the future. The same prescriptive position is found also in theoretical discussions such as Plato's *Laws* or Aristotle's *Politics*, or the lost utopia of Hippodamos of Miletos: they recommend what ought to be done (fortunately, especially in Aristotle's *Politics*, we also get both concrete examples and theories). In short, whereas it is perfectly acceptable that archaeology can expose 'practices', it can only make conjectures about ideals and concepts; it cannot know anything about professed intentions and a mindset without words articulating them in the form of written evidence.[36] On

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[32] See Borecký, 'Primitive origin'. I develop the argument in my forthcoming *Greeks Drawing Lots* (with a chapter by Josine Blok).

[33] Notably *Syll3*, 141 (Black Corcyra).

[34] Hall, *Artifact & Artifice*.

[35] Cf. Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, appendix.

[36] See Hall, *Artifact & Artifice*, esp. 212–219. Cf. MacSweeney, 'Beyond ethnicity'. Specifically, by analogies with anthropological models, one could infer social structures, perhaps even 'attitudes'. E.g., Hall,

the other hand, when we find, archaeologically, contemporary equal plots of land in an eighth-century colony, they seem to fit what a variety of sources (poetical, historical, quasi-historical, inscribed foundation decrees) consistently say about such initial land distribution of First Lots. Otherwise, we would need to invent a whole set of non-egalitarian criteria and values for the equal plots of land (attested archaeologically) in the eighth century BC and assume a major change by the time we get to well-attested equal distribution of plots of land in later periods, plots of land that follow the same guidelines of quality of chance and that of outcomes. And again, we need to recall that no alternative to equal distribution by lot, Claudius style, is ever imagined.

There is a growing rift between archaeology and 'text-based information'. The assumption is that archaeological evidence and written sources present very different perspectives on the 'ideals, concepts and practices of occupying territory'.[37] Let me illustrate with an example of a discussion by Lin Foxhall and David Yoon, who wish to know whether 'their [ancient inhabitants] lived experience of the landscape map on to the boundaries and models of 'territory' presented in the written sources'. Their study presents a good methodological test case: it examines a few centuries of settlement and encounters between Lokroi and Rhegion in southern Italy. The authors are particularly troubled by the term 'territory', and claim that (unsurprisingly) people living on the land cared more for their property than for notions of 'boundaries and territories'. These terms are misapplied, claim the authors, quite justly in my view, since they are anachronistic when used in our own, contemporary sense. Yet, the authors do not engage with equivalent Greek terms and parallel issues as studied in detail by Giovanna Daverio Rocchi.[38]

Territorial boundaries were indeed less defined than one could expect if we follow our contemporary connotations of the terms 'territory' and 'boundary'.[39] The question is of importance if we are to understand the allotment of land *within* a city's territory. Expansion in colonies was different in its dynamics and direction from the Greek mainland. For example, in the 'old country', Megara Nisaia was sandwiched between Athens and Corinth, with land borders on both sides. In contrast, initially, Greek colonies had border *lines* only on the coasts whereas the hinterland was a rolling frontier. Syracuse, for example, was established on the islet of Ortygia (733 BC), but within a single generation expanded to the Sicilian 'mainland' across the sea.

The survey of the countryside between Lokroi and Rhegion as reported by Foxhall and Yoon (starting around 490 BC), tells us a lot about the nature of rural life and the evident contradiction with the image of perennial hostility between Lokroi and

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Artifact & Artifice, 214. I am not trying to discuss the entire issue of the relation of material evidence and written texts, only to indicate the limitations of archaeology in the context of this specific issue.

[37] Foxhall and Yoon, 'Carving out a territory', 433.

[38] Rocchi, *Frontiera e confini*, a major study on borders, frontiers and boundaries, is not cited by Foxhall and Yoon. Cf. Pollini, 'Limits and occupation'.

[39] Cf. Cosgrove, 'Landscape and *Landschaft*'.

Rhegion. This observation is indeed a major contribution. But it does not follow that if we deny bounded 'territory' we must therefore also deny equal allotment of portions of land in the *early* days of settlement. To argue that no equal land-allotment took place based on that survey, as do the authors, ignores the distinction between the category of *minimum* allotment of equal portions, sometimes expressed as the *prôtoi klêroi*, and further expansion and land acquisition that were unrestricted, which is mostly what the survey finds.

The facts of the archaeologists complete the picture; they neither contradict it nor can they be independent of it, as some archaeologists might claim.[40] The survey of Foxhall and Yoon begins with the period starting *c.* 490 BC. When asking about relevant literary evidence, the authors claim it is late (*e.g.*, Diodorus, Strabo) and full of anachronisms. However, they ignore a text which is even earlier than 490 BC or perhaps contemporary, concerning other Lokrians: an inscription on a bronze plaque dating *c.* 525–500 BC that probably originates from Ozolian Lokrian and relates to a foundation (already in existence) west of Aetolian Thermos. Its date is around the last quarter of the sixth century.[41] The inscription deals expressly with land reserved by the community and regulate land-allotments. It demonstrates that the contrast between 'city' ('urban', sometimes 'urban elite') and 'country', accepted by Foxhall and Yoon, is a fallacy. The contrast fits nicely Max Weber's claim that city and country were opposites; but Weber was thinking about the late-medieval city with its 'market', not the ancient Greek *polis*.[42] We may also note an inscription dating 493 BC from Himera that specifies measured land plots for new colonists while creating a new tribe for them.[43] Such texts, ranging between 525 and 490 BC that deal precisely with land issues, must be seen as relevant to a land survey that starts *c.* 490 BC.

The distinction between norms and values (present but not always implemented) is important for the relation between literary and archaeological evidence. The literary and epigraphic sources variously express or imply that plots of land in a new colony either should be, or were, of a fixed, equal size, and distributed by lot. These are 'things said', namely the articulation of intention and practice. Yet an examination of the landscape by an archaeologist paints a very different picture: rich and poor burials may be observed and throughout the landscape, there may exist plenty of unequal lots, individual farms, small villages, *etc.* What people do and what they *say they do* (or *will* do) belong to two different sets of questions. One needs to evaluate

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[40]   Foxhall speaks of '... the conceptualization and reification of a territory through practice, generating a concept of territory based on the aggregate of whatever those households and communities on the ground think it is ...' How would one know what they 'think'? Foxhall and Yoon, 'Carving out a territory', 433.

[41]   *Nomima*, vol. 1, no. 44, 186–192; ML 13.

[42]   Weber, *The City*.

[43]   Lombardo *et al.*, 'La documentazione', 120–121 ; Brugnone, 'Le leggi di Himera' ; Brugnone, 'Le sferette bronzee iscritte da Himera'.

both 'things said and things done' and evaluate how they stand in relation to each other, case by case.

In sum, the First Lots form a discrete category of equal *klêroi*, apart from other forms of Greek presence and land ownership in colonial areas. Further territorial expansion and land acquisition usually went beyond the marking of the First Lots, and the increase of personal property was not restricted by the community. There was no limit on personal means: settlers were *unequal* in terms of moveable wealth (*chrêmata*) and, as noted, social and economic differentiation usually appears not before the second or third generation post-foundation. This may explain why the political terminology characterising colonial elites is never 'aristocratic' (based on descent) but relies on material features, such as the 'fat Ones', *pacheis*, at Megara Hyblaia. Archaeological evidence pointing to inequality in land possession over centuries is therefore irrelevant to the question of the equality of the First Lots. Egalitarianism was expressed in the *prôtoi klêroi*, the First Lots. Their equality consisted of the same size and the distribution by chance. Equality was therefore expressed arithmetically, cutting up the 'empty land' (*eremos chôra*) into precisely measured, equal portions (*isos*). However, in terms of location and perhaps the quality of soil lots were unequal but merely 'like' each other (*homoios*), also in terms of equal 'political' shares.

A schematic image of what was a desired community in the Archaic period, based on the ideal of 'one man/one *oikos*/one *klêros*' seems to emerge through practices of colonisation, partible inheritance by lot and, especially, revolutionary calls for re-distribution of land. Those were based, so it seems, on the dissonance between that ideal and the reality of social and economic differentiation. In modern terms the desired community was like a checkers board – finite in its limits and consisting of equal units. Greeks expressed this differently: for example, 'The Corinthian Pheidon in fact, one of the most ancient lawgivers, thought that the households and the citizen population ought to remain at the same numbers'.[44] Aristotle recommends regulating the size of the family, forbidding the sale of a *klêros*, preserving the 'old allotments' and supporting sustainable equality.[45] He adds that '[...] in early times ... in many states there was even legislation prohibiting the sale of the original allotments [*protoi klêroi*]'.[46] In the imaginary foundation of Plato's Cretan city, the founder exhorts the colonists to honour *homoiotês* and *isotês* by not purchasing or selling the *original lots* whose initial distribution was to be considered a divine act.[47] Centuries later, the Spartan revolutionary movement[48] sought a return to the original distribution of equal *klêroi*, supposedly set by its primordial lawgiver, Lycurgus, when Spartans were all *homoioi*.[49] The 'Old Portions' apparently did not keep in spite of the generalisation that

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[44] Aristotle, *Politica*, 1265b. I discuss the issue at length in my forthcoming book.
[45] Aristotle, *Politica*, 2.1266.
[46] Aristotle, *Politica*, 6.1319a.
[47] Plato, *Laws*, 5.74.
[48] Shimron, *Late Sparta.*
[49] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 8.

'To sell land is considered shameful by the Lakedaimonians, but from their ancient portion [*archaias moiras*] it is not permitted'.[50] The revolutionary catchphrase was articulated as *gês anadasmos* (a term also signifying reserved land for future settlement in a new foundation), namely a redistribution and a return to the primordial state of equality, to shift the direction, yet again, from the elite vector to the egalitarian one.

Acknowledgements

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50   On the *archaia moira* at Sparta, Heraklides Lembos frg. 12 (Dilts), *De reb. publ.*, II, 7. In Aristotle (frg. 611.12 Rose = Aristotle, *Lacedaimonion politeia*) we find the statement that 'To sell land is considered shameful by the Lakedaimonians, but from the ancient portions (*archaia moira*) it is not permitted.' Cf. Plutarch, *Moral Essays*, 238e = *Instituta laconica* no. 22. Cf. Lazenby, 'The Archaía moíra', who believes that *archaia moira* was not land but a tribute paid by the Helots. Hodkinson, who used to accept *archaia moira* as a distinct category at Sparta, is now in favor of Lazenby's hypothesis (which suffers from the fact that such tribute was called something else entirely, *apophora*) (Hodkinson, *Property and wealth*, 85–90). Both scholars miss the larger framework: they treat this as a *Spartan* subject (it is not) with little comparative evidence from the Greek world. This is misguided, I think, since both vocabulary and explicit statements about 'first lots' in colonies provide a better frame of reference than scholarly attempts at avoiding the explicit meaning of the text.

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Chapter 3

Ancient ideals and modern interpretations

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill

A century ago, it seemed natural to take for granted that when the Greeks and Romans laid out cities on an orthogonal plan, they wished to embody the ideals of civilisation. As the British colonial power identified, at least to some extent, its project with that of the Roman empire, they assumed that the ancients, like themselves, were in the business of bringing 'civilisation' to less developed peoples, whom, borrowing the language of ancient authors, they did not shrink from calling 'barbarians' or 'savages'. Urbanisation was a principal tool of introducing or imposing their own cultural patterns and values; and if the grid plan was the distinctive sign of the ancient city, especially in colonial contexts, then the grid must in itself embody the values of civilisation. Francis Haverfield's *Ancient Town-Planning*, the first book to tackle the subject in such terms, set up the idea that orthogonal planning was the most important ancient contribution to urban planning, and that it carried with it the core values of ancient culture.[1]

If such a proposition seems dated and more than a little embarrassing to a post-colonial world, it becomes the more pressing to re-examine what ideals, if any, the layout of the ancient city embodied. It is therefore worth looking again at what ancient authors have to say on this front. It may come as a surprise to discover that the virtues of orthogonal planning were by no means at the centre of their attention, and that instead environmental concerns were articulated more explicitly than previous discussion has acknowledged.

In the exercise of elevating orthogonal planning to a dominant ideal, the figure of Hippodamus proved a most convenient prop.[2] Since not a word of his writing

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[1]   See Introduction, this volume.

[2]   Already held up as the inventor of 'the science of town planning' in the *Town Planning Conference of 1910* by Rudolf Eberstadt, 104. Extensive discussion of Hippodamus includes von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, 42–61; Castagnoli, *Ippodamo di Mileto*, esp. 61–65, (=*Orthogonal Town Planning*, esp. 66–72); Ward-Perkins, *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy*, 14–17; Wycherley, 'Hippodamus and Rhodes'; Burns, 'Hippodamus and the planned city'; Gill, 'Hippodamus and the Piraeus'; Falciai, *Ippodamo di Mileto*; Mazza, 'Plan and constitution: Aristotle's Hippodamus'.

survives, and we have only the critical account of Aristotle out of which to construct a figure of the 'father of city planning', it was easy enough to attribute to him not only the invention of grid planning, but the ideals that supposedly adhered to it. Since Haverfield, the progressive exploration of Greek colonies in Sicily and on the Black Sea has been enough to demonstrate that the grid plan long preceded Hippodamus, whose dates, uncertain though they are, belong clearly in the fifth century BC.[3] It has become progressively harder to say what was distinctive about Hippodamian planning. A conspicuous example of the use of the grid was in the rebuilding of Miletus after the Persian sack in the early fifth century; yet though Hippodamus came from Miletus, it seems unlikely (and was suggested by no ancient source) that he was responsible for its planning. It looks more likely to be the source of his inspiration than the outcome of his work. It has become harder to say which cities he was indeed responsible for. Aristotle tells us he planned the new port city of Athens in the Piraeus: this will have been in the middle of the fifth century, after the construction of the Themistoclean 'Long Walls', though whether he worked with Pericles is conjecture.[4] He also seems to have been responsible for the planning of the Athenian colony of Thurii in about 443 BC, though the source who describes the plan fails to mention his involvement, which is an inference from the fact that he was made a citizen of the new colony.[5] It was also asserted, by the geographer Strabo, that he was responsible for the plan of the new city of Rhodes at the end of the century (408 BC); but if so, he must have been a very old man at the time.[6] But what drew him to Aristotle's attention was not his actual planning but his theoretical writing, which he regarded as deeply flawed.

In the *Politics*, Aristotle twice discusses the ideas of Hippodamus, on each occasion in the context of the ideal city, and on each occasion slightingly.[7] The first is part of a discussion of previous attempts to define the ideal city (book 2, chs. 2–8).[8] He refutes the proposals of three predecessors: first, with respect and at length, the 'communist' ideas of Plato in the *Republic* and *Laws* (chs. 2–6); second, with less respect, the suggestions of Phaleas of Chalcedon (ch. 7); and third, with scornful polemic, the ideas of Hippodamus of Miletus (ch. 8). The authority of Hippodamus is questioned on several counts: eccentric and affected in dress, pretentiousness and lacking actual experience of politics ('the first person not a statesman who made enquiries about

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[3]   For a round-up, Hoepfner and Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt*, 1–9; Mertens, *Città e monumenti dei greci*, 65ff.

[4]   Gill, 'Hippodamus and the Piraeus' supports a Periclean date; Steinhauer, *Piraeus* suggests new finds support the earlier date.

[5]   Diodorus Siculus, 12.10.7 describes the division of Thurii by horizontal and vertical *plateiai*. He does not mention Hippodamus.

[6]   Wycherley, 'Hippodamus and Rhodes' defends the ascription of the plan to Hippodamus.

[7]   The texts of Aristotle, as well as Plato's *Laws* and others, are well discussed by Martin, *L'Urbanisme*, 18–29.

[8]   Aristotle, *Politica*, 1261a10–1269a28 in the traditional numbering; I prefer the alternative system book and chapter numbers.

the best form of government').[9] He goes on to mock Hippodamus for unconvincing threefold divisions: his ideal city (of 10,000 people), is formed of three classes, artisans, farmers and warriors; the land is divided into three categories, sacred, public and private; the law into three branches, insult, injury and homicide. He has unworkable ideas as to how jurors should deliver their votes, and he confuses the roles of farmers and warriors, the latter of whom also own land. His ideas about magistrates are also unworkable, as are his suggestions for promoting legislative change. The phrase with which he introduces Hippodamus should be read in the context of this polemic. In the translation of Benjamin Jowett, he was 'the same who invented the art of planning cities, and who also laid out the Piraeus'.[10] This is too friendly. Rather, he is the one who 'discovered the division [*diairesis*] of cities and who sliced up the Piraeus'.[11] The same term is used of his division of cities and his divisions of citizens, land and laws. Aristotle's Hippodamus is above all a schematiser, who paid little attention to the practicalities of human society: such simplistic theorisation was abhorrent to Aristotle's analysis of the varieties of human society.

What this *diairesis* of cities involved emerges from the second passage, this time in book 7 when Aristotle is proposing his own ideal city. Having defined social divisions, which give citizenship and landownership to the warrior class and makes the farmers slaves of another race working the land of the citizens (a charter for the enslavement of Africans), so solving a problem he saw in Hippodamus, he talks about the site and layout of the city (chs. 11–12).[12] The overriding consideration is health. The city should face towards the east, from which come the healthiest winds, or at least be sheltered from the north. It should be in a good defensive position, inaccessible to enemies. There should have plenty of fresh water, from springs, fountains and cisterns. Essential is the purity of air and water, the elements we most regularly consume. An acropolis is needed for an oligarchy or monarchy, a plain for a democracy. As for private houses, there are aesthetic and practical advantages if the streets are 'well-cut' (*eutomos*) and in the newer and Hippodamian fashion, but for security the more old-fashioned style is preferable, since it makes it harder for enemies to penetrate the city. Aristotle concludes that it is better to combine the styles, part constructed in the old style for security, part in the newer style for beauty, rather than having the whole city 'well-cut'.

Without doubt, his contrast is between straight and winding streets. He does not go so far as to say that Hippodamus 'invented' the orthogonal layout.[13] His contrast

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9   Aristotle, *Politica*, 1267b29.
10   Aristotle, *Politica*, 1267b23, Jowett, *Aristotle, ad loc.*
11   See Burns, 'Hippodamus and the planned city', 417.
12   Aristotle, *Politica*, 1330a34–1331b23.
13   As suggested by Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 29: 'Aristotle, however, states that he introduced the principle of straight wide streets, and that he, first of all architects, made provision for the proper grouping of dwelling-houses and also paid special heed to the combination of the different parts of the town in a harmonious whole, centred around the market place', justly characterised by Burns a 'fancyful paraphrase', 'Hippodamus and the planned city', 416.

is historical, between the sort of organic settlements with winding streets of the period which we call the Iron Age, and the sort of colonial layout that goes back to the seventh century, long before Hippodamus. The architect gave his seal of approval to the newer style, of orthogonal streets, which he elevated to a theoretical principle. What he 'discovered' remains obscure, but it probably involved more than street layout, including the division of the city into three parts.

Aristotle rejects Hippodamus as at best a partial solution, and goes on to underline the importance of defence: the city needs good ramparts, and it is absurd to suggest that it can do without walls to make the inhabitants more 'virtuous'. He wants guard houses and towers at intervals along the walls; the towers should also act as common messes. The magistrates and priests need a mess on a spot visible from far and wide (a sort of acropolis, we understand). Below it should be two *agorai*, one for the magistrates and for gymnastic exercises, in which trade is strictly banned, the other for trade.

If only we had Hippodamus' own text rather than Aristotle's polemical reports, we would understand better what he was arguing for. But to turn on this basis a missing text into a formulation of an ideal of orthogonal planning which can be regarded as embodying the values of the city and civilisation is a tall order. We can confirm that Greek political thought was aware of orthogonal planning, but must note that for Aristotle there are more pressing concerns: health and defence. While he is less than impressed by Hippodamus, he treats Hippocrates, whom he calls 'the great', with real respect.[14] His observations on city aspect, and the medical implications of different orientations, come straight out of *Airs, Waters and Places*.[15] After urging the physician to take into account the locality in which he works, the treatise starts by outlining the differential effects of the winds on health, together with the local water.[16] The disadvantages of the hot southerlies, which tend to a flabby physique, and the cold northerlies, which make people bilious, lead to eye inflammations *etc.*,[17] contrast with the great advantages of an easterly exposure:

> The persons of the inhabitants are of better complexion and more blooming than elsewhere, unless some disease prevents this. They are clear-voiced, and with better temper and intelligence than those who are exposed to the north ... A city so situated is just like spring, because the heat and cold are tempered; the diseases, while resembling those which we said occur in cities facing the hot winds, are both fewer and less severe. The women there very readily conceive and have easy deliveries.[18]

No ancient source ever wrote a panegyric like this of the advantages of living in an orthogonally planned city.

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[14] Aristotle, *Politica*, 1326a15 characterises Hippocrates as a great physician, in the significant context of discussion of what made a city 'great', quality not size.

[15] Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters and Places* is accepted as an authentic fifth century text; for its relevance to urban health, Nutton, 'Epidemic disease in a humoral environment'.

[16] Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters and Places*, 1.

[17] Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters and Places*, 3–4.

[18] Hippocrates, *Airs, Waters and Places*, 5.

However, medical advice did indeed take orthogonal planning into account. The most familiar text to this effect is that of Vitruvius. If ever there was an author, writing under Augustus and conscious of his role in founding dozens of colonies, who might be expected to spell out the features of the ideally planned city, it is surely Vitruvius. His recommendations chime with those of Aristotle, though it is unlikely he knew this Greek author or the *Politics*; rather he is drawing on a long Greek tradition of 'town planning' that looked a great deal more like Aristotle than Hippodamus.[19] He lays heavy emphasis on the importance of salubrity in choice of sites: this involves the right terrain, notably avoiding marshes, and on aspect, avoiding a southerly or westerly aspect which generates excessive heat from the sun.[20] He adds a good deal about the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, fundamental to medical thinking and the dangers of warm moisture and chilling winds.[21] He recommends the practice of inspecting the livers of sacrificial animals to establish the healthiness of the area,[22] and gives an example of a city, Salpia, moved by the Roman authorities to a healthier spot.[23] The next chapter is dedicated to fortifications, with practical recommendations for strengthening defences, including the avoidance of square plans;[24] the neat rectilinear walls of Aosta (Augusta Salassiorum) built under Augustus around 26 BC, as of many other colonies in the Cisapline region, ignore Vitruvius' contemporary recommendation.

Once walls are built, Vitruvius offers detailed recommendations for the street plan, that is the *divisiones* (like Hippodamian *diairesis*) of the wide thoroughfares (*plateae*) and the narrow residential lanes (*angiportus*); the contrast of broad streets (*plateae*) and narrow (*angiportus* or more commonly *vici*) is recurrent in Roman discussions, and forms the fundamental rhythm of traffic movement within the city.[25] Here too, as in the choice of sites, Vitruvius regards considerations of health the most important, and winds as the crucial factor.

> The orientation of the streets will be right if the winds are carefully shut out of the residential streets [*angiportus*]. If they are cold, they hurt; if they are hot, they infect; if they are moist, they harm.[26]

Mytilene on Lesbos is held up as an example of a well-built but unhealthy town, where men fall ill if the wind is in the south or north-west, and get cold standing in the streets if it is in the north. He digresses on the causes of the winds, and the variety of diseases they cause – coughs, colds, pleurisy, phthisis (consumption, or

[19] Martin, *L'Urbanisme*, 27.
[20] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 4.1.
[21] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 4.2–8.
[22] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 4.9–10.
[23] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 4.12.
[24] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 5.2.
[25] See Kaiser, *Roman Street Networks*, 24–34; further, my paper, 'How open was the Roman city?'
[26] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.1

tuberculosis) and so on. Evidently, Vitruvius is drawing on a Greek source who is medically informed in the Hippocratic tradition.

Having established his premise, that the health of a city depends on exposure to winds and success in shutting out harmful ones, he now plunges into an excursus, or series of excursuses, evidently derived from Greek science: on the fluid nature of wind (*aeris fluens unda*),[27] relevant to its behaviour on encountering city streets, and on its origins in the meeting of heat and moisture, illustrated by the action of an 'Aeolus' kettle (Hero of Alexandria, for instance, shows how these generate an air flow).[28] This comparison shows, so he claims, why excluding the winds makes the inhabitants of a city healthy, whereas the entry of winds causes a series of respiratory diseases, colds, coughs, pleurisy, phthisis and coughing blood.[29] This imperative to exclude noxious winds leads to discussion of how many winds there are: not four, as commonly supposed, but eight, following Andronicus of Cyrrhus, the architect of the tower of the winds in Athens.[30]

At this point it becomes clear that Andronicus is his principal, if not his only source. The survival of the Tower of the Winds in Athens has generated not a little interest in Andronicus.[31] His date remains unclear: since he is cited by Varro as well as Vitruvius,[32] his date is Caesarian at latest, though there is a case seeing the patron as Attalus III of Pergamum, donor of the Stoa of Attalus, in the second century BC.[33] The tower itself is the product of considerable mathematical, meteorological and astronomical sophistication, and the text of Vitruvius strongly suggests that Andronicus was author of a treatise which argued for the health benefits of understanding wind directions more precisely. The same author surely lies behind the advice that follows of how to lay out a wind rose in order to locate the directions of the eight winds, by using a sundial to establish due north, and then segmenting a circle into eight points.[34] This procedure is of such critical importance that Vitruvius offers a diagram in which he illustrates, repetitively, how to achieve this.[35] If the original illustrations which accompanied his text has survived, it might have spared much confusion among his Renaissance interpreters; but at least one illustration survives in the eighth-century Carolingian manuscript in the British Library,[36] which shows clearly enough an octagon set in a circle with the eight

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27   Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.2.
28   Hero Alexandrinus, *Pneumatica et Automata* (ed. W. Schmidt, 1899), book 1 illustrates such devices.
29   Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.3.
30   Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.4–5.
31   See Kienast, *Der Turm der Winde*; Webb, *The Tower of the Winds*.
32   Varro, *de Re Rustica*, 3.5.17.
33   Kienast, 'The Tower of the Winds in Athens: Hellenistic or Roman?'; Webb, *The Tower of the Winds*.
34   Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.6–7.
35   Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.12–13.
36   BM Harley 2767.

wind-names spelt out, and the further subdivision of the octagon into sixteen segments (Fig. 3.1).[37]

But what follows about the orientation of the streets themselves? Vitruvius, having expanded so generously on the scientific background, becomes oddly cryptic, despite covering the matter twice over, in the text and in the description of the illustration:

> *Tum per angulos inter duas ventorum regiones et platearum et angiportorum videntur deberi dirigi descriptiones.*[38]

> Then the directions of the avenues and streets appear to need to be set between the angles between two wind quarters.

He repeats his point in his description of the diagram:

> *Ita his confectis inter angulos octagoni gnomon ponatur, et ita dirigantur angiportorum divisiones* (1.6.13).[39]

> Once this has been done, the gnomon should be set between the angles of the octagon, and thus the divisions of the streets may be directed.
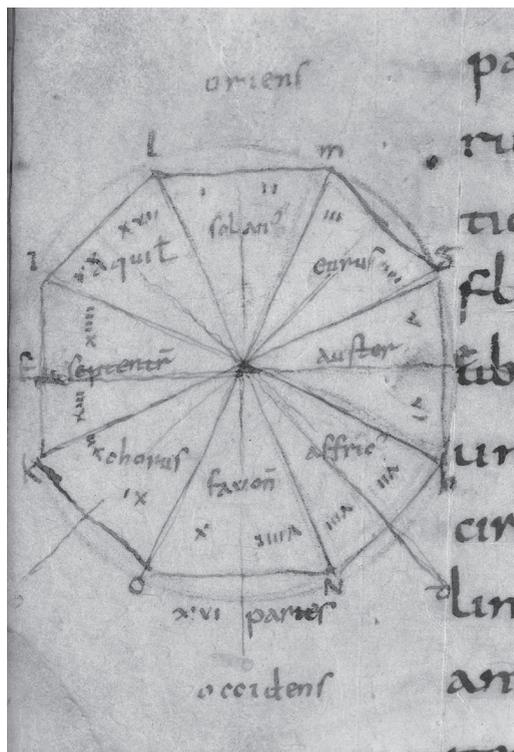
Figure 3.1. Illustration of the text of Vitruvius from an eighth-century Carolingian manuscript in the British Library, showing the division of the windrose into eight winds. BM Harley 2767, fol. 16v (© The British Library Board, Harley 2767, f.16v).

The combination of brevity and the difficulty of the Latin, evidently translated from Greek, has led to much confusion from the Renaissance onwards, and the mistaken assumption that he was recommending an octagonal plan for the city; even Haverfield seems to have fallen for this error, suggesting that Vitruvius recommended a star-shaped plan rather than a chessboard.[40] Yet it is the logic of his argument, not the nuance of his Latin, that dictates the correct interpretation: since it is vital to avoid any wind blowing directly down the streets, they should be set out at an angle to any of the eight wind directions defined by the octagon. There is no need to make the pattern of the streets themselves octagonal, and he quietly assumes (without

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[37] On the illustrations to Vitruvius, see Sgarbi, 'A newly discovered corpus of Vitruvian images'.
[38] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.8.
[39] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.13.
[40] Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 19.

saying so) that they will fall into the traditional grid. He spells out the effect of a wind direction aligned with that of the urban layout:

> By this rationale and by this division the noxious force of the wind will be excluded from the residential areas and neighbourhoods [*ex habitationibus et vicis*]. For when the avenues [*plateae*] are set in the direction of the winds, frequently the force of the wind coming from an open sky once it is trapped in the jaws of the narrow streets [*angiportus*] rages more strongly. For which reason the orientation of the streets should be turned away from the wind directions so that as they arrive they are broken against the corners of the *insulae*, are driven back and dissipated.[41]

He evidently envisages rectangular corners to the city blocks – set at an angle to the wind direction, they break up the wind, whereas aligned with it, they cause turbulence in the side streets.[42]

Vitruvius is not through with his explanation, and at this point he encounters and obvious objection to the theory of the eight winds: what if there are more than eight winds?[43] Given the enormous size of the world, winds can be deflected from their course, as is suggested by the variety of local wind names. Moreover, there are local conditions, like the dawn breezes generated by sunrise. This is a potentially devastating objection, and we surely hear the voice of Andronicus defending his simplistic eight-wind theory and deploying in his defence more Hellenistic scientific learning, in this case the (remarkably accurate) demonstration by Eratosthenes of the circumference of the earth.[44] One may struggle to understand how Andronicus thought this strengthened his case, except to argue away exceptions to his scheme of wind directions by variations at a local level. There is more than a shade of the doctrinaire about Andronicus' wind theory, gloriously monumentalised in the Tower of the Winds, but also a determined assumption that the world can be explained scientifically, and that medicine is an integral part of that science, one which has a direct bearing on the design of the ideal city.

Haverfield was wrong to say that Vitruvius was against the chessboard, but Vitruvius had so little interest in the matter that he wholly failed to flag it as an ideal arrangement. Salubrity and wind management was his ideal. It is clear that here, he stood in a long tradition that stretches from Hippocrates and Aristotle through Andronicus of Cyrrhus to the medical compilations of the late empire. Oribasius, the doctor of the emperor Julian, was responsible for one such compilation in the fourth century AD, and he quotes at length one Sabinus, a second-century AD medical writer who wrote commentaries on Hippocrates and taught Galen, on the importance of wind

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[41] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.8, repeated at 6.13.

[42] On the debate, Plommer, 'The circle of the winds in Vitruvius'; Lagopoulos, 'The semiotics of the Vitruvian city'. The translation of the Latin is mine, with a debt to both the Loeb translations; see also Rowland and Howe, *Vitruvius.*

[43] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.9–12.

[44] Vitruvius, *de architectura*, 1, 6.11.

direction for city planning. [45] The passage is a striking parallel to Vitruvius, and it is eloquent of the lack of modern interest in the health aspects of city planning that it has been so rarely cited in this context.[46] The arguments of Sabinus replicate those of Vitruvius, except that he recommends the exact opposite. In what looks to be a commentary on the passage of *Airs, Waters and Places* cited above, he elaborates on Hippocrates, who only discusses the influence of the aspect of the city as a whole, and elaborates on the importance of street layout for a healthy city. Streets, he says, must be parallel to each other, both those running lengthwise and breadthwise, the former aligned with sunrise at the equinox (*i.e.* due east), the latter running north and south, and should maintain their straight orientation to the limits with no houses intruding on them. The result will be a city that is well aired and well sunned. Far from Andronicus' theory of eight winds, he has just four cardinal points, north, south, east and west, and insists that the streets, evidently orthogonal in plan, be strictly aligned with them. And whereas Vitruvius is anxious that the city houses and blocks dissipate the winds by standing at an angle to them, Sabinus warns of the dangers of interrupting the flow of winds by buildings. For, he says, if the principal winds can blow unimpeded through the city, they have a beneficial effect in purging the system, driving out smoke and dust clouds and all types of pollution, and further ensuring that all streets benefit from sunshine. If, on the contrary, they are neither parallel nor straight but twisting and set at an angle to the winds, they cause dangerous turbulence as the winds swirl round one another. This is, he notes, because the winds do not simply reflect off surfaces in straight lines, but act like water and swirl around. Vitruvius too, we recall, noted the fluid nature of air, but here the same observation on the physics of air flows leads to the opposite conclusion. The effect of this disorderly and constipated flow of air is anything but healthy, he warns, and in addition crooked streets minimises sunshine. But, with a final throw-away observation, he notes that all the above applies to cities built on level ground – those on a hillside actually benefit from winding streets, and the highest parts of the city enjoy the best airflow.

We are evidently glimpsing a major debate in Greek medical theory. All agree that bad air causes disease. All agree that street layout should take into account wind direction. But there is disagreement about how many winds there were, and whether it was better for streets to be aligned with them or at an angle. Vitruvius follows one particular theorist who, as it happens, left a monument to his theory in one of the most charming surviving monuments of Athens. All of this seems to me a salutary lesson in ancient idealism. Just when we are building up the grid as the model of civilisation against the barbarity of winding streets, our most relevant

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[45] See the excellent discussion of Nutton, 'Medical thoughts on urban pollution', esp. 69–70 on Sabinus.

[46] Martin, *L'Urbanisme*, 18 cites and translates half the passage, which he attributes to Oribasius himself and dates to the fourth century. Von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen*, 63 rightly credits Sabinus. Owens, *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, 5 with note 18 attributes discussion in the imperial period of the alignment of the streets to Hippocrates himself, and fails to cite this passage. See Appendix below for a translation of the full passage.

ancient author disappears down a tunnel of controversial medical theory and ignores the grid entirely. Environmental concerns prove dominant, whereas of the grid as symbol of civilisation there is no hint.

It is tempting to dismiss both the arguments both of Vitruvius and Sabinus as being contradictory and unconvincing, and this is presumably what the commentators who praise ancient orthogonal planning for other reasons have done. Yet the case that cities should be planned with an eye to environmental considerations and make health a high priority are far more likely to gain traction today. Intriguingly, the debate over the best orientation finds some confirmation in the actual orientation of Roman colonial grids, some of which are set out on the cardinal points, like Florence or Aosta, and others of which are set at an angle, like Naples or Cosa. Fascinatingly, some modern architects with environmentalist principles have studied the relation of layouts of Roman foundations to the locally prevailing wind directions. They have found, for instance, that Asculum admirably follows Vitruvian rules in avoiding the actual local prevailing winds in both winter and summer.[47]

I am not of course suggesting that medical theory was what lay behind the creation of grid planning. I take it that the grid evolved through experiment in a series of Greek (and maybe Phoenician) foundations like the cities of Sicily which recent work has done so much to illuminate. It is more a matter of what ideals were retrofitted to the grid once it had developed. Just as it seems that Hippodamus turned the grid into a model of ideal social organisation, medical writers turned it into a model of urban health. But it is a curious fact that outside the medical writers, we have no ancient writings that speak of urban rectilinear street layout as an urban ideal, and certainly not Vitruvius, even if he takes the grid for granted.

This has important implications for the later influence of Vitruvius. He was not, as was once supposed, lost and rediscovered by the Renaissance.[48] Charlemagne's biographer and architect, Einhard, corresponded with Alcuin about Vitruvius, though there is no sign that Vitruvius influenced Carolingian architecture, and a long line of medieval writers, from Hrabanus Maurus to Albertus Magnus, cite him. A case has been made for the derivation in the late-eleventh/early-twelfth centuries of the proportions of the great Romanesque abbey at Cluny from Vitruvius.[49] Thomas Aquinas, as we have seen, drew on him in the thirteenth century: in the second book (ch. 2–4) of the *de regimine principum*, he cites Vitruvius extensively on the health considerations of siting a city, at which point the text peters out. Maybe even Aquinas was defeated by the description of the wind-rose.[50]

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[47] Giovagnorio *et al.*, 'The environmental elements in foundations of Roman cities'.

[48] See Krinsky, 'Seventy-eight Vitruvian manuscripts'; Weiskittel and Reynolds, 'Vitruvius'.

[49] Conant, 'The after-life of Vitruvius'.

[50] For the text of *de regimine principum*, Dyson, *St Thomas Aquinas Political Writings*, 5–52.

But it is in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that use of the text of Vitruvius really takes off.[51] Leon Battista Alberti of course leads the way. His *de re aedificatoria* of 1452 (but first printed in 1485) makes heavy use of Vitruvius, though he adds rich material from other classical sources. He complains, not without justice, of Vitruvius' tangled Latin, his own being significantly clearer. In his first book, he agrees entirely with Vitruvius and Hippocrates about the importance of environmental factors, airs and waters, and agrees that cities should avoid mountains, deserts and above all swamps with their noxious exhalations.[52] It is not until the fourth book that he turns to city planning. He wisely ignores the wind-rose and street orientation but is more forthcoming about street layout, and here he blends Vitruvius with Aristotle. Great cities need streets that are straight and broad, for it adds to their majesty, but he has much more to say about smaller towns, and here he appears to have the typical Italian hill-town in mind. Winding streets make towns more interesting, a constant revelation of new vistas at every turn of the street, and much better for protection against the enemy.[53] Not a word here of the supposed health advantages of straight streets, and he seems simply to disagree.

Antonio Avellino, the self-styled Filarete, is next in 1464 with his *Trattato di Architettura*.[54] His ideal city, Sforzinda, named for his patron Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, is heavily indebted to Vitruvius, and he starts with the importance of site selection and shelter from the four cardinal winds. Climate, he says, is everything: 'clima, e pianeto e punto e ora è tutto quello che sarà mestiere intendere'. He illustrates the ideal layout: an octagon formed of two overlapping squares. Though his octagon is arrived at differently from Vitruvius' wind-rose, his idea of the ideal shape is derived from an interpretation of Vitruvius' tortured text and involves radial roads, though at the centre he sets a rectangular layout of public buildings, of three piazzas and the palazzo signorile for the podestà (Fig. 3.2). Filarete is responsible more than any other

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[51] On the Renaissance tradition, Rowland, 'From Vitruvian scholarship to Vitruvian practice', esp. 30 on Alberti; also Rowland, 'Vitruvius and his influence'.

[52] Pearson, *Alberti and the Renaissance City*, esp. 90–93 on Alberti's preoccupation with health.

[53] *de re aedificatoria*, 4.5 (trans Edward Owen, 1755): 'To conclude, such should be the Ways out of the City; short, strait, and secure. When they come to the Town, if the City is noble and powerful, the Streets should be strait and broad, which carries an Air of Greatness and Majesty; but if it is only a small Town or a Fortification, it will be better, and as safe, not for the Streets to run strait to the Gates; but to have them wind about sometimes to the Right, sometimes to the Left, near the Wall, and especially under the Towers upon the Wall; and within the Heart of the Town, it will be handsomer not to have them strait, but winding about several Ways, backwards and forwards, like the Coarse of a River. For thus, besides that by appearing so much the longer, they will add to the Idea of the Greatness of the Town, they will likewise conduce very much to Beauty and Convenience, and be a greater Security against all Accidents and Emergencies. Moreover, this winding of the Streets will make the Passenger at every Step discover a new Structure, and the Front and Door of every House will directly face the Middle of the Street; and whereas in larger Towns even too much Breadth is unhandsome and unhealthy, in a small one it will be both healthy and pleasant, to have such an open View from every House by Means of the Turn of the Street'.

[54] See Lang, 'Sforzinda, Fliarete and Filelfo'; for the text, Spencer, *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*; more recently, Hub, *Filarete*.
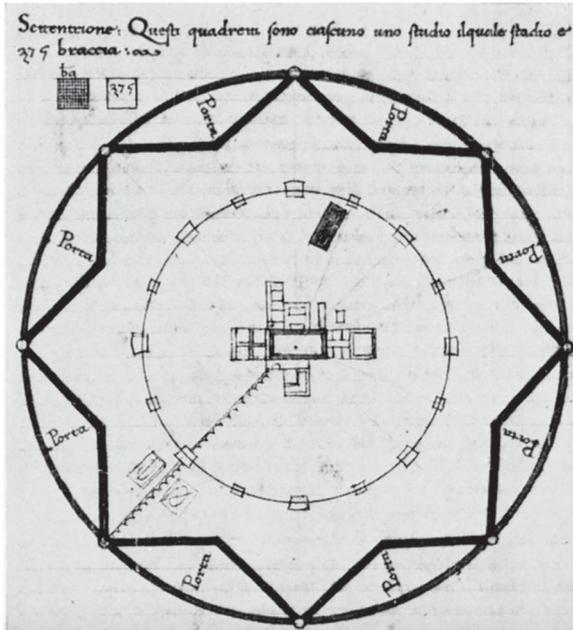
Figure 3.2. Filarete's design for Sforzinda as an octagon within a circle: Codex Maglibechiananus, BN Florence, fol. 43r (permission of the MBAC, Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze).

writer for making the radial city an enduring ideal.[55] But his example had a deep influence on the translators of and commentators on Vitruvius.

By the end of the fifteenth century, printed editions (the first in 1486), illustrated editions (the first by Fra Giocondo in 1511) and translations into the vulgar tongue (the first by Cesare Cesariano in 1521) appeared, and all struggled to make sense of Vitruvius' text. All, under the influence of Filarete, imagined an octagonal plan; but while Fra Giocondo imagined a grid plan within the octagonal walls, Cesariano excelled himself in designing an eight-spoked radial city that managed to combine straight roads and winding streets (Fig. 3.3). Gianbatista Caporali of Perugia did not like this tangle and cleaned up Cesariano's design to a neatly radiating city (Fig. 3.4). Others rejected the radial plan, such as Palladio, illustrating Daniele Barbaro's translation of 1556, and Vincenzo Scamozzi in 1615, who opted for a grid within an octagon.

These disagreements underline how hard to interpret Vitruvius' text was, at least without the original illustrations that had accompanied it. But one spectacular product of this speculation was that the idea of the radial city had got out. The new city of Palmanova was decreed by the Republic of Venice in 1593, with a commission headed by Marcantonio Barbaro, brother of the translator of Vitruvius, and as architect Giulio Savorgnano (rather than Vincenzo Scamozzi, author of a treatise on architecture in the Vitruvian tradition, the alternative candidate).[56] Palmanova has nine instead of eight points to its star: its radial pattern makes it an aesthetic joy, though apparently it was not popular and had to be peopled with ex-convicts. Radial cities then have a long history, including the hexagonal Grammichele near Catania, entirely rebuilt after the earthquake of 1693 by Principe Carlo Maria Branciforte, and most spectacularly the Plaza del Ejecutivo in Mexico City.

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[55]   Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 186–189; de la Croix, 'Military architecture and the radial city' for the underlying defensive considerations.

[56]   de la Croix, 'Palmanova: A study in sixteenth century urbanism'; di Sopra, *Palmanova*.

Of course, once the idea was born that a city could have radiating streets rather than a grid pattern, it was up to the ingenuity of architects to experiment. But the underlying influence of a misinterpretation of Vitruvius remains clear. Dunedin in Otago, New Zealand, was laid out in the 1840s by one Charles Kettle.[57] The radiating octagonal design for the heart of the city (Fig. 3.5) bears an uncanny resemblance to the illustration by Joseph Gwilt of 1826 of Vitruvius' ideal city (Fig. 3.6). His failure to specify the rectilinear grid as the basis of urban layout means that Vitruvius' most fruitful influence on later town planning was a radial city of deeply unclassical design. There is, needless to say, not a single example of a radial city from antiquity, not even in Alba Pompeia (the Alba of the spumante) which seems to have had octagonal walls.

Constant misunderstanding of Vitruvius does not mean that the grids which characterise most colonial cities in the New World were not consciously imitations of the grids of classical colonies. The story of the grid cities of the Americas starts with Santo Domingo in Hispaniola in the Caribbean, but it was only after a succession of cities had been founded in Spanish America that their constitution and appearance

Figure 3.3. Cesariano's reconstruction of the Vitruvian radial city (1521), Liber Primus XXV.
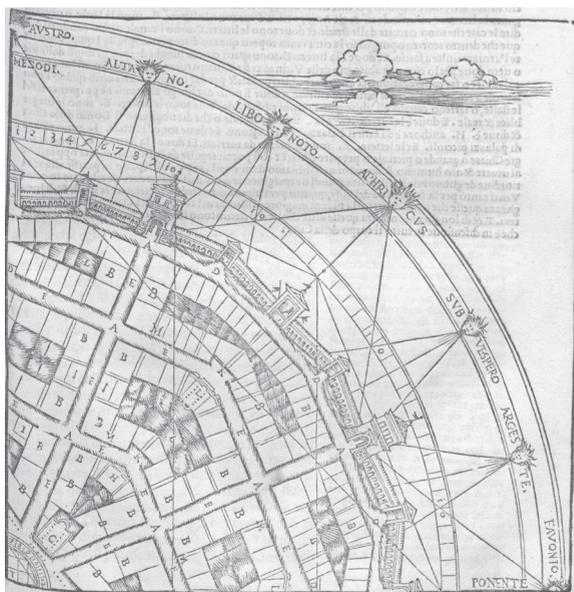
Figure 3.4. Caporali's simplification of Cesariano's diagram (1536), Libro Primo, 41.

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[57] See Ledgerwood, *The Heart of a City*. I am grateful to the Dunedin City Library staff for sharing with me the all-too scarce available material.

Figure 3.5. Charles Kettle's 1846 design for Dunedin, Otago, New Zealand (Charles H. Kettle and R. Park, 1846. Hocken Maps Horizontal Triple Oversize 885 1846 bje. Hocken Collections – Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago).

were regulated by royal decree, the *Laws of the Indies*. By the end of the sixteenth century, these include clear references to Vitruvius, whose text had by now become well-known. But there is no reason to suppose that anyone got the idea of the grid out of reading this author – which would have been impossible.[58]

It is a remarkable observation, and one which should have worried those who wanted to make the grid *the* ideal of ancient urbanism, that ancient authors have so little to say about it. But there *was* a text which in my view is more likely to have been influential throughout the Middle Ages and later, namely the body of ancient land surveying, the Corpus Agrimensorum.[59] Our earliest manuscripts

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[58]   See the chapter by Martínez Jiménez and Ottewill-Soulsby in this volume.
[59]   See Campbell, *Roman Land Surveyors*.

go back to the sixth century, and
they were much copied from then
on. And unlike Vitruvius' text,
these manuscripts preserve the
vital accompanying illustrations.
Hyginus Gromaticus, for instance,
gives recommendations on how
to set out a wind-rose to establish
due north, in terms close to
those of Vitruvius, including
his use of the Greek *skiotheres*
for the pointer (*gnomon*) of the
sundial.[60] Unlike Vitruvius, the
surveyors want their directions
to follow the cardinal points,
with the Decumani east–west,
and the Kardines north–south
(though there can be variations).
The grid of plots here described,
with its careful numeration of
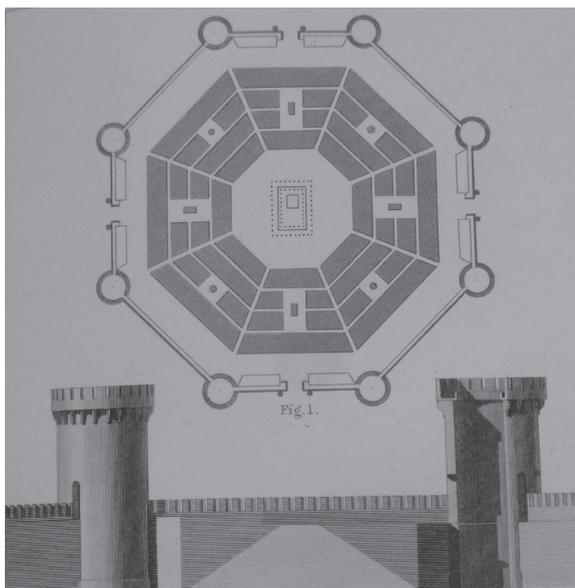
Figure 3.6. Vitruvius' design for a city according to Joseph Gwilt (1826), plate 2, fig.1.

each division with reference to the Decumanus Maximus and the Kardo Maximus,
is the fundamental instrument of land-division for new settlers. Fair division of
land was far more important for the new citizen communities than fair division
of urban plots; and one may suggest that the principle of equal urban plots was
simply a reflection of the division of rural plots. Each settler needed both. Just
occasionally the illustrations suggest the intersection of Decumanus and Kardo
Maximus should coincide with the centre of the city, though this is not necessary
or the norm, except in Emilia Romagna (Fig. 3.7).[61]

It is therefore rather appropriate that the language of the agrimensores, of
Kardines and Decumani, which is used by them to describe land-division, has been
transferred by modern scholars to the streets of the city.[62] As has been repeatedly
pointed out, there is no classical authority for this usage in an urban context. But
the language has been transferred because there is a clear analogy between the two
types of division; and also perhaps because Vitruvius, with his *plateae* and *angiportus*,
has actually so very little to say about the ideal of a grid city.

We are left with the paradox that the ideals of equal plots and rectilinear grids were
to be found in the land surveyors, not in Vitruvius. The grid surely was the outcome of
the wave of colonial land distribution that goes back to archaic Greece. But by the time

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[60] Hyginus (2), *Constitutio Limitum*, in Campbell, *Roman Land Surveyors*, 148–149.
[61] See the chapter by Morigi in this volume.
[62] See Kaiser, *Roman Street Networks*, 24–25.
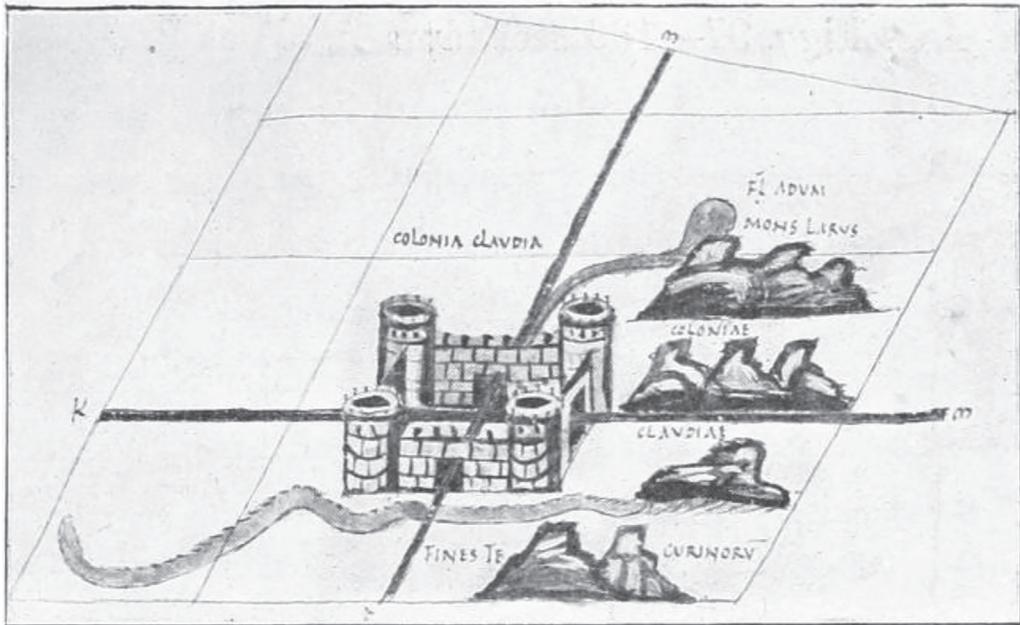
Figure 3.7. Illustration of intersection of the decumanus maximus *and* kardo *at the centre of the colony (Hyginus Gromaticus,* Corpus Agrimensorum*, ed. Thulin, fig. 95, P 90r.).*

of Vitruvius, writing under the single greatest founder of new cities of antiquity, the grid was so much taken for granted as to be not worth discussing. For high theory and ideals he turned to medical writers, and in that he was followed throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The consequence was that when it came to street layout, his text caused nothing but confusion, and helped to engender a wholly different type of ideal, the radial city. But it is also an invitation to us to think again about the relevance of Roman city planning to ourselves, which saw to city in close relation to its environment and surrounding landscape, and which treated health as an overriding priority.

Appendix: Sabinus on the healthy layout of a city

Oribasius, *Medical Collections* 9.20 = *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* 6.1.2, pp. 18–20.
    From Sabinus, *On the Climate of Regions* (author's translation).

Which streets make the conditions of cities healthy and which unhealthy?
In a city, when the streets are always laid out parallel to each other both in length and breadth, the former set in rows in a straight line to sunrise, midday and sunset, the latter to north and south, and when all cut the city end to end, the former along its whole length, the latter along its whole breadth, and each having no building in the middle of it as an obstacle and each having straight roads over most of the

suburbs, then they provide a city that is well-aired, and they make a layout that is well-sunned and pure and breezy, in that the winds, the North, the South, the East and the West, which are the dominant winds and the most regular, flow easily through the streets lying in line with them, and having no obstacles to their flow, being able to blow through the city have no violent effects; for winds when they have nothing to block them pass unnoticed. Indeed, they do not pass through the city ineffectively, for they clean the road network, pushing smoke and dust clouds and all exhalations out of the city.

Streets with this layout make the city sunny, because the sun rising and setting proceeds in a straight course along those oriented towards the east, and shines in mid-heaven along those oriented north and south, with the result that the streets catch the sun every day. But if all the streets are neither parallel nor straight, but some of them are crooked or hard to exit and aslant to the winds, it causes much disturbance of the air; for when one wind is blowing, it generates many winds in conflict with each other. This is because the wind blows straight, but the streets are not straight, so falling into the streets without exit it does not pass out for lack of a thoroughfare, but clashes with the air in the street and surges back, but in the streets that are crooked but have a through route because of being rebuffed at different points in different directions, rebounding from which in some cases it swirls round and often is carried back into the same place it has flowed through and form a backwash against itself, and in other cases blows into different streets. For winds do not generate orderly counterwinds, like light and its refractions, which always refract with equal angles, but wind behaves like water which flows wherever it finds a way when prevented from flowing straight. So it sometimes happens that a wind falling on a hard surface is split into another when roads lie against it on either side, and in turn suffers the same thing encountering its counterflow in this manner, and from being one wind turns into many and clashes with itself, being carried sometimes athwart and sometimes head on, and in each encounter with the streets is rebuffed in its flow and causes violent disturbance to the system, for some the winds meet gently, while by others they are rebuffed. Consequently, the road layout of the city is thrown into confusion encountering the winds in disorder. By the chaos of one wind, it is entirely thrown into chaos like the blocked breath of a human which so blocks the digestive system. In this condition it could never be healthy. Moreover indeed, the sunlight which always travels in straight lines would not fall evenly on crooked streets, but would shine randomly on those of the city, and thereby the city would enjoy least sunshine. And exhalations would be least dissolved by the sun. Particularly in the case of a street network that is densely packed and hard to blow through, this sort of arrangement is unhealthy.

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Chapter 4

Ruling the realm: Sovereign spaces and the spatial ordering of medieval towns

Keith D. Lilley

Visualising authority

How was political authority exercised spatially? This is a question at the heart of this exploration of the relationship between ruler and ruled in medieval England. With a focus on the reign of Edward I, king of England (1272–1307), the aim here is to consider how a ruler ruled the realm not just by force, military might or divine authority, but through *spatial* administration of land and the people that constituted the realm. Today still, as one of England's most notorious medieval monarchs, Edward's image as ruler and conqueror remains strong. In the 1995 Hollywood blockbuster film *Braveheart*, for example, Edward I – played by Patrick McGoohan – is to be seen, perhaps somewhat fancifully, poring over a map of the realm, planning the strategy for his Scottish campaigns of the 1290s. By then, Edward had waged war in north Wales and ordered the construction of new castles and towns in Gwynedd to cement his rule and foster English colonisation there.[1]

As a visual means of instilling and reinforcing political authority, the 'spatial ordering' of towns in the Middle Ages is a topic that requires further consideration, looking more closely at the role of the ruler in shaping urban form. Urbanism played an important role in conveying and constructing dominion and sovereignty in a number of ways, including most obviously the siting of a ruler's residence in sight of those below. The castle or citadel perched aloft, with the townspeople and town beneath, and the countryside beyond, is a very visual *spatial* exercise of power and authority (Fig. 4.1). It is one seen, for example, across Europe, in castle-towns founded by aristocrats, especially in contested lands and colonised territories.[2] For Edward I, the new-founded 'castle-towns' of north Wales, at Conwy, Caernarfon and Beaumaris, each conform to this model of urban form, with castles positioned deliberately not only

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[1]   Davies, *The First English Empire.*
[2]   Lilley, '*Non urbe, non vico*'.

Figure 4.1. Castle and walled town of Conwy, North Wales (K. Lilley).

in very visible prominent locations in the local landscape, but also standing sentinel over the streets and houses laid out in the town created to assist in encouraging newcomers to the place (Fig. 4.2).[3] This then is a particular means of fashioning urban landscapes in ways to meet the political aspirations of those who ruled, making use of surveillance and intervisibility to make it clear, to the ruled, the supreme authority and power of the ruler.

   Taking Edward I's new towns as an example offers interesting insights into the connections between power and space, and between realm and rule. It requires what Foucault describes as 'a history of powers [...] from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat', navigating those 'spaces of rule' exercised by rulers, through structures, processes and networks governing the realm.[4] This spatial administration comprised, of course, the edifice of royal bureaucracy and governance, the many facets of which have been well studied for more than a century for the Plantagenet kings in thirteenth-century Britain.[5] In 1296, Edward himself mobilised the 'body-politic' to his advantage to refound the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, on the borders of Scotland and England. Called to Edward's service from towns and cities across England, a political 'body' was formed comprising civic representatives and merchants who were 'most experienced and most sufficient, who may best know

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[3]   Lilley, 'The landscapes of Edward's new towns'.
[4]   Foucault, 'Questions on geography', 149.
[5]   Tout, *Administrative History of Medieval England.*
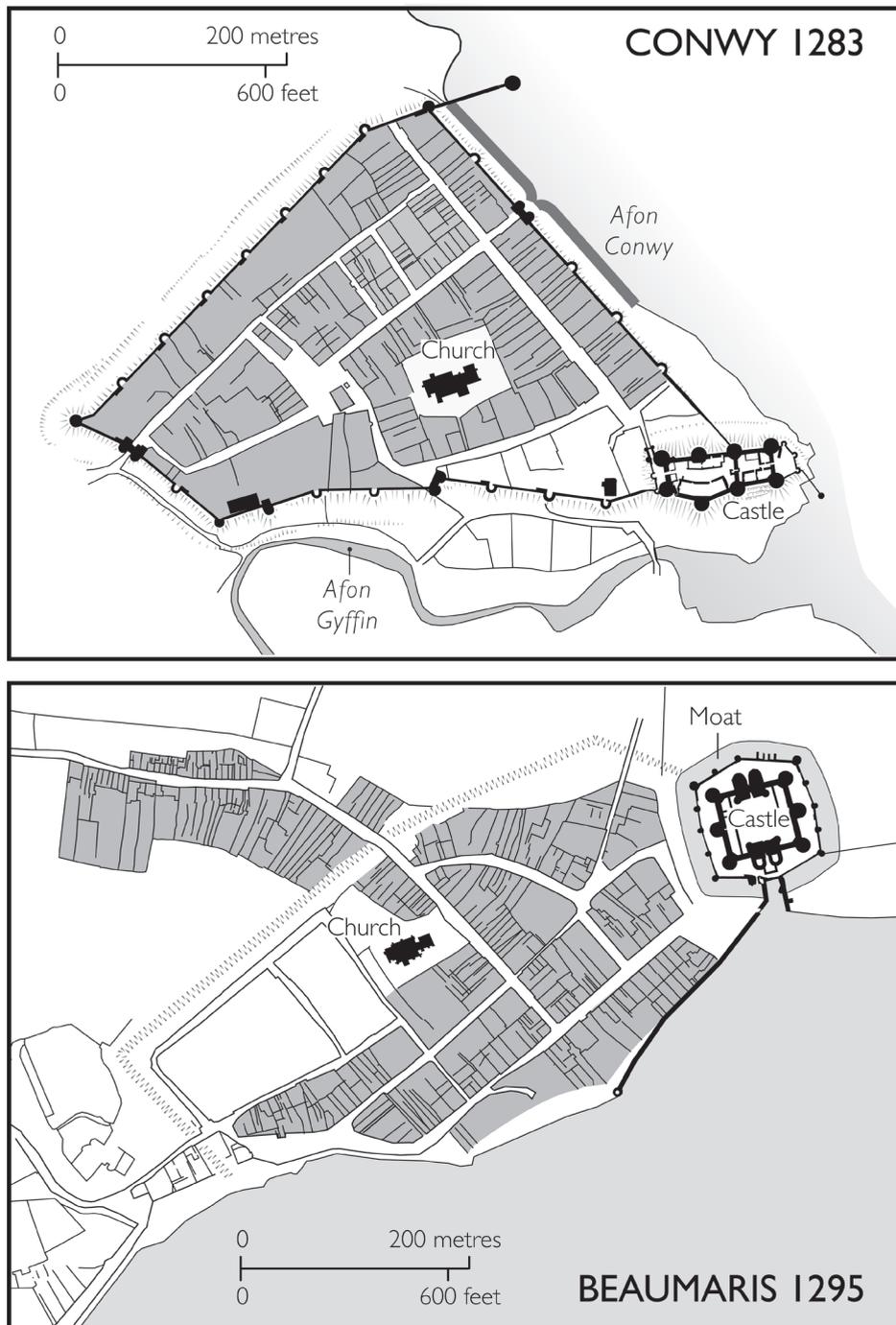
Figure 4.2. Plans of Beaumaris and Conwy showing the towns shortly after their foundation (K. Lilley).

how to devise, ordain, and array a new town, most to the profit of ourselves and of merchants'.[6] In so doing the king spatialised his authority, extending its reach beyond his own corporeal body to the very edges of his kingdom. Here, then, through the eyes (and actions) of those he drew together, the king's 'scopic regime' stretched far beyond his own particular, personal field of vision.

Mobilising this body politic, drawn from the 'urban realm' to extend the king's realm and rule, Edward spatialised his sovereign authority territorially throughout the realm. The spatial realm itself thus stood as an image of the king's 'geo-body', an embodiment of his rule and sovereignty.[7] Such a conceptualisation connecting realm and rule – both spatially and bodily – is to be seen demonstrated geographically in both images and texts, most forcefully perhaps in portraits of rulers standing majestically, either over the land laid out as a map before them, as in the case of Queen Elizabeth I of England, or through an image of the landscape depicted beyond the court.[8] Latterly, Daniel Birkholz has similarly shown how the king's (geo-)body was mapped in and through images of the kingdom, so that 'in English royal ideology and regnal cartography [...] the king become[s] much the same thing as his kingdom, the matter of the one [...] indistinguishable from the matter of the other'.[9] Birkholz is writing here of Edward I, and the 'doubling' of the king's body and 'the territory covered by his authority', that is the realm. The king's spatial body is the whole realm, therefore, and the king is the embodiment of the spaces that make up the realm *as a whole*. Such symbiosis is reminiscent of course of *mappaemundi* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as with the Ebstorf map, depicting Christ's body superimposed on the disc of the earth, whereby Christ is cosmologically omnipresent and also spatialised, encompassing the world.[10]

Plans and 'planning'

The marrying of the metaphorical and the literal 'body' was symbolically and materially important too in the shaping of urban landscapes in the high Middle Ages. With the foundation of new towns and the expansion of older ones across Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries especially, the built-form and physical layouts of newly-made urban landscapes were spatially structured through contemporary principles of belief and ideology.[11] Such symbolism in shaping urban landscapes of the Middle Ages is evident, for example, in orthogonal urban forms. These appear during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in great numbers across Europe with sometimes perfectly geometrical designs.[12]

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[6]   Palgrave, *The Parliamentary Writs*, 49.
[7]   Pickles, *A History of Spaces*.
[8]   Harley, 'Maps, knowledge and power'.
[9]   Birkholz, *The King's Two Maps*, 98.
[10]   Kupfer, 'Reflections in the Ebstorf Map'.
[11]   Lilley, *City and Cosmos*.
[12]   Lilley, 'Taking measures'.

Why was it that some medieval urban landscapes were laid out with this strict orthogonality while others were not? Answering this question does not mean adopting a conventional or even simplistic view of medieval urban form that distinguishes between those towns and cities with 'irregular' form from those with 'regular' layouts, using 'planning' to explain this morphological distinction. Such a view is still prevalent, for example in his book on *Urban Europe 1100–1700*, David Nicholas begins his chapter on 'the morphology of the urban plan' by differentiating between 'organic and planned towns', noting that 'the plans of most older cities of Europe evolved organically, with an irregular street pattern, particularly in the early stages'.[13] Nicholas' comment here is quite revealing. It is a view that perpetuates the modern conceit that there are two basic types of medieval 'town-plan' and that these are linked to the chronology and character of particular forms of medieval urban development. Thus, in Nicholas' analysis, it is the older places that have irregular forms and whose growth was 'organic'.

Conversely, those places with morphologically 'regular' plans are seen to be 'planned' in origin, and classified as later urban arrivals: thus, as Nicholas goes on to say, 'the bastides and "new towns" generally had much more regular street plans than did cities that evolved organically'.[14] The problem here lies in how urban forms are interpreted as evidence of their 'planning' (or a lack of it), and what this then means for how we understand the processes that shaped urban landscapes in the Middle Ages. The use of the word 'organic' implies cities somehow developed naturally through a spontaneous and uncontrolled process. This is problematic, for as the geographer M. R. G. Conzen long ago argued:

> Careful study of individual cases and of groups of medieval towns in various parts of Europe has rather discredited the opposition of 'irregular' versus 'regular' plans, and the unhistorical equation of these with spontaneously grown or 'unplanned' and 'planned' towns.[15]

Using morphology as a basis to define 'planned' and 'unplanned' towns, therefore, is a fundamentally flawed idea, for urban planning in the Middle Ages, as now, took many different forms. Consequently, we are left with the question of why some towns had, either in whole or in part, highly geometrical forms, and indeed in some cases strictly orthogonally-shaped grid-plans?

That in some cases there was a desire to create geometrical forms in urban landscapes in medieval Europe, to reflect and reinforce materially an aesthetic to be found in God's own work, the cosmos, was something to be seen in architectural as well as urban design. As Jean Gimpel succinctly wrote in his book *The Cathedral Builders*, 'life's vagaries led some of these architects to become town planners and thus they

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[13]   Nicholas, *Urban Europe*, 119.
[14]   Nicholas, *Urban Europe*, 119.
[15]   Conzen, 'Use of Town Plans', 119.

designed new towns'.[16] Indeed, the more we look at medieval urban landscapes, and ask questions about how they were formed, the more this leads us to think too about *who* created them, and not just why and when.

Realm and rule

For modern-day students of medieval town-planning, Edward I is also particularly noted as a founder of 'new towns', some of which were created with highly regular, orthogonal grid-plans, including those celebrated 'bastide' towns – new towns – of south-west France, such as Monpazier in Gascony (Fig. 4.3). Adrian Randolph argues that the spatially-ordered layout of these bastides, including those of English Gascony, reflected and reinforced the administrative and bureaucratic order of Edward I's government:

> The absent ruler's omnipresence was carved into the very environment of his subjects ... The grid, or rather the predictability of the bastide, signals a coherency, a hidden power controlling the environment. The bastide is an image of divine rule. As such, it is a substitute for the body (or one of the bodies) of the absent king.[17]

In his analysis, Randolph draws upon Foucault's ideas on surveillance and the state, pointing particularly to the bastide's distinctive form, suggesting 'the grid plan would impose order, facilitating tax collection and administration', through which 'the inhabitants would be administratively visible' to the Crown.[18] To this end, the laying out of regularised urban forms served a medieval ruler's desire to order land and people, creating a physical manifestation of the king's rule and sovereignty over the realm. However, although Edward I is associated by historians with founding new towns, in Wales and England as well as in Gascony, we actually know relatively little of the spatial practices involved in their design and planning, and who it was actually laying them out on the ground.[19]

The physical layouts of the towns of the Middle Ages are a primary source of evidence for exploring their urban planning. My aim over the past few years of studying medieval urban landscapes has been to bring this material into dialogue with documentary historical evidence on the formation of towns, gleaned from contemporary sources. In so doing, it becomes possible to explore how the king's *political* rule of the realm was made visible through the *physical* rule that measured out Edward I's new towns. How Edward saw himself and his role in the divine order of things can be viewed in relation to the king's actions in dealing with his dominions and through the work he had commissioned. His realm was his embodiment, a self-image. It is surely significant that the young Edward would himself have read the

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[16]   Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, 121.
[17]   Randolph, 'Bastides ', 306.
[18]   Randolph, 'Bastides', 306.
[19]   Lilley, 'Royal authority and urban formation'.

Figure 4.3. Aerial view of Monpazier (France) (CC-BY-SA 4.0).

words of Vegetius, from *De re militari*, that 'the mightiest nations and most renowned rulers could seek no greater glory that either to start new cities or to transfer those started by others into their name and improve them'.[20] But ruling the body that was his realm relied on the king's omnipresence, of being visible everywhere at once, up and down the land. Keeping order across the whole kingdom, and over those who occupied it, and forging the island of Britain into a geographically and politically unified realm needed more than the will of God and divinely-ordained laws. Edward needed practical support, for which towns were key.

Across the realm, established urban centres were generating revenue for the English Crown, through direct and indirect means, as well as serving as recruitment grounds for labour and as exchange centres for supplies required to meet the demand of maintaining the king's advances into Wales and Scotland.[21] It was also to the established towns that Edward turned for aid with the foundation of new towns, as he did in the case of Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1296 and to oversee the relocation and planning of New Winchelsea.[22] In the case of the former he called for representatives from twenty-four English towns for assistance, while for the latter he commissioned

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[20]   Thorpe, 'Mastre Richard'. The copy of *De re militari* was given to Edward by his wife, in 1271–1272, and Master Richard rendered this key passage: 'E por ce, empereor trespuissant, les nacions ke sunt sacrez as princes ne quiderent nule major glorie ou de faire noveus citez ou a les citez ke furent jadis faites doner noun suz une amplificacion', 50.

[21]   Given, 'Conquest of Gwynedd'; Davies, 'Colonial Wales'.

[22]   Beresford, *New Towns.*

Ralph de Sandwich, the king's steward, to oversee matters.[23] In founding new towns across the realm, royal and civic administrations gained from each other. Those the king called upon in 1296 came from 'urban realms' and had experience of working within corporate bodies, municipalities ruled over by their own 'king' and entourage in the form of the mayor and his retinue, as in the case of London.[24] These townsmen thus provided a network that linked realm and rule, serving royal and civic needs.

Those who served in local urban administration were not without knowledge of the parallels between their own municipal body and that of the realm at large, the king's 'body', in terms of how it functioned and how it was ordered.[25] For both there was a common set of principles at work, and it was these that made civic officials of England's towns and cities so useful to the Crown and such ideal candidates for creating new towns. They not only had practical experience gained from working in a complex bureaucracy but also possessed an intellectual appreciation of being part of a larger whole, a member of a 'body', and working individually towards a common good. In this case this was the unification of those geographical parts of the realm that made up the political 'body' of king, kingdom and sovereignty.

Materialising rule

The practicalities of using a grid plan for creating a new town to support royal administrative needs has attracted the attention of historians. Writing in his now classic book, _New Towns of the Middle Ages_, Maurice Beresford sought to explain the grid plan of New Winchelsea (in Sussex) noting how the town's layout 'made the calculation of areas simple, and the first rental of New Winchelsea, made in 1292, has an orderliness that transmits to parchment something of the marshalled order of the new houses and streets on the hill top'.[26] For Beresford, it was as if the layout of the town had been determined to satisfy the accounting procedures and practices of Edward's exchequer. The Winchelsea rental, however, post-dates the laying out of the town by nearly a decade. This raises questions, then, about the practices and processes involved on the ground in creating and shaping new towns under Edward I. At Winchelsea, had the regulated layout of the town's plan been chosen in advance to assist in the process of enumerating the plots and their rents? Perhaps the carefully calculated areas made visible in the rental had been predetermined by those who planned and laid out the town in the 1280s, following instruction issued by Edward to a range of trusted men.

Connecting rulers to locations and landscapes worked, as both Randolph and Beresford indicate, through the administrative structures of the king's government, its officers and its hierarchies, linking the royal court with the wider realm. But how did the

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23   Beresford, _New Towns_, 3–28.
24   Barron, _London in the Later Middle Ages_, 147.
25   Reynolds, _Kingdoms and Communities_; James, _The Treatise of Walter of Milemete_.
26   Beresford, _New Towns_, 16.

king's rule impose structure in places on the ground, and how was royal authority meted out across the realm in practice – making the 'invisible' materially visible? This link between rulers and landscapes can be explored through the dual meaning of *rule*: on the one hand to rule is a political act, about authority and governing, but on the other hand to rule is also to measure, quantify and calculate. This duality is not simple wordplay, but a material manifestation of the way a king or ruler could mete out their dominion over others, to bring the wider realm within political reach.

Figure 4.4. The locations of Edward I's 'new towns' in England and Wales (K. Lilley).

To examine this, I shall focus on one particularly well-recognised legacy of Edward's I's reign – the creation and foundation of the new town of Winchelsea in southern England – and ask, 'How was the rule of the absent king made manifest, so making the "invisible" visible?' In addressing this question, significant symbolic connections will emerge between spatial order, ruling the realm and the design of towns that were forged by medieval rulers such as King Edward I.

Across the realm, the new towns of Edward I served not just the economic interests of the Crown but its geo-political concerns as well. This was true for the bastides of Gascony, the new towns established in Wales in Edward's reign, and for both northern and southern England (Fig. 4.4). For example, the refounding of Winchelsea in the 1280s was partly a response to pressures from local townspeople losing a battle with the rising sea and seeking to locate to higher ground – but Winchelsea was also a key port and mustering point for Edward's fleet, a key part of the defence of the realm in the 1290s.[27] The refounding of Winchelsea was as much a political necessity for Edward as the foundation of new towns in Wales around Gwynedd and in England along the east coast at (for example) Kingston and Berwick.[28] These towns formed an essential role in maintaining the king's rule.

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27 Martin and Martin*, New Winchelsea.*
28 Lilley *et al.*, *Mapping the Medieval Townscape.*

Keith D. Lilley

<div align="center">

Prima Strata

| V | IV | III | II | I | |

Secunda Strata

| XI | X | IX | VIII | VII | VI |

Tertia Strata

| XVI | XV | XIV | Church | XIII | XII |

Quarta Strata

| XXII | XXI | XX | XIX | XVIII | XVII |

Quinta Strata

| XXVI | XXV | XXIV | XXIII | Friary | |

Sexta Strata

| XXXI | XXX | XXIX | XXXVIII | XXXVII | |

Septimae Strata

| | XXXV | XXXIV | XXXIII | XXXII | |

Octava Strata

| | XXXVIII | XXXVII | XXXVII | | |

| | XXXIX | | | | |

Gate

</div>

Figure 4.5. Configuration of Winchelsea's layout, derived from rental of 1292 (based on PRO: SC 11/673).

The physical manifestation of the king's rule was literally written into the local landscapes of the new towns. In part, as both Beresford and Randolph maintain, this was through the physical forms of new towns, which repeated the spatial organisation of the account rolls and registers of the king's officials. The king's rule was also made tangible in more subtle, but no less important, ways in measuring out new towns. Here, the rod, the *virga*, was instrumental, forging a link between the divinely-ordained rule of the king and the ruling out of new streets and plots, both on the ground and on parchment. The basis of both was the survey, of taking measures across the landscape. Winchelsea is a case in point.

The rental drawn up in 1292, of all the plots in the new town of Winchelsea, listed for each property its occupant, its size and its value.[29] This written rental is in effect a textual 'map' of the whole town, recording in sequence the street-blocks from the first, in the north-east corner, to the last at the south-west (Fig. 4.5). Each street-block, thirty-nine in all, was circumscribed by the unnamed surveyor, or surveyors, recording in clockwise order all the plots contained within each block, or quarter,

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[29]   The 1292 rental is PRO: SC 11/673 and printed in Inderwick, *Story of King Edward and New Winchelsea*, appendix.

and recording their size using the *virga* as the unit of measurement. It was this standardised, methodical approach to recording the town's rents in 1292 that during the 1930s enabled William Maclean Homan to create a map of the town's plots and streets at the time of its foundation, and in so doing remarked on the metrological accuracy of those who had measured out Winchelsea for the rental.[30]

 The 1292 rental was of course a survey of what was there, on the ground, rather than a plan of what was to be. The work on planning the new town had begun more than ten years earlier, in November 1280, when Ralph de Sandwich, the king's steward, was given a commission by Edward 'to extend or buy or obtain certain lands … which are suitable for the new town of Winchelsea which is to be built upon a hill called Yhamme'.[31] Sandwich was a man with long royal service, and had previously served under Henry III as keeper of the wardrobe before he was appointed as warden of the city of London during the suspension of the mayoralty in 1285 in Edward's reign.[32] The mayor he replaced was Gregory Rokesley, the very man that Edward Penecester and Henry le Waleys, 'to plan and assess the new town of Yhamme'.[33] Beresford and others have placed much emphasis on this appointment in the planning of the town, for it instructed the three men 'to plan and give directions for streets and lanes necessary for the said new town, for places suitable for a market, and for two churches, one to St Thomas and one to St Giles …'.[34] That these individuals were responsible for making judgements about the ultimate appearance of the town seems unequivocal. But others were involved too.

 It was the king's treasurer, John de Kirkby, who was chosen by the king to deliver the lands of the new town to the 'barons' of Winchelsea, five years later in July 1288. Kirkby was also a man of much experience in matters of survey, having already in 1285 undertaken 'a detailed investigation into debts owed to the Crown', including a survey of Yorkshire, in what became known as Kirkby's Quest.[35] He was also at Winchelsea during the later 1280s. This is known from a later document, of 1303, which refers to land 'taken into the king's hands for the extension of the new town by John [de Kirkby] […] to whom the ordering of the new town was assigned'.[36] It is also reported in the 1292 rental that, acting on Edward's behalf, Kirkby was responsible for allocating, delivering and renting out the plots to the townspeople. As someone very familiar with accounting and reckoning in his capacity as lord treasurer, 'a driving force behind major improvements in financial administration' in the exchequer according to Prestwich,[37] John de Kirkby was well-placed to work out what was required to relocate Winchelsea. There is no doubt

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[30]   Maclean Homan, 'The founding of New Winchelsea'.
[31]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1272–81, 414.
[32]   Tout, 'Chief officers', 498; Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, 32.
[33]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1281–92, 81–82.
[34]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1281–92, 81–82. For example, Tout, *Mediaeval Town Planning*, 24; Maclean Homan, 'The founding of new Winchelsea', 22–23; Beresford, *New Towns*, 19.
[35]   Prestwich, 'Kirkby, John (d. 1290)'; Skaife, *Survey of the County of York*.
[36]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1301–1307, 185.
[37]   Prestwich, *Edward I*, 234.
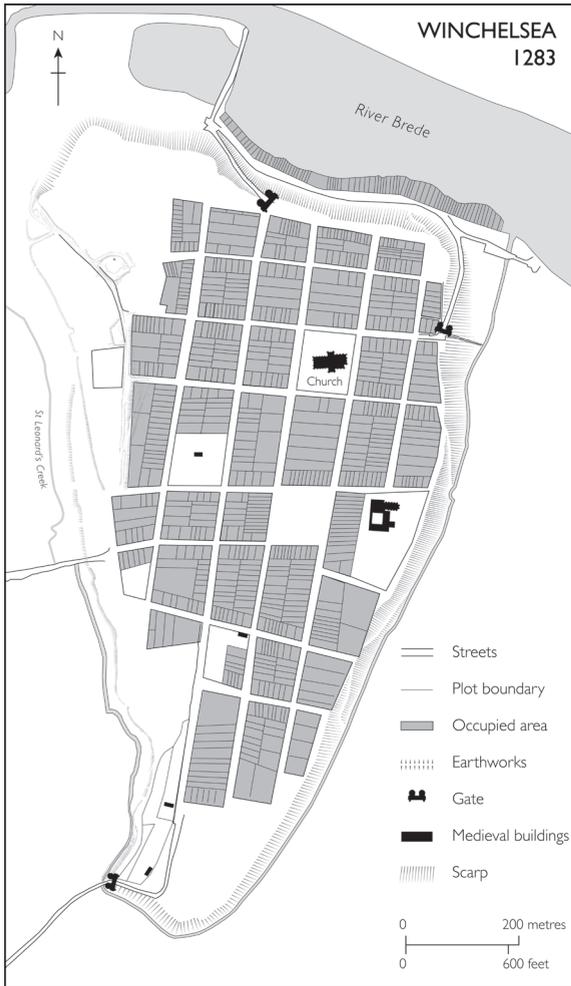
Figure 4.6. Plan of New Winchelsea, as originally laid out (K. Lilley).

that the creation of Winchelsea was a very complex undertaking, requiring the calculation of rents due from the lands on which the town was to be laid out, and matching this revenue with that to be derived from the occupants of new Winchelsea. Something of this complexity is revealed looking again at the 1292 rental, and the variations in the sizes of plots, values and measurements it records.

At the basis of the creation of New Winchelsea was the *virga*. It was the *virga*, as a unit of measurement, that was used to calculate the various sizes of plots in the 1292 rental, and it seems most likely too that it was the *virga* that was also used to set out the new plots in the town.[38] The plots in the 1292 rental are calculated as areas, *virgae*, that is a square *virga* of around sixteen-and-a-half feet.[39] Homan puzzled over why some of Winchelsea's streets are ruler straight but not actually in parallel, particularly the east–west cross streets listed from north to south in the rental, *secunda strata*, *tercia strata* and so on.[40] The streets that are aligned in parallel (and also dead straight) are the town's five north–south longitudinal streets (Fig. 4.6.). Somehow, someone had to work out the number of plots (which were of varying sizes and rents) required for the new town, calculating the areas of each of these to fit them into the regulated pattern of street-blocks. Changing slightly the size of the street blocks enabled this to be done, so some blocks were made slightly larger or smaller in size than others, and Winchelsea's streets were thus not all laid out in a perfectly symmetrical grid-plan.[41]

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38   Lilley *et al.*, 'Analysing and mapping'.
39   Maclean Homan, 'The founding of New Winchelsea', 29.
40   Maclean Homan, 'The founding of New Winchelsea', 30–31.
41   Lilley *et al.*, 'Analysing and mapping'.

In so doing, the rents due from plots within the town were made to equate to the sum derived from the original block of land on which new Winchelsea was founded. This is a significant achievement, requiring not only sound arithmetic to undertake the calculations but also the practical ability to set out the plots precisely, *virga* by *virga* on the ground, for it was not as simple as setting out all plots in Winchelsea to the same size. Rather than the street grid assisting in the computation of the rents, and in 'facilitating tax collection and administration' as Randolph had put it,[42] in the case of New Winchelsea the grid-plan *complicated* matters for those who sought to measure and calculate it.

The physical evidence of the town's plan at Winchelsea, together with the contemporary written sources, therefore reveals a long and involved process of design and planning. No doubt those occupants of Old Winchelsea wanted to be sure that their place in New Winchelsea was as favourable, and the existing landholders of Yhamme had also to be compensated for their losses imposed by the new town, while the Crown too had to be assured the revenues from the new town matched with those that the lands of Yhamme had previously yielded. Of course, the plots within the town would yield rents but not the new streets, or indeed the other areas of land not rented out, such as the churches and market place; the features of the new town that Rokesley, Penecester and Waleys were charged with assessing in 1283. All of this brings us to the *virga*, the king's rod.

Excavating sovereignty

In May 1774, a group of antiquarians opened Edward's tomb at Westminster.[43] The account given in *Archaeologia* the following year is very detailed, and describes almost in awe what they saw. Along with the well-preserved remains of the king's body, the royal regalia placed with Edward are also described in detail:

> BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of the right hand, the king holds a sceptre with the cross made of copper gilt. This sceptre is two feet six inches in length, and of most elegant workmanship. Its upper part extends unto, and rests on, the king's right shoulder.

> BETWEEN the two fore-fingers and the thumb of his left-hand, he holds the rod or sceptre with the dove, which, passing over his left shoulder, reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five feet and half an inch in length. The stalk is divided into two equal parts, by a knob or fillet, and at its bottom is a flat ferule.

> THE top of the stalk terminates in three bouquets, or tiers of oak-leaves, of green enamel, in alto relievo, each bouquet diminishing in breadth as they approach towards the summit of the sceptre, whereon stands a ball, or mound, surmounted by

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[42]   Randolph, 'Bastides', 306.
[43]   Ayloffe, 'Account of the body'.
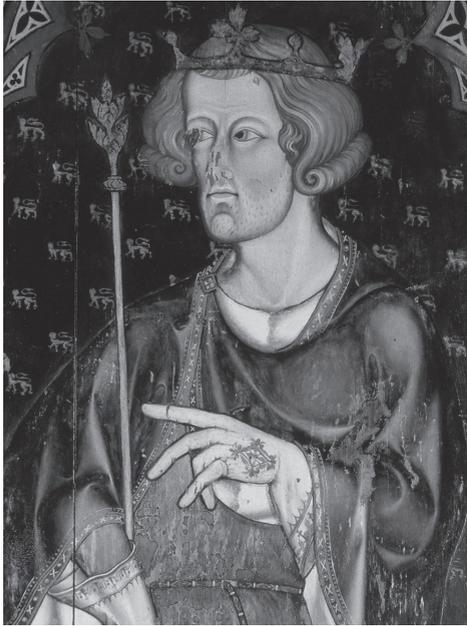
Figure 4.7. Westminster Abbey Sedilia, assumed to be King Edward I (unknown author, public domain, via Wikimedia Commons).

the figure of a dove, with its wings closed, and made of white enamel.[44]

As Antonia Gransden has pointed out, the sceptre and the rod accompanying Edward's corpse that were described by the antiquarians are also visible in a depiction of the coronation of Edward I in the 'Merton' *Flores Historiarum*, now Eton College Library MS 123. Gransden's interest in the depiction of Edward lay in trying to date the Eton manuscript, suggesting it originated after Edward's death.[45] More recently, Judith Collard has looked in detail at the illumination of both the Merton *Flores Historiarum* and also the Chetham Library version MS 6712.[46] Carefully drawn, both Edward I and Edward the Confessor appear in the Merton and Chetham manuscripts respectively, each depicted with a rod which terminates at one end with a dove. In both cases the drawings of the two Edwards are attributed to St Alban's, both sharing stylistic similarities, and both manuscripts, Collard suggests, date more probably to the mid-1290s and fit within Edward's claims to Scotland and the use at that time of such histories of Britain to legitimise his territorial sovereignty of the whole island.

There is thus a close similarity between the depiction of the rod held by Edward in the Eton manuscript and the description of the rod by those who exhumed his body in 1774. The significance of the rod, symbolically, is further revealed by the investiture accounts of English kings, brought together by Leopald Wickham Legg. Legg describes that 'the last ornament to be delivered [to the king at coronation] was the rod with the dove', just as the Merton *Flores* shows in Edward's coronation. Legg also notes that the dove is not always present in images from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries however, '[for] we generally find a floriated finial represented instead of a dove'.[47] This seems to be the case in another St Albans manuscript, Trinity College Dublin MS 177, attributed to Matthew Paris, and its drawing of King Offa at the foundation of St Alban's. Offa is depicted with a rod with a floriated finial,

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[44]   Ayloffe, 'Account of the body', 384.
[45]   Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 456–463; Gransden, 'Continuations of the *Flores Historiarum*'.
[46]   Collard, '"Flores Historiarum" manuscripts'.
[47]   Legg, *English Coronation Records*, lii, liii.

appearing not unlike the description of Edward I's rod with which he was buried.[48] The Westminster sedilia, so often reproduced in books and articles on King Edward I, and assumed to be modelled on him, likewise show the rod with a floriated finial, the king's gaze fixed upon it[49] (Fig. 4.7).

The rod is of course described in the English medieval coronation *ordo*. As Legg explains, 'in the first recension the rod is still called *baculus*, like a bishop's crozier, but in subsequent recensions it is called *virga*'.[50] Legg does not comment on the change of name but *virga*, perhaps more than *baculus*, has particular connotations in land measurement and reckoning. While *baculus* might be translated as a 'staff', *virga*, by the thirteenth century, was a unit of measurement, a linear measure, as well as a rod for making measurements, *virga mensoria*. The rod, in other words, was a signifier of rule, both as authority but also as measure. The *virga* was handed to the king at the coronation by the bishops, according to the *Liber regalis*: 'then shall the rod be given to his left hand … and the bishop say, receive the rod of virtue and equity'.[51] Handing over of the rod by episcopal authority of course speaks to the monarch's 'divine majesty', but also to the rod as a means of reckoning and judgement, of measuring and meting out earthly rule.

There is more significance to the king's rod than its ceremonial role in his investiture as monarch that marked the beginning of his rule. The iron rod, given to a ruler, evoked the passage from Revelation: 'and he that overcomes, and keeps my works unto the end, to him I will give power over the nations, and he shall rule them with a rod of iron …'.[52] During his reign, then, the rod's spiritual significance must have had more than a little resonance to Edward, especially at those times when he was at war with France and Scotland in the 1290s (just when he was depicted by the Merton *Flores Historiarum* holding the rod of iron). The *virga* itself thus had a potency that enabled the king's rule to be meted out physically as well as politically, well beyond the confines of Westminster, across the realm to those parts being brought under English sovereignty.

William Blake's contemporary illustration of Edward's exhumed corpse shows very clearly the king with his rod[53] (Fig. 4.8). The length of the rod uncovered at Westminster in 1774 was measured at 'five feet and half an inch in length', precise enough it seems. But the *virga* at Winchelsea measured out at sixteen feet and six inches. My suggestion is not that the king's ceremonial *virga* literally laid out the town's new streets and plots, but that the *virga* – as both an object of rule and of measurement – *symbolically* signified royal authority and the king's omnipresence at a distance. It was as much a visible sign of Edward's rule of land and people as those

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48 Matthew Paris, *Life of St. Alban*; Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 385.
49 Wrapson, 'Materials and techniques'.
50 Legg, *English Coronation Records*, liii.
51 Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 121.
52 Revelation 2:26–27.
53 Essick, 'Blake, William (1757–1827), engraver, artist, and poet'.
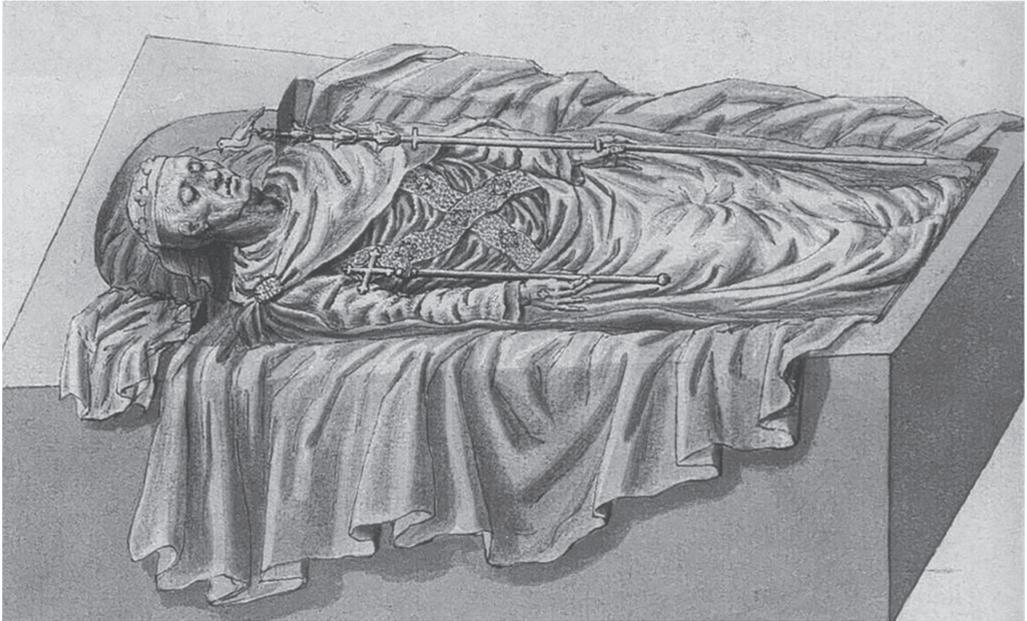
Figure 4.8. William Blake's sketch of the body of Edward I on the opening of his tomb, Westminster Abbey 1774 (unknown author, public domain, via Wikimedia Commons).

royal officials who he sent to Winchelsea to calculate and survey for the new town, and through physically inscribing the king's rule onto the local landscape was also a more permanent reminder of his dominion and sovereignty.

Meting out rule

The *virgae* used at Winchelsea, measuring sixteen and a half feet square, structuring the layout of the whole town, were based on the same linear *virga* measures found elsewhere across the kingdom, often enumerated as perches (*pertica* = pole/staff). The *virga* (or perch) of sixteen and a half feet derived from statute measures, including the iron ulne of the king, the yard of three feet – five and a half of which made the *virga* as used at Winchelsea. This same standard length is in fact referred to in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English records relating to land measurement. A case in point comes from a register belonging to Christ's Church, Canterbury, which has 'Memorandum quod virga communis continent xvi. pedes et dimidium, videlicit quinque ulnes et dimidiam, secundum standardum Regis'.[54]

In meting out the king's rule, the *virga* forged a direct link with royal authority. Deploying the *virga* across the realm rooted the king's sovereignty in localities

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[54]   *Register of Henry of Eastry*, British Library MS Cotton Galba E IV f.21b.

everywhere, whether by creating and surveying new landscapes on the ground or recording and reckoning existing ones on parchment. The grounding of the *virga* at Winchelsea was perhaps the work of the lord treasurer, John de Kirkby. The surveying accuracy required for the layout of the town's plots, and evident also in the 1292 rental, reveals a certain exactitude and proficiency in measuring and quantifying we might expect from such an office-holder. But even so, elsewhere too, whether or not measuring out lands was undertaken by Edward's own officials, measuring spaces using the king's rod, the *virga*, cemented and materialised his rule by physically placing it. Indeed, the more it was used, by subjects up and down the land, the stronger the connection was forged between realm and rule, in ordering the spaces and places of Edward's kingdom by the very symbol that also gave him divine authority and power as sovereign lord. The *virga* thus helped make the 'invisible' visible through Edward's rule.

While the physical layouts of the towns themselves are a primary source of evidence for exploring urban ideals in the medieval world, the significance of this goes beyond Winchelsea and Edward I. The urban ideals we are seeing practised here are principles of rule and government that were characteristic of Europe as a whole during the Middle Ages. In our quest for understanding orthogonal grid-plans, and addressing their significance to those who created them on the ground, modern scholars might be well advised to look again at *why* space matters, and how – in practices of town-planning across Europe – urban ideals reflected and reinforced contemporary ideas of rule.

New towns such as New Winchelsea were required by the Crown to settle and populate the marginal edges of Edward's realm, forging insular Britain into a 'united kingdom'. A complex social network and process of decision-making underpinned ruling the realm, and while it may be that in this the king's role was primary, as most would see it, the monarch's ability to mete out rule on the ground was underpinned by a formidable administration in the royal household, with its many officials and clerks.[55] These formed a part of the king's body politic and helped to keep his reign and realm together.[56] They, too, played an important role in shaping urban Britain – for Edward's own household was the mechanism through which the operation proceeded. The various exchequer and chancery clerks, along with messengers and nobles, handled the activities of those employed on the king's works – the surveyors, engineers and masons with special expertise who ensured castles were constructed, fortifications and bridges were built and towns were properly laid out and defended. The activities of these individuals are glimpsed particularly in shaping Edward' island realm. North Wales furnishes a good example, as during the frenetic activity of the 1270s to 1290s a substantial chain of new towns and castles was established around the periphery of the Welsh stronghold of Gwynedd.[57] It was through their work that

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[55] Tout, 'Chief officers'.
[56] Cuttino, 'King's clerks'.
[57] Taylor, *The Welsh Castles of Edward I*. See Given, 'Conquest of Gwynedd'; Lilley, 'The landscapes of Edward's new towns'.

new towns took shape in Edward's reign, creating urban geographies that helped in the colonisation of Wales and Scotland, weakening the hold of those who stood in the way of the king's attempts to create a single political entity with Edward and London at the metropolitan centre of a 'united' sovereign kingdom of Great Britain.

Those creating the king's new towns on the ground with their expertise and experience were essential to the success of the enterprise as a whole. Their legacies are still with us in the local landscape. Many new towns created eight hundred years ago continue to prosper, and these towns had substantial consequences for the subsequent political history of Britain and its peoples, not least the Welsh.[58] Identifying who these various individuals were, and exploring what their influence on the process was, is a task that requires examination – not only of the surviving contemporary accounts, but also the 'unwritten' record contained in the layouts of those towns formed under Plantagenet rule.

The ways that urban landscapes were being formed during Edward's reign relate to wider issues of English kingship too. They reflect the often tense but productive relationship between royal and civic authority, between kings and townsfolk, and also the attitude the king had towards the place of towns in fulfilling political ambitions and meeting the commercial needs and expectations of his realm. The royal writ issued by Edward I for refounding Berwick in 1296 is just one expression of this. It is indicative of how this period can help us understand the making of new towns and the role played by individuals, as well as how such new towns were embedded within broader social networks and political geographies that connected king with kingdom. How might this relationship be conceptualised? One possibility is to look at how ruler and ruled understood their relationship, to engage with contemporary accounts of the idealised and imagined role of the king in affairs of state. The ideas of political theorists provide clear evidence for this, particularly for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but so too do the works of those other theologians and philosophers of Latin Christian Europe who were writing on the king's 'body politic' and the monarch's place in the divine order of things.[59]

The rules and rule exercised by the monarch had as their basis the rules and rule exercised by God himself, king of kings, a relationship sanctified and legitimated by the coronation ceremonies that gave kings their earthly and spiritual authority.[60] Due to continued influence of neoplatonic thinking, the 'city' played an important symbolic part in this conceptualisation of royal power. Royal and divine rule were connected through a mystical link between He who ruled over the celestial 'city', the macrocosm, as well as the ruler of the earthly 'city', the microcosm. The city itself was a synonym for the 'kingdom' of heaven and the earthly 'state' which were both part of a hierarchical order ordained by God.[61] This metaphorical mirroring of cosmos

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[58]   Cadw, *World Heritage Site Management Plan*.
[59]   Nederman and Langdon Forhan, *Medieval Political Theory*.
[60]   Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*; Myers, *Medieval Kingship*.
[61]   Lilley, 'Cities of God?'.

and city reinforced a sovereign's legitimacy to rule, and of course also gave the 'city' a symbolic place in the royal imagination.

Spaces of sovereignty

As Foucault wrote in his *Questions on Geography*:

> A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which would at the same time be a history of powers [...] from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.[62]

Foucault's thinking on a history of spaces offers a challenge to medievalists. On the one hand it appears to be an attractive way of beginning to address how space and authority intertwine, in the past as well as the present. On the other hand, however, Foucault's treatment of the Middle Ages often confounds medievalists with its overly reductive and somewhat historicised view of the past, typically juxtaposing 'medieval' and 'modern'. If writing a history of spaces requires such reinforcement of temporal linearity and historical periodisation, then many medievalists may wish to give Foucault a wide berth. But then this would deprive a history of spaces not just of the potential for countering such views, but also of the possibility that there is something to be gained by *thinking through spaces* of the Middle Ages. This chapter has been an attempt to address both of these propositions, using medieval sovereignty as a way of exploring how urban spaces worked to the advantage of those who ruled them.

Of course, space matters. In the wake of Foucault's expositions on space, geographers especially have been rethinking how space works through power relations, through practices and performances, through representations and discourses, opening up space both conceptually and also empirically. Some have adopted broadly historical approaches to do so, in areas such as exploration, urbanisation, cartography and colonialism. Yet few have ventured to examine earlier histories of spaces, those of medieval Europe. For those medievalists who have engaged with the 'spatial turn' of the last decade or so, it is not so much the writing of Foucault that has influenced their thinking but that of Lefebvre, and his *Production of Space*.[63] Lefebvre's thinking on space, like Foucault's, is riven with temporal prejudice, marking out medieval from modern. Yet Lefebvre's 'spatial trilectic' has it seems gained some credence for those writing on spaces *in* and *of* the Middle Ages – for it is frequently turned to as a conceptual schema in the introductions to essays and collections of edited works (for example). What follows must be seen in part at least as continuing this ongoing spatial engagement in medieval studies, and addressing the need for a critical consideration of the ways in which spaces were – to use Lefebvre's spatial triad – lived, practised and represented in the Middle Ages.

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[62] Foucault, 'Questions on geography', 149.
[63] Weiss and Salih, *Locating the Middle Ages.*

These themes together provide a basis for exploring wider issues of spaces of sovereignty. These are themselves related, first, in the notion current in Christian thinking in the Middle Ages that the king as a builder of cities was analogous to the creator of all things, a status that also imparted divine justification for kingship and sovereignty and gave towns an important symbolic role in the exercise of regal power. Second, the king's own body was a political entity 'mapped' on and through the land by the geographical construction of the realm in representations of it, as well as in the close partnership that existed between 'realm' and 'rule', between royal and civic bodies, each leaning on the other to mutual advantage. Thirdly, the decision-making system of both royal household and urban governments which shaped the bond between sovereign spaces was itself tightened and secured by the foundation of new towns, drawing in constituent regions and subjects of the realm as a unified body. While the reign of Edward I provides the historical and geographical setting for discussing these related themes, and while the subject of founding 'new towns' forms a unifying thread, this paper thus contributes more broadly to current historical debates concerning the intricate spatial relationship that existed in the Middle Ages between cities and sovereigns.

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Chapter 5

Making men and cities: Francesc Eiximenis on the reasons for city-founding

Sam Ottewill-Soulsby

In 1378 the Franciscan writer Francesc Eiximenis embarked upon a new project. This was to be a great encyclopaedia named *Lo Crestià*, written in his native Catalan, which would contain all the information a good Christian should know. Familiar with the ways of scholars and their ambitious endeavours, his patron, King Peter IV of Aragon (r. 1336–1387), placed him under house arrest in 1381 until he finished the first volume that year.[1] Time would vindicate the king's concern. Eiximenis had planned thirteen volumes, one for Christ and each of the apostles, but in the event he completed only four of them by the time of his death in 1409. These consisted of volumes one to three, on the fundamentals of the Christian faith, on temptation and on sin, and volume twelve, the *Dotzè*, which he finished editing in 1391, the last work he carried out on the encyclopaedia.[2]

The twelfth book of *Lo Crestià* is concerned with the city. That Eiximenis chose to jump nine books to work on the *Dotzè* may be a hint that this subject was of particular interest to him. Consisting of 907 chapters and running to multiple volumes in the modern Catalan edition, it is an enormous piece of work.[3] It contains a discussion of the physical city and its history, before thinking about the political organisation of communities, the role of different groups in society and the purpose and duties of law and the military.

What follows focuses elsewhere in order to understand with why Eiximenis thought cities mattered and the ideas and motivations that lay behind their foundation. This chapter explores the opening of the *Dotzè*. Eiximenis began it by devoting forty-three chapters to outlining thirteen reasons for the founding of cities. As he put it, 'the first

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1   On the imprisonment Wittlin, 'Francesc Eiximenis and the State Secret', 231; see also Viera, 'Francesc Eiximenis's dissension', 249–250.
2   Renedo Puig, 'Notes sobre la datació', 217.
3   At present only part one of the first volume of the *Dotzè* has a modern edition.

part of this book is to view the final cause, that is, to try to understand why men make cities and why they are encountered from the beginning of the world.'[4] This section contains some of Eiximenis' clearest explanations for what he thought cities were for, how they should work and why they may fail or succeed. Eiximenis was convinced that the motivations for founding a city were important, and that their antiquity and ubiquity said something important about humans. The following argues that Eiximenis saw cities as a means to transform their inhabitants. As the city shaped its citizens, so too did the manner and means of the creation of the city have an impact on the results of this moulding. Men might make cities, but in doing so they made themselves.

Eiximenis has been discussed in the context of the colonial city before. He has been very profitably consulted for his thoughts on the status of Jews and Muslims in the city, who he believed should be relocated to the least healthy quarters of the urban environment, together with other undesirables such as prostitutes and lepers, while maintaining a healthy respect for their scholarship.[5] Eiximenis' use of the language of cleanliness and public health in arguing for the marginalising of religious minorities such as Jews, or conquered peoples such as the Muslims of the kingdom of Valencia, had a continuing resonance for later colonial cities.[6] Others have sought to transplant different urban ideas from the *Dotzè* overseas. Some scholars have seen in Eiximenis' gridded ideal city a model for the cities of the Spanish Americas.[7] His perfect city, described in the *Dotzè*, is based on ideas of the heavenly Jerusalem, with a grid plan centred on a church, twelve gates and mountain views for healthy airs:

> For then in the middle of each side there should be [a] principal gate which should measure from each corner of the wall five hundred paces so that the entire wall is around four thousand paces; and from the eastern gate as far as the western portal passes a great and wide street traversing the entire city from one side to the other. In the same manner will be the principal gate, which guards the south, up to the other principal one, which guards the north.[8]

García Fernández and Lara claimed that the Franciscans were inspired by their reading of Eiximenis' work to seek to replicate his ideas in the urban landscapes they developed in the New World. These arguments have since been challenged, with the

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[4]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*, c.5, 'La primera part de aquest libre sí és veure de la causa final, ço és que tractem per què los hòmens fan les ciutats e per què foren atrobades del comensament del món ençà', 10.

[5]   Viera, 'The treatment of the Jew', 203–213.

[6]   Agresta, "Unfortunate Jews", 320–341.

[7]   García Fernández, 'Trazas urbanas hispanoamericanas', 231; Lara, *City, Temple, Stage*.

[8]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.110 'Car lavors de cascun angle de mur seu per sinch-cents passos, en guise que tot lo mur haja entorn quatre mília passos; e del portal d'orient fins al portal de ponent pas carrer gran e ample travassant tota la ciutat de part en part,' 240.

gridded cities of the Spanish Americas instead being placed in the wider context of cities being founded in the Iberian Peninsula.[9]

These readings of Eiximenis position him at the beginning of the modern colonial city. But Eiximenis is also fascinating as a representative of the inheritance of often overlooked medieval ideas of the city. When considering the Roman colonial city, there has been a tendency to jump from Augustine to the early modern period. Although the importance of cities in the Middle Ages for commerce and art is well known, medieval intellectual thought on the city has generally been the province of specialists, with very little written to communicate with those who work on other periods.[10] What discussion there is has tended to focus on the reception of Aristotle from the thirteenth century in the medieval universities and the use of his ideas of the *polis* by Italian urban republics for justifying their independence.[11]

Francesc Eiximenis was heavily influenced by these latter developments. His work was shaped by his reading of Aristotle, particularly the *Politics*, but his use of the philosopher was guided by his intellectual context.[12] Aristotle was read as part of a specific intellectual movement from the thirteenth century. Eiximenis was entirely willing to interpret the Greek philosopher in the light of the paternoster.[13] His writing was suffused by his faith, with references to scripture and the church fathers dwarfing those to classical authorities.[14] Eiximenis moves between authorities, marshalling them out of context in defence of the city. Considerable apocryphal material can also be found within the work.[15] One of his greatest influences was the apocalyptic twelfth-century writer Joachim of Fiore, whose visions of a Christian future were an inspiration for Eiximenis in his ambition to write an encyclopaedia to guide the ordinary Christian.[16] It should also be noted that Eiximenis was by no means above fabricating historical events to reinforce his points.[17]

Although Eiximenis drew upon, or claimed to draw upon, a wide range of sources, his discussion of the reasons for the founding of cities is strikingly original. The question of the founding of cities was one that had frequently been addressed before, but the motivations for doing so only tangentially. Eiximenis was familiar with Aristotle's praise of the service performed by the first founding of cities, and with the philosopher's advice on the things required for the establishing of a colony.[18] But Aristotle only briefly addresses why doing so was a good thing, couching it in terms

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[9]   Tomás Medina, 'El origen de la ciudad', 145–156.
[10] Lilley, *City and Cosmos.*
[11] Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*; Ryan, 'Bartolus of Sassoferrato and Free Cities', 65–89.
[12] Potestà, 'La città di Francesc Eiximenis', 161–175.
[13] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 2.i, 1, 214.
[14] Garcia, 'Francesc Eiximenis' sources', 173–187; Silleras-Fernández, *Chariots of Ladies*, 26.
[15] Viera, 'Sinners, repenters, and saints', 495–508.
[16] Wittlin, '*Quae maxime damnant animas principum*', 98–114.
[17] Wittlin, 'Eiximenis i la destitució', 509–527.
[18] Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.2 1253a30–31; 7.4–8.7 1325b35–1342b34.

of happiness.[19] From another much cited source, Isidore's *Etymologies*, Eiximenis would have acquired the impression that cities were founded by kings.[20] Thomas Aquinas wrote a detailed discussion of how kings founded cities, but his reason for why they should do so is a quick reference to the glory they thus acquired.[21] Eiximenis' background, education and employment would have inclined him to the assumption that cities were founded by kings, an impression these works would have reinforced.[22] But by trying to consider all of the reasons, good and bad, that kings might want to establish cities, Eiximenis was doing something unusual, testifying to the depth of his thinking. The results are highly revealing for his ideas about what cities were for.

 Eiximenis thus provides us with a case study for filling in the gaps between the ancient and the modern world on ideas about the founding of cities. That Eiximenis' corpus was widely read is suggested by the 151 surviving medieval manuscripts of his works.[23] As he explained in the prologue to *Lo Crestià*, he wrote in Catalan, choosing simple words, so that it might be of benefit to a wider readership. After his move to Valencia in 1383, Eiximenis presented the first section of the *Dotzè* to be written, the *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* on the political organisation of civic society, to the city authorities, who ordered that a copy be chained in the main hall of the council building, so that all citizens could consult it.[24] Other copies appear to have been acquired by the city councils of Barcelona and Girona, and it also circulated in the royal court of Aragon. Although the *Dotzè* was not Eiximenis' most widespread text, eleven whole or partial copies of it can be found in the records of private collections in fifteenth-century Barcelona alone, most of which appear to have belonged to merchants.[25] The first half of the *Dotzè* was printed for the first time in 1484 in Valencia, while the *Regiment* circulated in a separate edition from 1499.[26]

Eiximenis in his context

There was no generic medieval understanding of the city, and Eiximenis' writings on the subject have to be understood within his environment. He was born in Girona in Catalonia in about 1330, probably to a mercantile family of the middling sort. He seems to have joined the Franciscan order in Barcelona at an early age.[27] As a young man he travelled through western Europe, studying at Paris, Oxford and Cologne, and visiting Avignon, Florence and Rome.[28] In 1374 he was certified to be a Master of

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[19]   Aristotle, *Politics*, 7.3 1325b17–32.
[20]   Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, 15.1.6–77.
[21]   Thomas Aquinas, *De Regno*, 2.1–4, 104–112.
[22]   Syros, 'Founders and kings', 385–386.
[23]   de Puig i Oliver *et. al.*, 'Catàleg dels manuscrits'.
[24]   Renedo Puig, 'Notes sobre la datació', 212; Silleras-Fernández, *Chariots of Ladies*, 25.
[25]   Hernando i Delgado, 'Obres de Francesc Eiximenis', 385–568.
[26]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1; Cofman, *Regiment*.
[27]   Webster, *Els Menorets*; Schabel and Smith, 'The Franciscan *Studium*', 359–392.
[28]   Goering, 'What the friars really learned', 33–48.

Theology at the University of Toulouse, funded by the king of Aragon. He maintained his close links with the crown and in 1384 he turned down an offer of being made tutor to John, the heir to the throne.[29] Despite this, a large amount of correspondence exists between him and Kings Peter IV and John I (r. 1387–1396).[30] Eiximenis was particularly close to Martin I (r. 1396–1410) and his wife Maria de Luna, exchanging books with the pair. He was with Maria when she died in 1406 and was the executor of her will. In 1408 the Pope in Avignon, Benedict XIII (r. 1394–1423), summoned him to the Council of Perpignan, where he was appointed Bishop of Elne and Patriarch of Jerusalem. He died in Perpignan in 1409, leaving his books to the Franciscan order of Catalonia.

As this indicates, Eiximenis was born, raised and spent much of his life in urban commercial societies and was inclined to be sympathetic to the needs of such communities, particularly their mercantile class. He was well travelled and educated in the greatest schools of his day, exposing him to the latest developments in the study of Aristotle and training him in a discipline of thought dominated by the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.[31] Eiximenis was closely connected to the ruling house of Aragon, which shaped his political allegiances. He was a committed member of the Franciscan order, fostering a sense of mission and a need to communicate with a wider public.

Reasons for founding cities

What follows examines Eiximenis' list of reasons for the founding of cities, before considering what they imply about his understanding of what cities are and why those reasons matter. As mentioned above, Eiximenis divided his list of reasons for the founding of cities into thirteen, listed here in Table 5.1, but the actual result is much less neat than might be expected.[32] Eiximenis was very fond of the number thirteen as an allusion to Christ and the apostles and employed it multiple times throughout his work.[33] In order to get the right number, the list was somewhat artificial. Several of the reasons he gave were very similar. In his discussion of the fifth reason for the founding of cities, supplying the needs of men, Eiximenis emphasised the importance of commercial cities such as Ghent, Courtrai and Ypres for manufacturing and selling cloth.[34] For the tenth reason he returned to this theme, in which he mentioned the founding of cities in order to export

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[29]   Viera, 'Francesc Eiximenis and the Royal House', 183–189.

[30]   On royal patronage, Cabré et. al., *The Classical Tradition*, 29–65.

[31]   Martí, 'El ordens mendicants i la cultura', 15–19; Bianchi, 'Aristotle among thirteenth-century Franciscans', 237–259.

[32]   These are (1) For the honour and glory of God; (2) For the avoidance of ignorance; (3) For the avoidance of bad customs; (4) For defence against bad men; (5) For providing for the needs of men; (6) For giving men honest joy; (7) For creating a great reputation; (8) For honouring another; (9) For creating a marvel; (10) For the service of the res publica; (11) For the promotion of contracts; (12) For civic organisation; (13) For living virtuously.

[33]   Martín, *La Ciudad y el Príncipe*, 12.

[34]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.30, 65; Verdés-Pijuan, 'Fiscalidad urbana', 71–110.

Table 5.1. Reasons for the founding of cities in Eiximenis' Dotzè (S. Ottewill-Soulsby).

	Reason	Chapters	Pages
1	For the honour and glory of God	cc. 4–9	pp. 10–19
2	For the avoidance of ignorance	cc. 10–21	pp. 20–44
3	For the avoidance of bad customs	cc. 22–27	pp. 45–59
4	For defence against bad men	cc. 28–29	pp. 60–63
5	For providing for the needs of man	cc. 30–31	pp. 64–67
6	For giving men honest joy	cc. 32–36	pp. 68–78
7	For creating a great reputation	c. 37	pp. 79–80
8	For honouring another	c. 37	p. 80
9	For creating a marvel	cc. 37–38	pp. 80–83
10	For the service of the *res publica*	cc. 39–40	pp. 84–88
11	For the promotion of contracts	c. 41	pp. 89–90
12	For civic organisation	c. 42	pp. 91–92
13	For living virtuously	c. 43	pp. 93–95

useful substances, such as food, wine and spices.[35] This is then addressed again in the eleventh reason, which is explicitly about cities founded for the promotion of commerce.[36] Likewise, the third reason for the founding of cities, that men should learn good customs and live morally, is functionally very similar to reason thirteen, that men might live virtuously.[37]

The order in which the reasons are discussed is not always clear. Eiximenis begins with what he considers the most important, 'for the honour and glory and reverence of our Lord God, because, as Paul says, this must be our main intention and special goal in all our works'.[38] His next reason is education, which is given the most space, suggesting that it was also very significant to Eiximenis.[39] However, the space given to reasons does not decline in a clear line. Reasons seven to nine, cities established for the glory of the founder, the glory of someone else, or to showcase a wonder, are all dealt with in one chapter.[40] Others get considerably more discussion. Nor does their position correlate to Eiximenis' opinion of the moral value of each reason. While he condemns reasons seven and eight, he is more ambiguous on reason nine and positive about the next four reasons. The final reason, in order that men might live virtuously, is logically connected with his next subject, on the rights and duties of the citizen.[41] Several cities appear in multiple categories. For example, various motivations are attributed to Nimrod, whose building of the Tower of Babel is taken to be the founding of Babylon following Josephus, Augustine and Isidore. These included a desire to spread wisdom and knowledge, fear of external

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[35] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.39–40, 84–88.
[36] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 89–90.
[37] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.22–27, 45–59; c.43, 93–95.
[38] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.5, 'per honor, e glòria e reverència e nostre senyor Déu, car, com diu sent Pau, aquesta deu ésser la nostra principal intencío e fi special en totes nostres obres', 10.
[39] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.10–21, 20–44.
[40] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 79–82.
[41] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.43, 93–95.

enemies, and an ambition to build a marvel (the tower itself).[42] Given Eiximenis' interest in the ancient past it is perhaps unsurprising that Rome features most frequently, with five different reasons given for its foundation.[43]

In traditional manner, Eiximenis is happy to pile authorities up to make his point. Thus, in order to support his sixth reason for the building of cities, to encourage human joy, he includes a long list of authorities writing on the subject of happiness, including Ovid, Seneca, Caesar and Cicero.[44] Many of the eccentricities in this list are the consequences of Eiximenis' encyclopaedic intent, something demonstrated by his ninth reason:

> The ninth reason to build a city is called *prodigiosa*, and it is such because some people see that they could make a certain or wonderful building, which has some special excellence, then put it into execution. And so Venice was built, and it is a remarkable city because it is in the water and so strangely disposed that only a small part occupies firm land.[45]

Eiximenis then proceeds to list a series of architectural wonders and marvels, including labyrinths, the Library of Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Tower of Babel, the Colosseum and many others.[46] While these can all be placed in urban contexts, and tied to the development of cities, the length at which Eiximenis goes through this subject suggests that he was using this as an opportunity to list examples of wonders for his readers.

At times, Eiximenis' digressions seem to have a more personal stake. In the midst of his discussion of the third reason, encouraging good customs, he devotes two chapters to a comparison between Barcelona and Tarragona in order to prove the former's superiority, for 'Barcelona is a much greater light of all Spain, and much older and more solemn than Tarragona, and of much greater reputation'.[47] After demonstrating its antiquity by showing that Hercules founded Barcelona (including an extended account of the hero's wanderings across the Peninsula), Eiximenis then returns to the present to observe that 'Tarragona is poorly populated and by simple, rude people, but Barcelona is endowed with great wisdom, and populated with remarkable people'.[48] While his observations concerning the size of the two cities were not inaccurate, it is

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[42]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.18, 38; c.28, 60; c.38, 82; Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.4.2–3, 137–138; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 16.4, 504–505; 16.11, 514–515; Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, 15.1.4.

[43]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.9, 18; c.21, 42; c.22, 45; c.28, 60; c.38, 82.

[44]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.33, 71–72; Martín, *La Ciudad y el Príncipe*, 14.

[45]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 'La novena rahó de hedifficar ciutat sa apella prodigiosa, e és aytal car cant alcuns veyen que podien fer algun hediffici assenyalat o maravellós, e qui havia alguna excel·lència special, lavors posaven-lo en execució. E axí fo hediffcada Venècia, car, com sia ciutat notable, quaix tota seu en ayga e solament occupa una pocha ylla de terra fort estranyament dispòsita', 80.

[46]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.37–38, 80–83.

[47]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.28, 'Barchinona és molt major lum de tota Espanya, e molt pus antiga e pus solempna que Tarragona, e de molt major reputació', 47.

[48]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.24, 'Tarragona mal poblada e de simple gent e grossera, mas Barchinona és dotada de gran seny, e poblada de gent notable', 49.

hard not to feel that Eiximenis was motivated by his close connections to Barcelona to praise it at the expense of an old rival.[49]

Underlying principles for the foundation of cities in the *Dotzè*

Despite all these apparent idiosyncrasies, Eiximenis' list has consistent principles behind it. The first is that cities should be used to improve their inhabitants. This is most obvious when we examine those reasons for founding cities that he did not approve of, which show no care for the wellbeing of the people of the city. Of the thirteen reasons Eiximenis lists, he condemns three of them. He begins with the founding of cities in one's own honour, employing Isidore's *Etymologies*:

> And so Ulysses, a famous knight, built in Portugal Ulisbon [Lisbon], that is 'good city well founded by Ulysses'. Also the great Alexander built the city of Alexandria, according to Isidore, *xv Ethimologiarum*, and called it by his name.[50] And Arphaxad, king of Media, had solemnly made the city of Ecbatana, according to 1 *Judith*.[51] And Ninus built the city of Nineveh in Assyria, on the river Tigris, and made it an earthly paradise, and called it by his name ...[52]
>
> The intention of all those just mentioned was very vain and miserable because they thought that all that was good was and has been in their name, which is wrong and false as we will show later in book thirteen. Of this building which is worth nothing we shall say no more.[53]

Then comes the founding of cities in honour of others:

> You should know that some, to flatter the great lords from whom they hoped to receive great gifts and benefits, changed the name of cities already built and imposed on them the names of any so-designated person in order to get their grace or that of someone close to them. Thus, Herod built the city called Tiberias, which is in Judea, in honour of Tiberius Caesar. And Philip, brother of Herod, in honour of that same emperor, named a city that is in the province of the Phoenicians, Caesarea; This city was formerly called Paneas, according to Saint Jerome ...[54]

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49 Renedo, 'Notes sobre la datació', 218–219.

50 Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, XV.1.34.

51 Judith 1:2–3.

52 Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 'E así Ulixes, famós cavaller, hedifficà en Portogal Ulisbona, ço és 'bona ciutat per Ulixes ben fundada'. Axí mateix lo gran Alexandre hedifficà la ciutat de Alexandria, segons que diu Ysodorus, xv Ethimologiarum, e la intitulà de son nom. E Arfaxat, rey de Mèdia, hedifficà la ciutat Hebatanis fort solempnement, segons que havem Judith primo. E Ninus hedifficà la ciutat de Nínive en Assíria, sobre lo flom appellat Tigris, qui hix de paradís terrenal, e la intitulà de son nom', 79.

53 Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 'Emperò la intenció d'aquests era fort vana e fort miserable, car pensaven que en lur fama fos e estigués tota lur benauyrança, la qual cosa és fort falça e errònea, segons que havem ha ensenyar en lo Tretzèn libre davall. Per què d'aquest aytal hedifficar qui res no val no·n fem pus menció', 80.

54 Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 'alcuns hedifficaren ciutats sí fo per honor de alguna asenyalada persona o de algun assenyalat acte d'aquella. On deus saber que alguns per legotejar als grans senyors, dels quals esperaven haver grans dons e beneficis, mudaven lo nom a aquelles ciutats qui ja heren hedifficades e imposaven-lus nom de qualque persona assenyalada per aconsaguir gràcia sua, o d'altra a aquella

> And since this intention for founding cities is vile and criminal, as we have said above, in the third book speaking of flattery, we do not approve of this way of building cities because it is worthy of being condemned.[55]

Finally, Eiximenis mentions cities built to be marvels, discussed earlier, saying that 'the intention of these was vain, and pompous, and of little value and worthy of great rebuke'.[56] He condemns all three. Eiximenis' reason for doing so hinges upon their vanity. These cities are either founded for gain, as in the case of those seeking to please their patron, or to express the power and stature of the founder. These are bad because they are made solely for the benefit and self-aggrandisement of their creator.

By contrast, Eiximenis' good reasons for founding cities emphasise the wider benefits to the inhabitants of the city. Many of these are material benefits. Building cities for the glory of God, as well as being a righteous act, will also bring divine protection to the population. Eiximenis observes that 'the city cannot prosper and will come to an end without special help from God'.[57] He presents Babylon as an example of the godless city, doomed to fall to foreign invaders time and again because of its lack of divine aid.[58] Interestingly he draws comparisons with non-Christian acts of piety:

> And not only the faithful and those who had a connection with God Almighty did this, but also the infidels built cities in reverence of their gods. And so the Egyptians built the city named Heliopolis, which is now called Damietta, in Egypt, and this in reverence of the sun, which they worshipped.[59]

Later he alludes to the 'ancient Roman mosques' such as the Pantheon, before concluding that if pagans were willing to honour the divine in this way, good Christians should do even more.[60]

Reasons four, five and six follow each other in a fourteenth-century variant of Maslow's hierarchy of needs.[61] They begin with reason four, founding cities in self-

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acostada. E axí Herodes hedifficà la ciutat appellada Tibèria, qui és en Judea, ha honor de Tiberi Cèsar. E Phalip, frare de Herodes, en honor de aquell mateix emperador apellà Cesarea una ciutat qui és ín provinvia Fenicis en honor d'aquell mateix emperador, la qual ciutat dabans havia nom Paneas, segons que diu sent Jerònim', 80.

[55] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.37, 'E com aquesta intenció de fundar ciutat fos vil e criminosa, segons que dit havem damunt en lo Terç libre tractant de peccat de lagoteria, per tal ay tal manera de hedifficar no aprovam com sia digna de ésser condempnada', 80.

[56] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.38, 'Emperò per tant cant la intenció de aquests era vana, e pompàtica, e de pocha valor e digna de gran reprensió, per tal de present no me·n cur de recomptar més de lurs hedifficis e de lurs vanitats', 83.

[57] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.6, 'Com, donchs, la ciutat no puxa prosperar, ne durar ne venir a bona fi sens special ajuda de Déu', 12.

[58] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.6, 13.

[59] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.5, 'ans encara los infels fahyen specials ciutats a reverència de lurs déus. E axí hedifficaren los egipcians la ciutat apellada Eliopoleos, qui ara és dita Damiata, en Egipte, e açò en reverència del sol, lo qual adoraven', 10.

[60] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.9, 'antigament los romans mesquins', 19.

[61] Maslow, 'A theory of human motivation'.

defence against the attacks of bad men. Here Eiximenis cites Rome, established by Trojan fugitives, and the city founded by Cain as he wandered in exile.[62] Drawing upon Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, who himself depended upon Josephus, he also discusses Nimrod as a city-founder for these reasons.[63] Possibly conscious that none of these was a particularly positive example, Eiximenis then cites a fictional consul named Quiricus on the usefulness of cities for defence against tyrants, before pointing to 'the great and notable cities of Italy' of his own time as an example.[64] The next reason is concerned with the way cities cater to the basic needs of their inhabitants:

> The fifth main reason for the building of cities is to satisfy and to provide enough for the needs of men. It is certain that man needs to eat, and to drink, and to dress.[65]

By living together, masters of different trades can cater to the needs of others far more easily than if they were far away.

After this, reason six takes this progression a step further. Having ensured their safety and their access to basic necessities, a city can also make their inhabitants happy.[66] Eiximenis notes that 'cities are built by man to bring comfort and joy to him'.[67] This is partly because a well-run city keeps people safe and secure and tends to their needs, both material and spiritual as observed in reasons four and five. But it is also a consequence of the innately sociable nature of humanity. Eiximenis cites Aristotle here, that 'man is a sociable animal', before quoting Genesis 2:18 'It is not good that the man should be alone', as God creates Eve to be Adam's companion, obscuring the difference between the two texts.[68] In this reading, humans were incomplete without the community provided by the city. Eiximenis writes movingly on this theme:

> From experience we see that when you find yourself alone, everything is sad; or if a man goes alone into a place or into a house where there is no one else, everything is spoiled, even though the house is large and beautiful.[69]

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[62] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.28, 60–61.

[63] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.28, 61; on Peter Comestor, see Dinkova-Bruun, 'Rewriting scripture', 274; for Josephus see, Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.4.2–3, 137–138; Inowlocki, 'Josephus' rewriting of the Babel Narrative', 169–191; Sherman, *Babel's Tower Translated*, 153–194.

[64] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.29, 'les grans e notables ciutats de Ytàlia', 62.

[65] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.30, 'La quinta rahó principal per què foren hedifficades ciutats sí fo per satisfer e per provehir bastantment a les necessitats dels hòmens. Certa cosa és que hom ha mester a menjar, e a beure, e a vestir e a calçar', 64.

[66] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 68.

[67] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 'són les ciutats hedifficades per l'hom a consolar e per aquell ha alegrar', 68.

[68] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 'l'om és naturalment animal social', 69.

[69] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 'Per experiència vehem que si l'om se veu sol, tot se entresteix; o si hom tot sol entre en loch o en casa on no haja negú, que tot se espaventa, per bé que la casa aquella sia gran e bella', 69.

'Wild beasts' also require company, as Eiximenis draws upon Ecclesiastes 3:19 to point to the similarity between humans and animals in this matter.[70] Seneca is also employed, 'nothing good is ever good to possess, without good friends to share it'.[71]

Eiximenis returns to the theme of founding cities to benefit people materially in reason ten:

> The tenth reason why cities were formerly built is for some special service of the whole *cosa pública*. And that is for the service of the entire *cosa pública*, not for a particular city, but to build the city with the intent to encourage all the men of the world to love the *cosa pública*.[72]

The examples given here include cities built in order to facilitate the transport of goods produced in those regions, such as Bonifaccio in Corsica for the export of the local cheese, and Tropea in Calabria for wine.[73] Eiximenis also discusses ports in places where the seas are dangerous, so that sailors might find a safe berth, citing Genoa, which he claims without evidence was founded by Diocletian for this purpose.[74] These ideas are then developed in the subsequent reason, the eleventh, which discusses cities founded to be centres of commerce and communication.

The function of cities

At the heart of Eiximenis' conception of what cities were for is the eleventh reason, which has them as the place where contracts are made. Here he cites Aristotle, in the third book of the *Politics*, on the importance of contracts, interestingly subverting the Greek philosopher's meaning in this passage, where Aristotle had sought to downplay the importance of such instruments in defining the *polis*.[75] Eiximenis notes that as natural resources are not evenly distributed, people need to engage in trade so that they can get all the goods they desire. As such, commercial activity needs to be done somewhere safe and ordered where merchants can find each other, 'the ancients built cities for the benefit of the community of men'.[76] Although this need to trade is framed in economic terms, Eiximenis cites one Aimoin (possibly Aimoin of Fleury)[77]

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[70] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 'bèsties salvatges', 69.

[71] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.32, 'Nullius rei sine socio est iocunda possession est', 69; Seneca, *Epistles*, VI.4.

[72] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.39, 'La deena rahó per la qual les ciutats se hedifficaren antigament sí fo per algun special servey de tota la cosa pública. E jatsia que servir a tota la cosa pública no puxa convenir a cascuna ciutat, emperò hedifficar ciutat per aytal intenció deu animar tots los hòmens del món a molt amar la cosa pública', 84.

[73] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.39, 85.

[74] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.40, 87.

[75] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 89; Aristotle, *Politics*, III 5, 1280b39–40, 216–218; Schuchman, 'Aristotle's conception of contract'.

[76] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 'los antichs que per profit de la comunitat dels hòmens fossen hedifficades ciutats', 89.

[77] No reference, however, can be found to anything like this in Aimoin's surviving works, collected in PL 139.

to argue that said necessity was by divine design, 'so that all men should know each other, and meet and serve each other'.[78]

Sensitive to criticism that this commerce was actually in aid of unnecessary luxury, Eiximenis defended this commercial activity:

> if we were all peasants, there would not be enough land to suffice, neither would the world be governed well, nor would it be well provided for, well informed, or defended from bad people, as we have said above.[79]

All of these other needs that cannot be provided by peasants alone are among or implied by Eiximenis' list of reasons for the founding of cities. Eiximenis thus draws a contrast between city and countryside while also underlining the degree to which they need each other. All of the functions the city can provide depend upon this forming of commercial contracts, as the elites who provide them – rulers, merchants, scholars and soldiers – all depend upon the moving of agricultural surplus and other raw materials. This specialisation applied even in the country, where farmers bought shoes and clothes from craftsmen.[80] Eiximenis here hints at the important role of merchants in his conception of how the world functions. The idea of the contract as an organising force for society was increasingly important for late medieval theologians in their reading of Aristotle and would have a long history in early modern Spanish thought.[81] It also served to manage non-commercial interactions between people in Italian cities at the time.[82] Eiximenis read Aristotle's ancient city as one that corresponded to his world of contracts, both mercantile and not.

Although Eiximenis condemns luxury and vanity, he sees nothing wrong with humans seeking material comforts and happiness. These are valid reasons for the founding of cities which, properly established, can provide them. However, he also perceives cities as a means to transform humans into better people. Nowhere does he make this clearer than in his discussion of the second reason, cities founded 'in order to avoid ignorance and to know everything which is profitable and necessary to man with respect to his body and soul'.[83] He argues that cities are ideal for spreading learning. This is partly because cities can host teachers who can hold classes, but also because cities provide people with the opportunity to learn by watching their fellow citizens.[84] Education was a cause dear to Eiximenis' heart, and he famously argued that literacy should be taught to a wide section of society, including women.

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[78] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 'tots lo hòmens se conaguessen, e s'amassen e·s servissen lo suns als altres', 89.

[79] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 'si tots fóssem pageses, no·ns bastara terra a colra, ne lo món no fóra bé regit, ne provehyt, ne bé informat, ne bé deffensat de males gents', 89-90.

[80] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.41, 90.

[81] Decock, *Theologians and Contract Law*; Bukała, 'The Scholastics on *negotiatio* and the just price'.

[82] Jansen, '*Pro bono pacis*'.

[83] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.10, 'La segona rahó principal per què los passats hediffiquaven les ciutats, e per què deyen ésser hedifficades, sí és per esquivar ignorància e per saber tot ço qui és profitós e necessari a l'hom en cors e en ànima', 20.

[84] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.11, 21–22.

Eiximenis includes a fascinating short history of cities founded for the pursuit of knowledge, beginning with Cain's city Enoch, to Nimrod's Babylon, to Memphis in Egypt and from there to Athens and to Rome.[85] Throughout this passage, Eiximenis presents education as a light spreading from place to place, a torch that grows brighter with every bearer. Finally, in his own time:

> The Holy Church ... exalted many honourable cities in which she has established studies of various sciences, as in Paris, for theology; and to Oxford and to Cambridge, which are in England, and to Toulouse, for holy theology; and later to Bologna, and to Perugia, to Avignon, and to Montpellier, and to Lleida and to Salamanca, for canon and civil law.[86]

For Eiximenis, the history of civilisation and scholarship was a history of the city, culminating in the university cities of his own time, making their inhabitants wiser and nobler.

It was not just through scholarly education that cities made their inhabitants better. His third reason for the foundation of cities was for the prevention of bad behaviour.[87] While the idea that big cities are places where virtue flourishes is at odds with many strands of cultural thought, Eiximenis was convinced that urban living could make people more moral. Eiximenis laid out a number of reasons for why life in a bustling metropolis encouraged morality. First, the inhabitants of cities were exposed to knowledge of what is good by their encounters with learned men, their books and their sermons.[88] One of his examples here was Hercules, described as 'a carnal man', who during his time in Barcelona 'felt himself inclined to use his wisdom' because of the wisdom of its inhabitants.[89] Secondly, in cities people were motivated by 'shame and fear', as the judgement of their neighbours motivated them to goodness.[90] Here, Eiximenis cited a battery of classical authorities to support his point, including Plato, Cicero, Livy, Seneca, Pompeius Trogus and, somewhat improbably, Thales of Miletus, before turning to Zachariah.[91]

Eiximenis further explained that city communities could 'correct' their members, whether through 'discrete and paternal' instructions, the involvement of wider family or friendship groups, the intervention of civic authorities wielding the law, or, most sinisterly, through whispers from strangers.[92] While Eiximenis' moral city

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[85] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.15–21, 31–43; Renedo Puig, 'Ciutats, Regnes i Universitats', 81–109.

[86] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.40, 'la santa Esgleya instituïdes, o diputades, e priviligiades e fort exalsades moltes honorables ciutats en les quals ha posats studis de diverses sciències, así com a París, de theologia; e a Oxònia e a Cantabrígia, qui són en Anglaterra, e a Tholosa, de la santa theologia; e après a Bulunya, e a Perusa, en Avinyó, e a Munt Pasler, e a Leyda e a Salamancha de dret canònich e civil', 88.

[87] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.22–27, 45–59.

[88] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.22, 44.

[89] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.24, 'com fos hom carnal', 'sentia pus enclinat a husar de seny', 50.

[90] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.25, 'vergonya e temor', 52.

[91] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.25, 52–53.

[92] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.26, 'correcció', 'discreta e paternal', 55–56.

was a Christian city, his conception of how a city acted as a community of people invested in each other's behaviour and growth was drawn from classical ideas.[93] Far from being a space for strangers to lose themselves, the city was an assemblage of people striving to achieve a common good. In doing so it transformed its inhabitants.

As we can see here, Eiximenis thought that cities could make life materially better for humans, but also work to transform humans into nobler individuals. These were good reasons to found cities. However, he also believed that a city's ability to do this was shaped by a number of different factors. One of them was civic organisation. The political running of a city and its laws were things that Eiximenis would spend much of the *Dotzè* writing about.[94] The idea of working to benefit the *utilitas* of the *cosa pública* and the assembled people who constituted it ran throughout his work.[95] Cities led by wise judges and princes were better at inculcating good habits in their citizens and encouraging learning among the populace than those with bad laws and tyrannical rulers.

Political structures can be reformed over time. But Eiximenis also argued that the way cities shape their population is also determined by more permanent factors, such as their physical layout. For example, the city is laid out in order to praise God.[96] This begins by placing a cathedral in the centre of the city, with the founding stone of both cathedral and city laid by the bishop, and then by developing a network of parish churches that form the nexus of all subsequent neighbourhoods. From these cores auxiliary institutions such as monasteries for different orders (including Eiximenis' own Franciscans) and charitable hospitals can be established. Such a city would also need a bishop, priests, canons, friars and other ecclesiastics from the beginning.

A more fundamental question is the shape of the city. Although as mentioned before Eiximenis generally favoured a square city, he acknowledged a variety of views.[97] He noted that pious founders seeking to build a city to praise God may wish to build it in the shape of a cross, with powerful castles on the corners. On the other hand, Eiximenis observes, drawing upon Vegetius, those who are building a city to protect themselves may not want the straight walls of a rectangular city, but instead favour a more irregular, angular shape, as better for defence.

The location of the city also determined whether it would be happy. Eiximenis argued that access to the sea was essential 'for such cities give man every kind of joy'.[98] This was because 'the sea gives a man a beautiful view, and brings many and abundant new and necessary things'.[99] In doing so he broke subtly with Aristotle, who viewed such trade as necessary but fundamentally corrupting, as it led to unnecessary

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[93]   Kaster, 'The Shame of the Romans', 11; Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community*, 38–40; Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks*, 91–110; Wray, 'Seneca's shame', 199–206.

[94]   Barraqué, 'Les idées politiques', 531–556.

[95]   Evangelisti, *I Francescani*, 190–192.

[96]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, cc.8–9, 16–18.

[97]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.11, 242–243.

[98]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.35, 'car aytals ciutats donen a l'hom tota spècia de alegria', 75.

[99]   Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.35, 'car per la mar donen a l'hom bell esguart, e sovín novelles e molta abundància de coses necessàries', 75.

acquisitions.[100] Eiximenis saw no such downside. For him, this combination of aesthetics and practical logistics meant that many of the happiest cities were on the Mediterranean, listing them below:

> in Syria it was Acre; in Greece, Constantinople; in Italy, Naples; in Sicily, Messina; in Africa, Tunisia; in Egypt, Alexandria; and in Spain, Majorca, Seville and Valencia.[101]

This provides a nice example of the importance of thinking about function with the founding of cities.

Conclusion

All of these factors about the founding of cities mattered, because although Eiximenis illustrated his points by using classical and biblical examples, he was also living at the end of an age of city founding. As Boerefijn shows elsewhere in this volume, western Europe had seen a boom in urbanism from the eleventh century, which manifested itself across the British Isles, southern France and the Iberian Peninsula, with kings and lords actively establishing settlements for a variety of purposes. The House of Aragon that patronised Eiximenis was no exception.[102] Although Eiximenis was writing in the late fourteenth century, when plague and famine had had a major impact on urban expansion, his description of the founding of cities often touches upon more recent examples. In his discussion of the tenth reason for founding cities he mentions the establishment of cities in the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Tunisia, Crete and the Peloponnese as actions designed to allow the control of commerce and local resources. It is hard to read this and not see an echo of the development of the Aragonese empire across the western Mediterranean.[103]

If we return here to Eiximenis' grid city, one of the things that makes it so striking is that it is a heavenly vision turned into practical town planning. At its core is not a classical Hippodamian grid. Rather, its shape and the number of its gates demonstrate that it is a biblical grid, modelled on the Heavenly Jerusalem witnessed in Ezekiel 40–48 and Revelation 21. The Heavenly Jerusalem was a very familiar model for a city in medieval urban design, yet this choice is also symptomatic of the ambition that Eiximenis had for the human city. Eiximenis wanted to make the numinous physical in his recommendations for city-planning. Done well, the human city could aspire to approximate the city of God in form

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[100] Aristotle, *Politics*, I 3 8–13 1256b–1257b, VI 5 2 1321b, VII 5 4 1327b; Bresson, 'Aristote et le commerce extérieur', 217–238.

[101] Eiximenis, *Dotzè* vol. 1.i, c.35, 'en la Sòria era Acre; en Grècia, Contastinoble; en Ytàlia, Nàpols; en Cicília, Macina; en Àffrica, Tunis; en Egipte, Alexandria, en Spanya, Mallorques, Sibília e València', 75.

[102] Alomar, *Urbanismo Regional*, 52–68; Sebastiá, 'Evolución Urbana', 149–163; Tomás Medina, 'El origen de la ciudad', 151–152.

[103] On the rise of this empire; Hillgarth, *The Problem*; Sabaté, 'L'idéel politique'; Cioppi, *Le strategie dell'invincibilità*.

and spirit.[104] With this possibility available, the intentions that came with the founding of the city acquired enormous significance.

Eiximenis wanted his work to be of interest to a wide audience and to introduce and explain past cities. He drew upon the full range of intellectual sources provided to him by the rich scholarship of the Middle Ages, from classical writers to the latest Christian theologians and lawyers. By arming himself with these resources, he could attempt to interpret the motivations behind why people in the past built cities. But this knowledge also applied to the cities of the future. Cities mattered. They defined their inhabitants. Built and managed well they made their citizens wiser, more pious, more prosperous and happier. But the capacity of the city to do that was shaped by their design and intended function. It was because of this that Eiximenis spent so long considering the intentions that lay behind the foundation of cities. In doing so, and in the sheer range of possibilities he examined, he gives us a glimpse of the depth of interest and self-conscious attention attached to the city in his age.

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Chapter 6

Ancient cities in new worlds: Neo-Latin views and classical ideals in the sixteenth century

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Introduction

The discovery of the Americas in 1492 shook the way in which Europeans understood the world. Every ship that returned brought news about an entire new continent that had not been foreseen in the scriptures and was at best a hypothetical in the classical corpus with which they were familiar.[1] Columbus, however, was quick to find a Latin prophecy that bathed the discovery in the light of antiquity:

> *Venient annis saecula seris*
> *quibus Oceanus vincula rerum*
> *laxet novosque Tiphis delegat orbes*
> *atque ingens pateat Tellus.*
> *Neque sit terris Ultima Thile.*

> Centuries will come in later years in
> Which the ocean shall
> release the chains
> That constrain all things, and the Earth
> shall expand greatly, and Tiphis shall
> Name new worlds, and
> Thule shall not
> Be the last of the lands.

Columbus purposefully misquoted Seneca,[2] removing the goddess Tethys and substituting her with Tiphys, the pilot of the *Argo* and a navigator like himself, underlining human agency compared to the divine.[3] But this was only one of

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[1] Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*; Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*; Haase and Meyer, *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*; Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*.

[2] Seneca, *Medea*, 375–379: 'Venient annis saecula seris/ quibus Oceanus vincula rerum/ laxet et ingens pateat Tellus/ Tethysque novos delegat orbes./ Neque sit terris ultima Thule'.

[3] Clay, 'Columbus' Senecan prophecy'.

many attempted ways to see the New World through a classical lens linked to the hypothesised *Antipodes*.[4]

The first encounters in the Caribbean were with peoples who lived in an apparently blissful Arcadian Golden Age suitable for conversion and civilisation, for which purpose new cities would be founded. Such encounters were already familiar to the Spaniards, as they resembled the situation they had found in the Canary Islands a generation earlier. The foundation of the cities of Isabela and Santo Domingo on Hispaniola followed the examples of Santa Cruz on Tenerife and Las Palmas on Gran Canaria.

But these new lands acquired a new importance a few decades later, when urban civilisations such as the Aztecs and the Mayas were found on the American mainland. Cities were significant because of the wealth and potential they suggested for kings and conquerors back home.[5] But these cities also mattered for the Spaniards who encountered them and the Europeans who read the reports. They were symbols of culture and civilisation which possessed structures and social organisations recognisable to the newcomers with corresponding implications about the nature of their builders and inhabitants, potentially placing them in a tradition that went back to Greece and Rome. These cities also meant that if the New World was to be remade in Spain's image, new cities would have to be placed within with a pre-existing urban landscape.

The discovery of the Americas took place during a period when humanists in Europe celebrated knowledge of the classics and mastery of Latin letters as the foundation of learning. In what follows, we will examine the way in which the cities of the New World were considered in the light of this education through the Latin works of two humanists: Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457–1526) and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (*c.* 1515–1575). The works of these two writers provide a limited but highly revealing corpus of Latin writings by figures connected to Spain. We consider the extent to which the use of Latin influenced views of New World cities, as well as offering examples of the adaptation of Roman terms to describe of early modern cities with all the associated cultural baggage that came with them.[6]

Peter Martyr's translation of the reports that arrived from the Americas was essential in the distribution of news to the educated elites of Europe using Latin as a common language. His education prompted him to re-interpret the reports he translated, commenting extensively on what he read, making the New World understandable in classicising terms. Unlike Peter Martyr, who never crossed the Atlantic, Cervantes de Salazar was an eyewitness to the Americas, living in Mexico. His writings were aimed at a local audience and in his writings the classical references were part of his Renaissance, neo-Latin education. Whereas Peter Martyr used the resources of the classical past to make indigenous cities more visible to his readers,

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[4]   Moretti, 'The Other World'; Feile Tomes, 'Synecdoche in reverse'.
[5]   Mundy, 'Mapping the Aztec capital', 26–28.
[6]   On this, see the pioneering work of Lupher, *Romans in a New World* and MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*.

Cervantes de Salazar's use of humanistic Latin was designed to obscure the American context, turning Mexico City into a conventional Spanish settlement, albeit a grand and glorious one where learning thrived.

This chapter will begin by introducing the two writers who are our subjects before we consider their varied approaches to the indigenous settlements of the Caribbean and Mesoamerica. Their accounts of these villages and cities will then be contrasted with their depictions of Spanish urban foundations. This examination reveals how the Roman colonial city could be used to understand the cities of the New World and to model Spanish imperialism in these lands. This in turn demonstrates the usefulness of the ancient city as a tool for thinking about colonial cities in later centuries.

Two neo-Latin Humanist authors

The career of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera demonstrates that the Habsburg enterprise of empire was a European phenomenon as much as a Spanish one. Peter Martyr was born in northern Italy in 1457, and received a superb education from Pomponius Laetus in Rome which attracted the attention of the Spanish ambassador. He arrived in Spain in 1487, where he turned down a chair at the University of Salamanca. He was present at the conquest of Granada and became a canon of the cathedral there in 1492. In 1501 Queen Isabella I appointed him royal chaplain and tutor to the court. There he completed the majority of the work that resulted in the collection known as the *De orbe novo Decades.* This began as a series of letters to former patron in Rome Cardinal Ascanio Sforza in 1493 and 1494, which detailed the discoveries of Columbus. At the prompting of Cardinal Luigi d'Aragona, Peter Martyr expanded these letters into eight reports on affairs in the New World, with the first published in Latin in 1511 and the last in 1525. The first collection of all eight was made in 1530. The word *decades* was a reference to the history of Livy, attesting to Peter Martyr's growing ambition and conviction that the New World needed an accounting that could equal the status of those of the Old.[7]

The *De orbe novo Decades* has rightly received a great deal of attention over the years, as the first great history of European encounters with the Americas. Peter Martyr was heir to a Greco-Roman tradition, which he brought to bear on the New World. There are a number of challenges involved with working with the *De orbe novo Decades.* To begin with, Peter Martyr updated it continually with new *Decades* with the passing of time and new information. As a result, looking for coherent themes may be misleading. Further, Peter Martyr never travelled to the New World. He was personally acquainted with Columbus and other key figures in the exploration of the Americas, and had access to letters and reports in his role as court historian, but his perceptions of the cities of the New World are ultimately mediated by the eyes of those who saw them.[8]

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[7]   De Franchis, 'Livian manuscript tradition', 4.

[8]   On Peter Martyr's strategies for mitigating this, Beagon, 'Peter Martyr's use of Pliny', 236–240.

Nonetheless, Peter Martyr should be taken seriously as someone who shaped European understandings of the Americas. His non-Spanish background ensured that he communicated with a wide network of contacts. Much of learned Christendom encountered the Americas through Peter Martyr's writings. From the beginning, the *Decades* were an exercise in communicating with the rest of Europe, having started as a set of letters to one Cardinal, and being expanded at the request of another. Pope Leo X was accustomed to reading the *Decades* aloud after dinner for the amusement and instruction of his guests. By writing in Latin, Peter Martyr made the New World accessible to educated readers across Europe. Editions of all or some of the Latin *Decades* were published in the sixteenth century in Alcalá de Henares, Basel, Cologne and Paris.[9] Parts or all of the text were translated into Italian, German, English and French, and became core parts of volumes concerning the Americas. For these readers throughout the continent, Peter Martyr offered an essential guide to the extraordinary happenings across the Atlantic, rendering it clear and comprehensible.

Whereas in the late fifteenth century the Crown of Castile had to recruit its humanist talent abroad, by the sixteenth century it could grow its own. A case in point is Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, who was born in the 1510s in Toledo, one of the richest and most powerful cities of Castile. He went to university in Salamanca and, after graduating, he travelled as part of the entourage of one of his family's patrons to Flanders in 1539, where he came into contact with the Iberian Humanists that had flocked around Erasmus, including Luis Vives. During the 1540s he taught Latin and Rhetoric in Alcalá and Osuna. Like Peter Martyr, he made his career by travelling west across the sea, but his journey took him considerably further, as he moved to the New World in 1551, where the colonial administration required skilled and learned men like Cervantes.[10] There he taught Latin at a school in Mexico City before joining the newly founded university there, where he was Lecturer in Latin, Professor of Rhetoric and, eventually, Rector. In his later years he tried his best to join the higher echelons of the Novohispanic clergy, but local political intrigues (and ongoing issues with his relatives in Mexico) kept him from any such position. He died in 1575.[11]

Cervantes de Salazar was an avid translator from Castilian into Latin and vice versa. During his time in Alcalá, for example,[12] he worked closely with the continuators of the school that had produced the Complutensian *Polyglot Bible* and where Nebrija wrote his Castilian grammar and his Latin dictionary (both 1492).[13]

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[9]   Brennan, 'The texts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo Decades*'.

[10]   On the spread of classical culture to New Spain, see Maillard Álvarez, 'The early circulation of classical books'; Guibovich Pérez, 'Books, readers and reading experiences'; Laird, 'Classical learning and indigenous legacies'.

[11]   García Fernández, *Americanismos*; Nuttall, 'Francisco Cervantes de Salazar'.

[12]   It is possible that he was relative of the Cervantes from Alcalá and related to Miguel de Cervantes, author of *Don Quixote*.

[13]   García Fernández, *Americanismos*, 11.

Before moving to the New World, his literary production had been confined to translations and commentaries of coeval philosophical and theological writings rather than classical texts, and this relationship with neo-Latin writing is visible in his *Dialogues*.[14] These *Dialogues* (*Aliquot Dialogi*) were printed in Mexico in 1554 as an appendix to Cervantes de Salazar's translations of and commentaries on four texts by Luis Vives, and were dedicated to Alonso de Montúfar, Archbishop of Mexico.[15] The first dialogue, *Academia Mexicana*, is a description of the newly founded university. Cervantes framed this description as the dialogue between two academics, one local (Mesa) and one recently arrived from Spain (Guterrius). The two other dialogues give us an insight into the daily life of Mexico in the 1550s. These two introduce again a recent arrival (*advena*) from the Peninsula called Alfarus and two locals (*incolae*), Zuazus and Zamora. In *Civitas Mexicus interior*, the two guides lead their visitor 'like a second Ulysses, so he may admire the greatness of the city'.[16] In *Mexicus Exterior*, the trio walks out of the city to admire both the countryside of the Mexico Valley and the city itself from one of the abandoned Aztec temples. Two other of works his have survived, his 1560 *Túmulo Imperial*, a Latin and Spanish description of the funerary monument and obsequies of Charles I, and the *Chronicle of New Spain* (written between 1560 and 1566), a Spanish report of the conquest of Mexico and the history of the settlement.

Both Peter Martyr and Cervantes de Salazar attempted to make sense of the existing cities of the Americas and the new foundations of Spain, but their works (and, for our current purposes, their Latin prose) offered two different perspectives. Peter Martyr paid particular attention to the myths and history of the classical past, which his mastery of Latin granted him access to.[17] As we will explore in this chapter, he introduced ancient allegories and comparisons in his translations in order to make sense and further explain the reports he got from the New World. Cervantes de Salazar, on the other hand, used his writings as a didactic exercise to teach Latin, rather than classics *per se*, using his Mexican surroundings as exempla. He described a landscape he had witnessed first-hand in a plain and direct style that reflected the neo-Latin prose of his contemporaries. He belonged, after all, to a long Castilian tradition of vernacular and Latin translators that went back to the thirteenth century, and if he was aware of broader Humanist discussions of classical themes he did not include them in his urban descriptions.[18] But the differences in their approach to these cities

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14 The *Dialogues* fit within a long Humanist tradition of dialectic writings: see Burke, 'The Renaissance dialogue'.

15 García Icazbalceta, *México en 1554.*

16 *Mexicus Interior*, 84: 'Plane tempus est, Zamora, ut Alfarum nostrum, Ulyssem alterum, quod tam anxie appetit, per Mexicum deducamus, tantam urbis magnitudinem contemplaturum' = 'it is indeed time, Zamora, for us to lead our [dear] Alfaro, who is so very eager, around Mexico like a second Ulysses, so he may admire the greatness of the city'. This is probably in reference to *Odyssey*, 6.144 and 6.178.

17 Maynard, 'Peter Martyr', 435–448.

18 Cortijo Ocaña and Jiménez Calvente, 'Humanismo español latino'; di Camillo, 'Humanism in Spain'; compare the Toledo School of translators, Bsoul, *Translation Movement and Acculturation*, 141–180;

was shaped as much by their aims as by their times and places. Peter Martyr sought to make the cities of the Americas more legible by turning them into classical cities. Cervantes de Salazar used his classical education to make those cities more legible by turning them into Spanish cities, especially México, which he could recognise thirty years after its foundation as he could any other Castilian city. A useful place to begin is with the indigenous cities of the Americas.

Native cities

European explorers of the New World were quick to turn to analogies from the Old World in order to describe and understand the cities they found. Temples were frequently described as mosques, evoking both an alien religion and new fields for Christian conquest.[19] The ancient city was also drawn upon another imaginative resource. In some places, such as Mérida in the Yucatán peninsula, the ruins of a previous Maya city suggested to conquistadors largely drawn from Extremadura the remains of the great Roman city of that name. The Roman city served to suggest grandeur and sophistication, pointing to the size and quality of the buildings that had been found. Yet even in an age inclined to read the cities of the Americas through the lens of Greece and Rome, there were few who went so far as Peter Martyr.

The importance of the ancient city to Peter Martyr's approach to the New World is first seen where the city was apparently most absent, in the islands of the Caribbean.[20] Although he noted the existence of settlements, including 'numerous villages, composed of twenty or thirty houses each' built in wood and arranged in circles around a public square, these did not rise to the status of cities in his view.[21] The peoples of Hispaniola were portrayed as technologically and politically primitive, 'devoid of civilisation and religion', and Peter Martyr compared them to the warring tribes found by Aeneas in Latium.[22] Such a comparison cast the Spanish as the Trojans, come to bring civilisation by founding cities.[23] But Peter Martyr also saw value in the state of the inhabitants of the Caribbean, which he discussed in a celebrated passage:

> It is proven that amongst them the land belongs to everybody, just as does the sun or the water. They know no difference between *meum* and *tuum*, that source of all evils. It requires so little to satisfy them, that in that vast region there is always more land to cultivate than is needed. For them it is indeed a golden age [*Aetas est illis aurea*], neither ditches, nor hedges, nor walls to enclose their domains; they live

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Vélez León, 'Sobre la noción'.

[19] Beck, *Transforming the Enemy in Spanish Culture*. For descriptions of mosques in the period in North Africa, Urquízar-Herrera, 'Las arquitecturas del norte de África'.

[20] Eatough, 'Peter Martyr's account of the first contacts with Mexico'.

[21] *Decades*, 1.2, fol.5r: 'peregrantes innumeros, sed XX tantum XXX domorum singulos vicos'.

[22] *Decades*, 1.2, fol.6v: 'eo die quo trium regum solennia celebramus, divina nostro ritu, in alio potest dici orbe tam extero, tam ab omni cultu et religione alieno', fol.7r.

[23] Compare with contemporary illustrations of the Aeneid featuring Spanish caravels, Wilson-Okamura, 'Virgilian models'.

in gardens open to all, without laws and without judges; their conduct is naturally equitable, and whoever injures his neighbour is considered a criminal and an outlaw.[24]

This is one of several places where Peter Martyr makes observations like the one above.[25] While European observers of the Caribbean before Peter Martyr occasionally remarked on the 'innocence' of the peoples there, few did so with such sympathy or connected it to the functioning of their society. In his reference to a 'golden age', consisting of gardens rather than cities, Peter Martyr made sense of the people of the Caribbean by use of classical ideas of a paradisiacal state of nature before civilisation, devoid of property and coercion, even if elsewhere he refers to warring kings.[26] Thus Virgil and Ovid served to place the inhabitants of Hispaniola in a context familiar to a Renaissance humanist.[27] Peter Martyr did not make such an allusion naively. There is surely irony in his account of how the Taíno people weep and abase themselves at hearing of 'how great were the cities and how strong the fortresses' of Spain, 'repeatedly asking if the country which produced such men and in such numbers was not indeed heaven'.[28] In more advanced Jamaica, where the inhabitants 'have a keener intelligence and are cleverer in mechanical arts', violence and war were common.[29]

The indigenous settlements of Hispaniola were more populous than the first cities founded by Columbus (on which see below). Despite this, Peter Martyr did not dignify them with the title of city. Peter Martyr offers a suggestion of the way in which the settlements of Mesoamerica could be identified by his summary of a report from a *praetor urbanus* (on which title, also see below) named Corales, based at Darién, who met a fugitive from further inland. In addition to being familiar with the concepts of literacy and books, the fugitive:

> said that in his country the cities [*urbes*] were walled and the citizens [*cives*] wore clothing and were governed by laws. I have not learned the nature of their religion, but it is known from examining this fugitive, and from his speech, that they are circumcised.[30]

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24 *Decades*, 1.3, fol.10r: 'Compertum est apud eos velut solem et aquam terram esse comunem, necque meum aut tuum, malorum omnium semina, cadere inter ipsos, sunt enim adeo paruo contenti, quod in ea ampla tellure magis agri super sint, que quicquam desit. Aetas est illis aurea, necque follis, necque parietibus aut sepibus predia sepiunt. Apertis vivunt hortis, sine legibus, sine libris, sine iudicibus sua natura rectum colunt, malum ac scelestum eum iudicant, qui inferre cuique iniuriam delectatur'; Eatough, 'Peter Martyr's account of the first contacts with Mexico', 406.

25 *Decades* 1.2, fol.7r : 'Sed Hispaniolos nostros insulares illis beatiores esse sentio, modo religionem imbuant, quia nudi, sine ponderibus, sine mensura, sine mortifera denique pecunia, aurea aetate viventes, sine legibus, sine calumniosis iudicibus, sine libris, natura contenti, vitam agunt, de futuro minime soliciti'.

26 Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism*, 27–28, 32–33, 38–40; Cro, 'Classical Antiquity', 379–419.

27 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.120–121.

28 *D ecades*, 1.3, fol.10r: 'quantae urbes, qualia oppida', 'iterum atque iterum an coelom esset ea terra, quae tales tantosque viros gigneret interrogans'.

29 *Decades*, 1.3, fol.8v: 'ingenio acutiores ac mechanicis artibus magis deditos'.

30 *Decades*, 3.10, fol.54r–v: 'moenibus septas urbes et vestiri cives aiebat suos, legibusque gubernari, sed quid colant non didici, recutiri [sic] tamen dispraeputiarique ab exemplo et sermone fugitiui

All of these characteristics would have suggested a level of civilisation to Peter Martyr unmatched by the inhabitants of the Caribbean. But they would also have fitted together as a natural extension of living in a city. A walled city inhabited by citizens with a shared code of laws fulfils the criteria of an Aristotelian *polis* or Ciceronian *civitas* pretty precisely.[31] As the inhabitants were participants in a civic community, education sufficient for literacy, a sense of morality sufficient for modest clothing and a sense of religion sufficient for circumcision would naturally have followed. This news was fascinating to Peter Martyr not just because of the inherent interest of more people, but because it was the first suggestion of the existence of a *res publica* in the Americas, a polity that might be recognisable as such, since the societies encountered in the Caribbean had kings but no civic order.

Few settlements were more obvious a city than Tenochtitlán. Peter Martyr had Cortés' report of the city. He also saw a native map of the city which was to form the basis of the 1524 Nuremberg map.[32] His resulting depiction is of a spectacular city of wonders, defined by its extraordinary physical layout. Tenochtitlán is a city of water, built on and defended by its lagoon in a manner that demands comparison to Venice.[33] Its wealth comes from the salt of that lagoon, and said wealth and the architectural skill and ambition of the city is demonstrated by its provision of water by an 'aqueduct' from which 'the whole city drinks'.[34] Although the description is ultimately from Cortés' second letter, the Latin vocabulary used by Peter Martyr invites comparison with the Roman past. His Tenochtitlán has broad streets (*ingentes plateae*), porticoes (*porticibus*) and central squares (*fora*).[35]

Cortés wanted to astonish his European readers.[36] Peter Martyr was suitably impressed, and sought to convey that impressiveness in his Latin. These descriptions can be compared to Cervantes de Salazar's Latin account of the later city of Mexico. Although his Spanish chronicle drew on Cortés' letter, the Mexico City that emerges in his *Dialogues* is one where the pre-Spanish past has virtually no role. Far from seeking to impress his reader with the remaining great Aztec buildings, Cervantes de Salazar obscures them. Although aqueduct, streets and markets all appear, any connection they possess to Tenochtitlán is ignored. Where the Aztecs feature, it is as the people who raised the pagan temple-towers (*templariae turres*) upon which human sacrifice was conducted, now thankfully disused and so covered in trees that they can be mistaken for 'artificial hills … whose top, which was flat, was ascended via

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    conpererunt'.

[31] Shaw, '"Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk"', 5–31; Wiedemann, 'Between men and beasts', 189–201.

[32] Mundy, 'Mapping the Aztec capital', 25.

[33] *Decades*, 5.3, fol.64; fol.70: 'uti liquet videre in insigni nostra Venetiarum respublica … tum in aquis ipsis fundatas civitates ad Venetiarum similitudinem'.

[34] *Decades*, 5.3, fol.64: 'urbem aquaeductus … universa civitas inde potum sumit'.

[35] *Decades*, 5.3, fol.70: 'sunt in ea ingentes plateae, sed una praecipue porticibus undique circumvallata … numerare posse in foris et nundinis quoto die vendentium'.

[36] Sanchis Amat, 'La primera *laus urbs*', 43–50.

stone steps'.[37] Interestingly, neither writer described the temples as pyramids, a word which was used by writers such as Bernardino de Sahagún.[38] Peter Martyr had visited those in Egypt, and had seen the images of the temples in maps of Tenochtitlán, but as Cortés described them as mosques and as oratories, it is understandable that he called them temples.[39] Cervantes de Salazar was physically present, but a pyramid might have implied usage as a tomb to his mind. Alternatively, he may have preferred the word temple to emphasise the paganism of their previous use as buildings, while also evoking Roman and Jewish precedents.

If the spectre of Moctezuma was a peripheral figure for Cervantes de Salazar's Mexico City, he is the sun around which Peter Martyr's Tenochtitlán orbits. It is the *civitas* from which the Aztec emperor rules the *urbes* of his empire, his seat and domicile, ordered by his officials.[40] Said officials hint at the way Peter Martyr interpreted Cortés' letters to cast Tenochtitlán in a more classical aspect. The conquistador wrote that the main square of the city contained:

> a very large building like a courthouse where ten or twelve persons sit as judges. They preside over all that happens in the markets, and sentence criminals. There are in this square other persons who walk among the people to see what they are selling and the measures they are using; and they have been seen to break some that were false.[41]

Peter Martyr puts a slightly different spin on this passage, rendering it as:

> the great senatorial house. There ten or twelve elderly men sit perpetually with authority to judge as jurists of the matters that occur. Lictor ministers assist them with their sceptres to carry out what they command; there are also the *aediles*, who take care of the numbers and the measures.[42]

Although on the surface this is a similar picture, by translating Cortés' courthouse (*audiencia*) as a *domus senatoria*, Peter Martyr would have suggested a rather more

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[37] For pyramids as temple-towers, *Decades*, 4.2, fol.57r, 4.3, fol.68r and 5.6, fol.76v; for the pyramids as artificial hills, *Mexicus Exterior*, 276–278: 'sublimiora manufacta promontoria assurgere, quorum ad hoc temporis exstant aliquot; ad eorumque fastigia, quae in planiciem desinebant, per scalas lapideas ascensus erat'.

[38] Miller, 'The temple pyramids', 19.

[39] *Legatio Babylonica*, 69.1–74.7, 296–302; Mundy, 'Mapping the Aztec capital', 25; Cortés, *Cartas* 2, 'mezquitas', 66, 68, 76, 77, 88, 96, 97, 118, 121, 123, 142; 'oratorios', 76, 88.

[40] *Decades*, 5.1, fol.63; 5.3, fol.63, fol.64.

[41] Cortés, *Cartas* 2: 'una gran casa como de audiencia, donde están siempre sentadas diez o doce personas, que son jueces y libran todos los casos y cosas que en el dicho mercado acaecen, y mandan castigar los delincuentes. Hay en la dicha plaza otras personas que andan continuo entre la gente, mirando lo que se vende y las medidas con que miden lo que venden; y se ha visto quebrar alguna que estaba falsa', 96. Trans. 115.

[42] *Decades*, 5.4, fol.71: 'Domus est in maioris plateae lato capo senatoria inges. Ibi perpetuo sedent autorati longaevi decem aut duodecim viri, ut iureconsulti de rebus emergentibus iudicaturi. Astant illis scoeptrati lictores ministri, qui iussa illorum exequantur. Assunt et aediles, qui numeris et mensuris praesint'.

Roman institution to his European readers. This is reinforced by the reference to lictors with sceptres (although not *fasces*), not present in Cortés' original, and by the formalising of the market inspectors, Cortés's *personas*, as *aediles*, the Roman officials who were responsible for the markets there. This description would seem to represent a deliberate attempt to present Tenochtitlán as a city whose municipal government was reminiscent of that of Rome.

Peter Martyr's description of Tlaxcala goes still farther in this habit of interpreting Mesoamerican polities in classical terms. His basic information about the city was taken from Cortés, but his analysis of the political system of Tlaxcala through the lens of the classical city seems to be his observation alone. Although Cortés remarked that Tlaxcala reminded him of Venice or Genoa, this seems to be as much a description of an urbanised landscape as a comment on a network of city-states. It was left to Peter Martyr to interpret the meaning of the information he was given. Tlaxcala is described as a republic throughout his account. Peter Martyr emphasises Tlaxcalan resistance to monarchy:

> In this city they say that there are many champions, lords of the towns, whose services the Tlaxcalan republic uses as leaders in the war. They do not want to have lords, and woe to anyone who had the desire to raise his head![43]

Peter Martyr compares them to the Swiss, citing Orgetorix's failed attempt to seize control of the Helvetians, recorded by Caesar.[44] He judges the Tlaxcalans to be 'just and upright'.[45] Their politics are 'partly democratic and partly aristocratic, like the Roman republic at some time before it became a violent monarchy, '[it] admits heroes ... but resists lords.'[46] This image of a mixed constitution maintained by old-fashioned republican virtue and martial valour would be extremely appealing to anyone familiar with Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero.[47] The idea of the mixed constitution had become increasingly important in late medieval thought, and Peter Martyr was influenced by these trends.[48]

While comparing the classical city-states of Greece and Rome to those of Mesoamerica conceals much of great importance, there are obvious points of similarity that make it a useful starting point for deeper comprehension.[49] Indeed, Peter Martyr's

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[43] *Decades*, 5.1, fol.68v: 'In hac in urbe multos inesse proceres aiunt, villarum dominos quorum veluti ducum opera, Tascaltecana respublica utitur in re bellica. Dominos recusant ven si cui animo surgeret, velle caput erigere in deterius exitium conciuem eum traheret'.

[44] *Decades*, 5.1, fol.68v; Caesar, *Bello Gallico*, 1.2–4.

[45] *Decades*, 5.1, fol.68v: 'iusti et recti sunt cultores Tascaltecani'.

[46] *Decades*, 5.2, fol.66r: 'Democraticae partim, partim vero aristocraticae uti aliquando respublica Romana, priusque ad violentiam monarchiam deveniret, patitur proceres dominos fugiunt'.

[47] von Fritz, *The Theory of the Mixed Constitution*; Wood, *Cicero's Social and Political Thought*, 159–175; Nippel, 'Ancient and modern republicanism', 6–26.

[48] Blythe, *Ideal Government.*

[49] On the benefits of comparing city-states in different eras, Mohlo *et al.*, *City States*; Nichols and Charlton, *The Archaeology of City-States.*

account of Tlaxcalan political organisation resembles that of scholars working today.[50] The case of Tlaxcala offers an example of the way in which the Greco-Roman city could be used to think about the cities of the New World in a sympathetic manner. Descriptions like those of Peter Martyr were to be very important in later debates concerning the humanity or intelligence of the inhabitants of the Americas, with Tlaxcala serving as a standard counterargument to those who claimed that the Indians had no true polities of their own.

Spanish colonies

Peter Martyr's interest in the cities of the New World was not confined to indigenous ones. When he reported the first years of the colonisation of the Caribbean, he noted the foundation of Villa Isabela in Hispaniola, the first city (*civitas*) of the Americas. The foundation of this city in 1494 had been one of the main objectives of his second trip: '[Columbus] ordered every workman [to load] all of their trade's tools which they would in time use in building a new city in foreign regions.'[51] This new city, the *Isabellica Civitas* on Hispaniola,[52] was meant to substitute the preliminary settlement that had been built on the return of his first trip and consolidate Castilian rule by establishing a municipality on the island.

Villa Isabela was a central stop in the early days of the exploration and colonisation of the Caribbean. It was described by Peter Martyr as the one city amongst the many colonies established in Hispaniola ('ex Hispaniola, in qua urbem et colonias construxisse hispanos diximus').[53] From very early on it was stated that King Ferdinand's policy was to set foot and establish fortifications in those lands ('in his terris figere pedem arcesque ibi condere et animus regis [Ferdinandi]').[54] Even if the occupation of Villa Isabela was short-lived,[55] Hispaniola as an island was conceived and ruled as any of the other European possessions of the King of Castille and, as such, it needed a city with a municipal order and an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and Santo Domingo soon became the primary city ('ad Sanctum Dominicum urbem primariam metropolitanam') of the Spanish Caribbean.[56]

Peter Martyr was an innovator when he used word *colonia* in a context that involved the settlement of foreigners in a new territory. Until his day, exclaves, distant territories, possessions in Outremer and trading entrepôts had not been termed colonies.[57] But in underlining the connection between these new settlements

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[50] Fargher *et al.*, 'Egalitarian ideology and political power', 227–251.
[51] *Decades*, 1.1, fol.4v: 'Instrumenta omnia fabrilia, ac demum alia cuncta quae ad novam civitatem in alienis regionibus condendam faciunt, unicuique artifice imperat'.
[52] *Decades*, 1.6, fol.10.
[53] *Decades*, 2.1, fol.32.
[54] *Decades*, 1.10, fol.31.
[55] Deagan, 'La Isabela'.
[56] *Decades*, 3.4, fol.43.
[57] Modern scholarship would call them colonies, though. Cf. Finley, 'Colonies'.

and the Crown of Castile, and the working of the fields (*colere, cultio*), Peter Martyr was consciously invoking the old Roman Republican system. A colony is presented, therefore, as a newly founded city, not a territory or a dominion, or even a settlement's legal status.[58]

In the years that followed, the Spaniards developed a way of establishing *coloniae* (*i.e.*, cities) in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Darién and Cuba, but the exact process is best explained in his reporting of Cortés' foundation of Veracruz:

> [Cortés' men] held a council on the issue of founding a colony [*de colonia deducenda*] without consulting the Governor of Cuba Diego Velázquez ... They elected Cortés himself as their overall governor ... [and] he appointed others as magistrates to establish the government of the city [*urbis regimen*].[59]

This is also seen in the foundation of a new colony in Jamaica:

> After consulting the captains, he carried out the pointless charade of founding a government and distributing the magistracies ... He appointed as councilmen of that shade of a colony [*umbratilis coloniae rectores*] ... He appointed a mayor [*praetorem vero urbanum*] ... Out of the people he also appointed sheriffs [*milites executores*] which the Spaniards call 'alguaciles', and aediles to regulate weights and measures.[60]

The essence of creating a colony was, therefore, to establish a municipality; an administrative and civic community from which Castilian and Christian law could be exercised.[61] In that sense, Castilian colonisation mirrored early Roman practices.[62] Cortés had an ulterior motive to underline the process he followed, since he was technically contravening the orders of the governor of Cuba, but in order to justify his later actions against the Aztecs he needed to underline that he was not an enfranchised 'neighbour' (*vecino*) of Cuba anymore because he held a municipal position elsewhere. Castilian municipalities had two chambers, an assembly of commoners (*cabildo*) and a council of burghers (*regimiento*), which corresponded to the two main urban ranks: the labourers (*labradores*) and the citizens (*ciudadanos*), which included also the lower gentry (*hijosdalgo*). All of them would be enfranchised neighbours (*vecinos*) by right of

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58 Cf. Nebrija's *Vocabulario*, who translates 'colonia' as 'ciudad poblada de extranjeros' ('city populated by foreigners').

59 *Decades*, 4.7, fol.60r: 'De colonia deducenda, progubernatore Cubae Dieco Velasquez inconsulto consilium ineunt ... Generalem eligunt gubernatorem ipsum Cortesium ... is magistratus alios creat, ad condendae urbis regimen'.

60 *Decades*, 8.1, fol.104r: 'Centurionum animis indagatis, condendae reipublicae inane simulachrum exercuit, magistratus divisit ... Umbratilis coloniae rectores creat ... Praetorem vero urbanum erexit ... Creavit e populo et milites executores quos Hispanus alguaziles nuncupat, ac ponderum et mensuram correctores aediles'.

61 Cf. the later laws of Philip II: *Laws of Indies*, 4.5.6 (That the municipal grant for ordinary mayors and councillors shall be done according to this law) and 4.7.19 (That Justices and councillors are elected out of the settlers, and that the incomes are registered [by the settlers]).

62 Guillamón Álvarez, 'Algunas reflexiones'.

residence and protected by municipal statutes.[63] This complex post-Medieval system did not translate well into Latin, and the use of Latin civic terminology in this period seems to have lost most of its original Roman meanings.

In Cervantes de Salazar's *Dialogues* we are given a detailed Latin description of the municipal order of Mexico.[64] We find a reference to a municipal *curia* and *senatores* (rather than *curiales*), in one case specifying that there are senators of the *curia* and of the city (*curiae et urbis senatores*), perhaps referring to members of the council (*regidores*) and the assembly (*concejales*). This contrasts with Peter Martyr, who used *curia*, *senatus* and *senatores* as translations for royal officials and councils (including the Council of Indies).[65] Cervantes still used *praetores* to signify *alcaldes*, the highest magistrates of the council who were elected 'every year by the councilmen, and they have power of life and death'.[66] In the same way that Peter Martyr had to use *milites executores* for *alguacil*, an Arabic word without a clear Roman equivalent, Cervantes had to use a convoluted periphrasis: *praetorii summi officiales.*

From their phrasing Peter Martyr and Cervantes de Salazar only used these terms as translations of Castilian equivalents. This is more evident when we look at the first Castilian-Latin dictionary, edited by Antonio de Nebrija in 1495, which directly equates *alcalde maior de justicia* with *prętor*.[67] That same dictionary gives *officialis prętor. vel executor* for *alguacil*, and *senator* for *regidor de ciudad*.[68] There is no rhetoric in the descriptions of the civic order aimed at implanting a Roman meaning to these offices, no reference of *duumviri* or *curiales*; simply a neo-Latin translation of early modern terminology.

The same applies for civic language. Nebrija gives *civis* for *ciudadano desta ciudad* (*i.e.*, local citizen) and *civitas* for *ciudad e ayuntamiento de ciudadanos* (city and assembly of citizens).[69] Both Cervantes de Salazar and Peter Martyr use *civis* to mean 'local citizen', akin to the Castilian *vecino*, or enfranchised neighbour because of residence. The municipal status of residents is one of the reasons behind the rebellion against the Columbus brothers, who mistreated the Indians of Hispaniola and free Castilians living in Villa Isabela.[70] Local citizenship, in this sense, remained as important in the metropolis (*e.g.*, *Petrus Arias Abulensis, civis autem Segoviensis*)[71] and the New World (*Hispaniolae cives*).[72]

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[63] Goicolea Julián, 'La ciudad de Nájera'; Oliva Herrer, '¿Qué es la comunidad?'; Palencia Herrejón, *Ciudad y oligarquía.*

[64] *Mexicus Interior*, 108; *Mexicus Exterior*, 264.

[65] *Decades*, 7.3, fol.92v: 'Lucas Vazquez ... civis Toletanus et ex Hispaniolae senatoribus unus ... ad rerum Indicarum Senatum ab Hispaniola missus procurator'.

[66] *Mexicus Interior*, 108: 'ibi duo consident praetores, ab urbis senatoribus quotannis creati, necis vitaeque potestatem habentes'.

[67] *Vocabulario*, fol.10r.

[68] *Vocabulario*, fol.10v and 88r.

[69] *Vocabulario*, fol. 35v.

[70] Moreta Castillo, 'Primeros pleitos'.

[71] *Decades*, 2.7, fol.31.

[72] *Decades*, 7.3, fol.92v.

In the *Dialogues*, the use of *civis* similarly presupposes a citizen of Mexico, especially when it comes to participation in communal events, like religious and civic processions.[73] Cervantes also has his fictional tourist use the wealth of the *cives* as an indicator of the wealth of the city.[74] The inhabitants of Mexico were also credited in his *Túmulo Imperial* with the dedication of the Cenotaph of Emperor Charles V. The exhortative inscription begins by saying 'You, who are by far below to the deeds of Caesar [Charles], behold in wonder the superb Monument, which the Mexican citizens [*mexicani cives*] in accordance to their means [*pro facultate*] dedicated to him out of gratitude and piety'.[75] The *cives* who dedicate the monument and the *cives* who participate in the parade of Saint Hippolytus' day are the same group of city dwellers, and it is implied that this is the urban population, not only those with the rank of citizen because in these contexts we should understand that *civis* is used to translate *vecino* not *ciudadano.* In his Spanish *Chronicle of New Spain*, Cervantes de Salazar uses *vecino* in the Castilian sense where enfranchisement comes with residence, and the *vecinos* are the Spaniards and the Indians.[76] In his Latin description of Mexico, he describes the two communities living together, and the city itself is a representation of the world, a microcosm:[77]

> It is with great reason that I dare affirm that both worlds are summarised and contained in this place; and it can be said that Mexico is a small world, what the Greeks call a *microcosmon* ... The superb and tall buildings of the Spaniards (which occupy most of the land and are decorated with high towers and sublime churches) are surrounded and enclosed everywhere by the Indians' dwellings in the suburbs, which are jumbled and arranged with minimal order.[78]

This view of the city underlines the dual nature of the community, but it also highlights the physical differences between *aedificia superba et sublimia* of the Spaniards and the *confusa et minime ordine distributa* dwellings of the Mexicans. Both groups might have lived together as part of a community, but they were clearly not the same. The microcosm allegory, however, should not distract us from the fact that the passage was describing an actual city, and it is in the depiction of the physical aspects of these new colonies that ancient Roman ideas appear again.

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[73] *Mexicus Interior*, 122; *Mexicus Exterior*, 264.

[74] *Mexicus Interior*, 114.

[75] *Túmulo*, 8: 'Gestis Caesaris longe inferior, qui mirabundus Tumulum spectas, quem mexicani cives pro facultate superbum, ex gratitudine & pietate ei posuere'.

[76] Cf. *Chronicle*, 1.4; 3.49, 50, 51; 4.25.

[77] On medieval understandings of cities as microcosms, see Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 12, 132; cf. Robertson, 'Scaling Nature'.

[78] *Mexicus Exterior*, 278–280: 'ut summa cum ratione affirmare ausim orbem utrumque hoc loco circumscriptum et circumductum esse; et quod de homine graeci tradunt, Microcosmon id est, parvum mundum, ipsum appellantes, idem de Mexico dici posse ... Hispanorum aedificia superba et sublimia, et quas magnam soli partem occupant, altissimis turribus et surgentibus templis praestantissima, indorum domicilia suburbiorum loco, confusa et minime ordine distributa'.

In the *Decades* we get a glimpse of the nature of the first Spanish urban foundations in the New World. The construction of Villa Isabela implied erecting houses and a chapel, which the settlers did in a few days (*intra paucos dies domibus ... sacello erectis*), and the new city was consecrated in time to celebrate the feast of the Magi (*Trium Regum solemnia celebramus*),[79] although in Peter Martyr's writings it only became a city when it was enclosed by a ditch and ramparts (*fossis et aggeribus urbe circumvallata*).[80] Dwellings, limits and communal hubs are the three common elements that constitute a city in these first descriptions. Later on, more standardised ways of establishing colonies would develop, with urban grids, a central square and other public buildings, yet keeping those three core elements.[81] This pattern would eventually be enshrined in a law of 1523.[82]

Despite the classical regularity that comes with the grid, city building in the Americas was a direct continuation of late medieval city-building patterns. This was a tradition that the Castilians had cultivated in the Peninsula, from the gridded foundations of thirteenth-century Biscay to the foundations of the War of Granada, and then taken to the Canary Islands.[83] In this same spirit, the description of Mexico in the *Dialogues* underlines how it is a new, modern city that seeks validation in opposition to coeval European cities, as we will discuss below. Ancient Rome is mentioned, but always as a surpassed point of comparison; Mexico looks towards the future, despite the classicising language. That Mexico wants to break with the past is clear in the way the city is presented; not a refoundation of old pagan Tenochtitlán, whose blood-thirsty idols had been long razed and burnt,[84] but a new foundation that only shares with the previous city the location. The legend written above the painting of the city that presided the Imperial cenotaph clearly expresses this feeling: 'benefficio [sic] Caesaris novam incolimus urbem'.[85]

Mexico is presented as the epitome of the ideal Renaissance city. The *via Tacubensis* is the main avenue, which leads in a straight line to the main square ('quae et celebrior est, et recta nos in foro perducet').[86] This avenue is wide, flat and paved, and it has a central gutter; for all that it is of great public use:

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[79] *Decades*, 1.2, fol.7.
[80] *Decades*, 1.3, fol.8.
[81] Martínez Lemoine, 'The classical model'; Smith, 'Colonial towns'.
[82] *Laws of Indies*, 4.7.1: That the new settlements might be founded according to the qualities of this law.
[83] Martínez Lemoine, 'The classical model'.
[84] *Túmulo*, 7. A panel in the cenotaph is described as depicting 'la ciudad de Mexico sobre una laguna con muchos ydolos quemados y quebrados arrojados del templo y al otro lado muchos yndios hincados de rodillas adorando una cruz ... dando gracias a Dios porque en el tiempo de Cesar ... fueron alumbrados de la ceguera en que estaban' = 'the city of Mexico, over a lake, with many idols burnt and broken, thrown from the temple and, on the other side, there were many Indians on their knees, worshiping a cross ... thanking God because in the time of Caesar [i.e., Charles] they were enlightened about the blindness in which they lived'.
[85] *Túmulo*, 12. This phrasing also underlines the dual nature of the community that establishes the new city.
[86] *Mexicus Interior*, 86.

> How the sight of this street lifts the spirits and restores the sight! So long and wide!
> So straight! How rightfully flat! … And lest it get muddy and dirty in the wintertime,
> it is all paved with stones; and down the middle runs an open gutter in which, for
> greater pleasure, the water runs, which adds to the street's beauty and serves a
> public purpose [*civium utilitatem*].[87]

The avenue is flanked by porticoes that house all sorts of traders and businesses, and secondary streets branch off it (hinting at a grid),[88] but it is the alignment and the width that make a difference:

> It is proper, for that reason, not only that the streets were wide and lofty … to make
> the city healthier by not having tall buildings that blocked the flows and reflows
> of the winds that, with the sun, dissipate and carry away the plague-ridden fumes
> generated by the nearby swamp.[89]

This correlation between street orientation and salubriousness is taken from Vitruvius,[90] who had been 'rediscovered' a few decades ago, and whose wind theory applied to urbanism had been embraced by the learned community of the time.[91] The lofty avenues make Mexico stand out above the old, unplanned cities of Europe. This reference to Vitruvian planning is embedded in the sixteenth-century urban theory that Cervantes de Salazar may be familiar with, but it is in his description of the main square where Vitruvius is mentioned explicitly. The architect recommends the columns of the porticoes to be rounded, rather than square, and here Vitruvius is named directly ('nam quadrangulas … non perindet commendat Vitruvius').[92] The fact that he uses *epystilium* for architrave a few lines later only confirms that Cervantes was familiar with the text.

While Vitruvius is used as an authority, Mexico is not presented as imitating antiquity. The main square (*forum*) is a perfect example of the modernity of Mexico:

> Similarly, I cannot remember a square like this, nor do I think you could find a
> comparable one in either [the Old or the New] World. Good God! How flat and wide
> it is! How lively! How it is everywhere adorned with magnificent buildings and
> wonderful surroundings![93]

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[87] *Mexicus Interior*, 88: 'Quam exhilarat animum et visum reficit viae huius conspectus! quam et extensa et ampla! quam recta! quanta ius planicies! … et ne hiberno tempore lutescat et obscena sit, tota lapidibus strata; per cuius medium, quod etiam facit ad eius ornatum et civium utilitatem, intra suum canalem, aperta, ut magis delectet, aqua decurrit'.

[88] *Mexicus Interior*, 92 ('Ab hac via quae, uti vides, in latum Tacubensem dividit, omnis generis mechanicarum et illiberalium artium operarii et artifices') and 118 ('transversas obiter ornatissimas vias inspecturi').

[89] *Mexicus Interior*, 90: 'Decuit etiam et ea ratione, non solum, ut vides, amplissimas et spatiosas esse vias … salubrior ut esset civitas, non impedientibus editissimis aedificiis flantibus et reflantibus ventis, qui una cum sole, pestiferos quos palus, quae in proximo est, vapores emittit, discutiunt longeque arcent'.

[90] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 1.6.

[91] Nova, 'The role of the winds'.

[92] *Mexicus Interior*, 96.

[93] *Mexicus Interior*, 94: 'Equidem quod meminerim, nullum [forum]: nec censeo in utroque orbe aequale inveniri posse. Bone Deus! quam et planum et capax est! quam hilare! quam undique ambientibus superbis et magnificis aedificiis illustratum!'

The square is impressive because of its size, and this enables it to gather 'markets and auctions' and merchandise from across the province,[94] in a way that not even ancient Rome could. Ancient Rome needed nine different squares for so many markets (and here Cervantes gives an eclectic selection of fora: *Suarium, Olitorium, Boarium, Livium, Julium, Aurelium et Cupedinis*) but Mexico needs only one ('hoc unum pro cunctis Mexici est'). Something similar happens with tribunals (*fora iudiciaria*) of which Mexico, as Rome, has three.[95] Ancient *comparanda* add panache, especially when the main square of Mexico is far superior to the Roman fora, but the cities of Europe are the ones that Mexico is competing with: Cervantes' alma mater, Salamanca, is the point of comparison for Mexico's university,[96] in the same way that Seville and Toledo are for its cathedral[97] and Venice for its canals.[98] Even where the square is a *forum* and the cathedral a *templum*, when Cervantes has his tour guides mention the aqueducts of the *fons Chapultepecum,* there is no mention to the conduits of ancient Rome, but rather the irrigation systems of Spain.[99]

Conclusions

Peter Martyr was very conscious that he was attempting to write about a new world in a new age with a vocabulary gleaned from ancient texts. He explained his use of 'the vulgar tongue' when distinguishing between ship types:

> I do this that I may be more clearly understood, regardless of the teeth of critics who rend the works of authors. Each day new wants arise, impossible to translate with the vocabulary left us by the venerable majesty of antiquity.[100]

Despite these challenges, he found in Latin the words he needed not just to translate the reports he read for wider consumption, but also to explain and analyse the information he was given. In both the wildernesses and cities of the New World he saw the classical past reborn, giving the incredible reports of the Spaniards a Roman veneer of legitimacy and validity. The learned men of Europe could thus slot the New World into categories they could understand and accept. The conquistadors

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[94] *Mexicus Interior*, 96: 'sunt nundinae ... auctiones; ad hoc totius provinciae mercatores suas merces adferunt et important'.

[95] *Mexicus Interior*, 108.

[96] *Academia Mexicana*, 28.

[97] *Mexicus Interior*, 114: 'in Hispania nihil tam illustret Toletum, urbem alioqui nobilissimam, quam ditissimum juxta et speciosissimum templum. Hispalim, opulentissimam civitatem, sublimis et longe opulentior sacra domus nobilitat'.

[98] *Mexicus Interior*, 140: 'Quanta est ibi lintrium copia, quam multae onerarise trabes, importandisque mercibus optimse, venetias ut non sit cur desideres'.

[99] *Mexicus Interior*, 124; *Mexicus Exterior*, 266: 'Quod est in Hispania spectaculum [= aqueductus], quod cum hoc aut aequari aut comparari possit?'

[100] *Decades*, 2.1, fol.23v: 'Ut apertius quid velim intelligatur, neglectis tetricorum mordendi causas in scriptores quaerentium genuinis. Emergunt naquis non pauca cotidie, quibus vera nomina relinquere non potuit vetustatis veneranda maiestas'.

became Greek and Roman colonists, expanding the bounds of civilisation through their courage and their cities. Peter Martyr was one of the pioneers (if not the first) who brought the Republican meaning of *colonia* into modern use,[101] popularising the term in a way that most likely set the foundations of our current understanding of colonies and colonialism.

The enduring popularity of Peter Martyr's work suggests that this was a vision shared by many others. Like Peter Martyr, Cervantes de Salazar also wished to show off the cities of the Americas and the impact of Spanish colonial urbanism. In his case, however, the language he employed was designed not to recreate the ancient world, but to make Mexico City an exemplar of modern European patterns of learning and urbanism. The ideas of the Roman city were useful, even when separated from their context and applied to a city without a Roman past. The ancient city and Vitruvius were valuable to him precisely because they made the colonial city comparable (if not equal) to a European one. For both, in fundamentally different ways, the Roman past provided a means to understand the colonial city in the face of the new wants arising from the new days they lived in.

Acknowledgements

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[101] Cf. Finley, 'Colonies.'

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Chapter 7

Ideals of the city in the early Islamic foundation stories of Kufa and Baghdad

Edward Zychowicz-Coghill

Rome was not the only power whose reach spread through the foundation of cities. The Arabian conquerors who drove the Roman and Sasanian Iranian armies from the seventh-century Fertile Crescent consolidated their rule by establishing cities in these conquered territories. This chapter examines the foundation narratives of two of the greatest Islamic cities created in the first two centuries of the Muslim era: Kufa and Baghdad, both located in the fertile, irrigated soil of central Iraq. Kufa was founded by the general Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in 638, at the height of the Muslim conquests, as a garrison for the army which had conquered the Sasanian imperial heartland. Baghdad was laid out in 762 by the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr as a purpose-built capital housing the army which brought his dynasty to power, from which he ruled an empire which now stretched from North Africa to the Indian sub-continent. Leaving aside the debate over whether the early Islamic empire can be considered a colonial phenomenon, a question too large for this chapter,[1] Kufa can be considered a colony in the technical sense proposed by Moses Finley: it involved the transplantation of significant numbers of people from a metropolis (the Arabian peninsula) to a periphery (conquered Iraq), which they subsequently ruled while maintaining a dependent relationship to the metropolitan state (the caliphate, originally based in Medina).[2] The Arabic term used for this type of settlement was *miṣr*, meaning a garrison city. By contrast, Baghdad was a capital turning Iraq from a subordinate province in the Islamic empire to its metropolis: by reading the accounts of metropolitan Baghdad's beginnings against those of Kufa's, we see in sharper relief the ideals associated with the *miṣr*-colony which were developed in the early Islamic period.

The narratives of these cities' foundations were composed late – in their present form, from at least a century after the events they describe. Yet they have typically

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[1] For an opening treatment of this topic, see Hoyland, 'Were the Muslim Arab conquerors of the seventh century colonialists?'

[2] For a recent discussion of Finley, 'Colonies – An attempt at a typology', see Kumar, 'What's in a name?'.

been used to try to determine the facts of the origins of these first Muslim mega-cities, particularly because archaeological excavations which could tell us about the reality of these cities has been very limited.[3] Far less attention, however, has been paid to the way that these foundation stories, told and retold by the first generations of Muslims, selected from and interpreted memories of city origins to comment upon the distinct phases of Islamic political authority which they came to represent.[4] In the case of Kufa, this was the expansion of the Islamic empire beyond Arabia under the 'rightly-guided' (rāshidūn) caliphs, the immediate successors to Muhammad whose reign was later considered the golden age of Islamic government. For Baghdad, it was the accession of the Abbasid dynasty which would, nominally, rule the Muslim world for five hundred years. Rather than participating in reflexive discourse about an abstract, ideal city, a type of discourse which was not a major feature of early Islamic culture, in these accounts the city is deployed as a vehicle for discussions of ideals of political authority and the make-up of Muslim society.

After a discussion of the nature of our sources, this chapter will be divided into three sections looking at how the earliest Arabic accounts discuss the place, population and planning of Kufa and Baghdad. In the first and second of these sections, I will show how discussions of place and people are used to construct two very different notions of these cities' relationship to the wider world: Kufa as an Arab outpost on the edge of Arabia, Baghdad as a multi-ethnic metropolis and world centre. In the third and final part of the chapter, I will show how their contrasting representations of the role of political authority in the production of the urban landscape present alternative ideals of Islamic rulership. The intention is to challenge the positivistic use of these accounts as transparent indicators of a linear, unitary development of Islamic civilisation from nomadic and Arab to urban and cosmopolitan, or of the increasing pretentions of caliphal rulership. Rather, the differing representations of the making of these cities will be interpreted as a manifestation of contention and debate in the Abbasid period over the ideal nature of Islamic society and authority.[5]

Historical context

The seventh century saw the emergence of the Islamic caliphate, dismembering the eastern Roman empire and absorbing entirely its Iranian antagonist. Conquered cities survived and often thrived. More notably, however, new cities were founded to settle the conquering armies, initiating an Islamic pattern of city-foundation accompanying

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[3]   See the articles by Northedge, 'Early Islamic urbanism', Denoix, 'Founded cities', AlSayyad, *Cities and Calips*, AlSayyad, 'Arab caliphs and western observers', Kennedy, 'Inherited cities' and Kennedy, 'How to found an Islamic city' for this approach.

[4]   Denoix, 'Founded cities', 116, 118–126, recounts the origins of Arabic city-dwelling while accepting and rationalising the sequence of events and categories found in the sources, an approach broadly shared by AlSayyad, *Cities and Caliphs.* On Kufa, see Kennedy, 'How to found an Islamic city', 48–50; on Baghdad, Lassner, *Topography.*

[5]   For this approach applied to both Arabic historical accounts of the early Abbasid and *rāshidūn* period, see El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*; El-Hibri, *Parable and Politics.*

the establishment of new political authority.[6] These cities, Kufa among them, became the premier sites of military and administrative power, both for governing conquered territory and staging new campaigns. Continuing systems of taxation paid the settled Arabian troops and their descendants, termed by contemporaries 'the emigrants' (*al-muhājirūn*), as well as further waves of migration from the Arabian peninsula.[7] This pay was dispensed through newly formalised tribal structures, reifying what had originally been flexible, supra-familial ties of kinship affiliation through processes of governmentality.[8] The remaining proceeds of taxation were sent to the imperial centre, first in Medina (*c.* 630s–654), later in Damascus (660–750).

In time, these cities became far more than garrison towns administering conquered territory – they became centres of trade, production and learning. Large numbers of diverse tribesmen from Arabia were socially and politically integrated through a massive social reorganisation of urban resettlement.[9] In the aftermath, and particularly over the course of the eighth century, these cities witnessed the construction of a self-consciously Arabic culture. While this would have been rooted in the day-to-day habitus of the conquest society, we can see traces of it in cultural productions such as the construction of a common Arabic grammar, lexicon, genealogy, history and poetry. This notion of Arabness was bound up – along with the new religion of Islam – in the construction of hierarchy within the early Islamic empire and the justification of unequal distribution of resources.[10]

Yet, just as the notion of Arab as a category was being constructed to bind together Arabian-origin elites, the internal contradictions of an Arab empire for a universal religion, Islam, began to cause tensions with those excluded by this vision of the political community. In the 740s, a revolutionary Islamic movement arose among the population of Khurasan (modern north-eastern Iran, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan), a melting pot of Arabian settlers and the numerically superior Iranian locals, in contrast to a stronger conqueror-conquered divide at the heart of the caliphate. This movement sought equal treatment of non-Arab converts to Islam and their descendants and in 750 overthrew the incumbent Umayyad dynasty, establishing the Abbasids in their place.[11] The second caliph and de facto founder of this dynasty, al-Manṣūr, consolidated his rule in 762 by founding a new city in Iraq, Baghdad, to house his palace, administration and victorious, revolutionary army.

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6   On the two phenomena, see Kennedy, 'Inherited cities'; Denoix, 'Founded cities'. For urban continuity in the caliphate, Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 609–626.

7   Crone, 'The first-century concept of "Hiǧra"'; Lindstedt, '*Muhājirūn* as a name'.

8   Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 245.

9   Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs* notes the diversity of pre-Islamic Arabia while accepting the existence of 'Arabs' within it, which formed the basis for wider Arabisation in Islamic times. More recently Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, argues for a constructivist development of Arab ethnicity in the aftermath of the conquests, particularly over the course of the eighth century.

10   For this role of race in premodern societies see Heng, *Invention of Race*.

11   On the ethnic situation in Iran see Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 7–22. On the Abbasid revolution there is a large bibliography, noted at Cobb, 'The empire in Syria', 261; Agha, *The Revolution Which Toppled the Umayyads* stresses the Iranian contribution.

The sources

The main account of the foundation of Kufa is found in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 923) *History*, the most extensive classical Arabic work of historical writing. Most of his account is made up of quotations of a long narrative on the topic written by the earlier historian Sayf Ibn ʿUmar (d. *c.* 786–809), himself from Kufa, with these quotations clearly demarcated by al-Ṭabarī's citations.[12] Sayf's history, which is now only partially extant in manuscript, was the basis for much of al-Ṭabarī's account of the Islamic conquests after Muhammad's death until the early stages of the first Islamic civil war (*c.* 632–656).[13] The main foundation account which we have of Kufa, therefore, was originally an episode within a larger text of Islamic conquest history (*futūḥ*), with its typical themes of providential causation, tribal or familial aggrandisement of ancestors, and inducements to religious warfare.[14]

From the late nineteenth century there has been a debate over the reliability of Sayf's material in general.[15] Recent contributions have accepted that Sayf quoted historical accounts from the previous generation of scholars, while arguing that he selected and amalgamated this information in order to forward a clear political agenda, such that one recent historian has dubbed him an 'ideological fiction writer'.[16] Sayf's main agenda was his proposition that the early followers of Muhammad were a perfect generation of Muslims, following his teachings and coexisting harmoniously. His eirenic vision blamed the first Islamic civil war, which split this community from 656–661, on the rabble-rousing machinations of an otherwise little-known black convert crypto-Jew, clearly a heretical archetype, thereby excusing the major antagonists who had been companions of Muhammad. His position, which can be dubbed ʿUthmānism, glossed over ʿAlī's caliphal claims to present the Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya as the successor to his kinsman, the blameless ʿUthmān.[17] This would have been a comfortable, pro-status quo interpretation of early Islamic history to hold in the late Umayyad period when Sayf was growing up and studying with his teachers.[18]

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[12]   The use by our earliest extant authors of earlier, non-extant narratives as the backbone of their accounts – with them interjecting relevant material from other sources – is common in early Arabic history writing, see Coghill, 'How the west was won', 545–549.

[13]   Surviving manuscript fragments of his work are edited as Sayf Ibn ʿUmar, *Kitāb al-ridda wa-l-futūḥ.*

[14]   On the tropes of *futūḥ* history-writing, see Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, 174–182 and Shoshan, *Arabic Historical Tradition.*

[15]   Sayf's illustrious critics include Julius Wellhausen, Leone Caetani, Wilferd Madelung and Patricia Crone, while attempts have been made to rehabilitate him by Albrecht Noth, Martin Hinds, Fred Donner and Ella Landau-Tasseron.

[16]   Madelung, 'Sayf ibn ʿUmar', 326, 328–329. For similar points see Anthony, *Caliph and the Heretic*, 65. Of course, just because genuinely preserved historical information was taught to him by a previous generation does not mean that this information was accurate.

[17]   For Sayf's ʿUthmānism, see Crone, 'Review of al-Samarrai'; Madelung, 'Sayf ibn ʿUmar', 332; Anthony, *Caliph and the Heretic*, 100–103.

[18]   Two early eighth-century Syriac caliph-lists pass from ʿUthmān's to Muʿāwiya's caliphate without mentioning ʿAlī, showing that this conception was hegemonic, see Palmer, *West-Syrian Chronicles*, 43–44, 49–50.

Sayf's account, therefore, must be read with an awareness of its place in a strongly developed ideological worldview, with the foundation of Kufa in 638 falling squarely into his prelapsarian golden age of the Islamic community and their conquests before the civil war.

None of Sayf's teachers, whose stories formed the basis of his account of Kufa, would have been old enough to have witnessed the foundation of Kufa themselves. While they might have met people who had, there is no guarantee that they did, nor that these witnesses would have retold the story accurately, the intermediaries passed on the story faithfully or indeed that Sayf based his account entirely on such perfect processes of transmission. Nor, given what we know of the development of historical writing in Arabic, is it likely that anyone before the first half of the eighth century had written down anything approaching a stable account of it.[19] As we might expect from this situation, Sayf's account corresponds poorly to what we do know of Kufa archaeologically. Aila Santi has shown, for example, that Sayf's account of the first governor's palace at Kufa seems to describe a later Umayyad-era palace construction, rather than matching the earliest material layers on that site and parallel cases elsewhere.[20] It seems likely, therefore, that Sayf's account was based on observations and back-projections of late Umayyad Kufa, with limited capacity to tell us about the real intentions and actions of the first settlers. As such, it is problematic for use as an account of the genuine early history of Kufa, but a ripe source for telling us about the ideals which a Kufan like Sayf invested into the foundation moment of his city.

Whereas Kufa was settled before a tradition of Arabic historical writing had developed, Baghdad was constructed during Sayf's lifetime, when the first generation of Arabic historians whose works we can approximately reconstruct were working.[21] No one account of this event dominates our understanding in the way that Sayf's does for Kufa. Al-Ṭabarī claims that his main accounts derive ultimately from the testimony of several intimates or courtiers of al-Manṣūr, one of whom, al-Haytham Ibn ʿAdī (d. *c.* 821–824), was a well-known historian whose work survives in substantial quotations in later sources.[22] Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. early tenth century) does not name his sources for

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[19] On the development of writing in early Islam see Schoeler, *Genesis of Literature.*

[20] Santi, 'Early Islamic Kūfa in context', 72–86. Note particularly her comments on the similarities between tropical elements of the stories of Saʿd's initial palace construction and that of Ziyād Ibn Abīhi's, some thirty-odd years later.

[21] Kennedy, 'The sources of al-Ṭabarī's history', 175. Schoeler, *Genesis of Literature*, 68, terms this period in the mid-to-late eighth century the *taṣnīf* movements, *taṣnīf* being the compilation of written 'works systematically subdivided into chapters organised according to subject matter', with more or less recoverable historical examples of this type of work being extant from scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767) and Maʿmar Ibn Rāshid (d. 770).

[22] There are three substantial accounts interwoven by al-Ṭabarī. One is claimed to be on the authority of Sulaymān Ibn Mujālid (d. during al-Manṣūr's reign), who is reported to have been a milk brother of al-Manṣūr, been his companion before the Abbasid revolution, and later been in charge of his treasury, the 1000 guards stationed at the Syrian gate of Baghdad and one of the suburbs outside the round city. See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimashq*, vol. 12, 365–367 and al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 80. Another is credited to al-Haytham Ibn ʿAdī (*c.* 738–821–4), an historian and courtier at the Abbasid court from the time

his important account of Baghdad's foundation. However, beyond drawing on the same kinds of historical sources that al-Ṭabarī would have used, al-Yaʿqūbī had access to family lore about the foundation. This was derived from a grandfather or great-grandfather of his named Wāḍiḥ who had been a household steward to the Abbasid caliphs at the time of al-Manṣūr and who seems to have had a role in governing one of Baghdad's city quarters.[23] This suggests that al-Yaʿqūbī had real, if parlayed, insight into the perspectives of the inner circles that founded and managed the city.[24] Finally, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 1071) topographical description of Baghdad relied on considerably earlier sources written in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, most extensively that of Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf Wakīʿ (d. 918), a Baghdadi judge, historian and biographer who in turn quoted authorities from earlier in the ninth century.[25]

In short, we do not have access to any contemporary documents which detail the plans or intentions of the founders in the case of either Kufa or Baghdad, much as is the case with most ancient cities.[26] Despite this, by the time of Baghdad's foundation written and more formalised oral modes of transmitting Arabic historical information had been developed. This means that we can have some confidence that our sources on Baghdad's foundation preserved ideas that were circulating at court or in elite Baghdadi society shortly after its foundation. Sayf's account of Kufa, on the other hand, was probably written some 150 years after the events it describes, including a long period of informal transmission of historical knowledge, by an author known to fudge together different stories to forward his own agendas. Therefore, the account of Kufa is likely to be very much reformed to fit Sayf's ideology, with its content based on what Kufans in the late Umayyad and very early Abbasid period thought about the origins of their city.

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of al-Manṣūr onwards, see Pellat, 'al-Haytham b. ʿAdī'. For an instance of the survival, in adapted form, of one of his accounts, see Leder, 'Features of the novel'. A third, shorter account is said to be from Ḥammād the Turk, a retainer of the caliph who is mentioned in historical sources attending the caliph in his house, saddling his horses and holding onto his personal notebooks, see al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 29, 94–95, 134, 150.

[23] Al-Yaʿqūbī himself worked as a bureaucrat for the Abbasids. On al-Yaʿqūbī's ancestor Wāḍiḥ's service as *qahramān* to the Abbasids and the fact that in other works al-Yaʿqūbī related intimate anecdotes about al-Manṣūr and later Abbasid caliphs on his authority, see Daniel, 'Al-Yaʿqūbī and Shiʿism reconsidered'; Anthony, 'Was Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī a shiʿite historian?', 18–24; Gordon and Anthony's introduction to al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 12–21. The claim about his ancestors and mentions of Wāḍiḥ are at al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 67, 75, 80, 81, where he says both that 'My ancestors used to be residents of [Baghdad] and one of them even been given a charge in its affairs' (وحدهم تولى أمرها) and 'This was the quarter [the suburb of Ḥarb] which Sulaymān Ibn Mujālid and Wāḍiḥ, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, were given charge over' (الربع الذي تولاه).

[24] In this connection, it is notable that al-Yaʿqūbī states that his description relates to the layout of the city from the time of al-Manṣūr rather than the much-changed state of affairs in his own day, adding further to the likelihood that his account was based on earlier information. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 87, noted by Lassner, *Topography*, 28.

[25] Lassner, *Topography*, 30–31, 41, making the point that al-Khaṭīb did not attempt to update the accounts of the city which he quoted to reflect the major changes to the urban fabric.

[26] Smith, 'Form and meaning', 6.

A final point to bear in mind is that the contemporary foundation of Baghdad would have weighed heavily on the mind of a Kufan author like Sayf. As al-Yaʿqūbī reported about the cities of Kufa and Basra later in the ninth century, 'all their notables, dignitaries, and prosperous merchants have now moved to Baghdad'.[27] Baghdad reduced Kufa, where the Abbasids had originally proclaimed their caliphate, to a second-tier city, and this process had no doubt begun during Sayf's lifetime. As Bianquis and Garcin have noted, the inflation of a city like Baghdad to the status of a megalopolis 'confère à cette ville un rôle de référence, positif ou négatif, dans l'espace politique qu'elle administre'.[28] Stories about Baghdad came to generate counter-narratives, with the normative golden age of Muhammad's companions at the foundation of Kufa becoming a prime setting to stage them.

For example, one tale about early Baghdad tells how an interview with a medieval Roman ambassador resulted in the caliph al-Manṣūr removing the markets from the walled centre of Baghdad, thereby making his palace inaccessible to the people. In the story, their conversation is repeatedly interrupted by a commotion from outside the palace, which turns out to be caused by a bull escaped from an abattoir. The Roman takes the opportunity to lecture the caliph on the dangers of proximity to the common people, after which the caliph removes the markets beyond the walls.[29] A similar but contrasting story is told for Kufa, in which the governor and founder, Saʿd, puts a locked gate on his palace to keep the commotion of the surrounding market from disturbing his audiences. Yet in this case, the caliph of the day ʿUmar hears of this and sends a representative to burn down the gate and reprimand his governor for denying his people the right to sit with him in counsel.[30] These parallel tales seem intended to draw a contrast between the early caliphate, represented by ʿUmar and Kufa, in which the caliphs prioritised the principle of accessible political authority, and the remote style of rule of the Abbasids, delegitimised in this story through its association with alien, Roman influence.

Such stories show how tales of the two cities would have been told simultaneously, becoming bound up and entangled, mutually influencing each other. This confounds a chronological reading which simply treats descriptions of Kufa as the reflection of a prior phase of Islamic urbanism. By contrast, this chapter proposes that we should read Sayf's version of the foundation of Kufa as an account shaped with reference to the real foundation of Baghdad and the ideals it represented in his lifetime. Therefore, in each of the following sections I will treat narratives about Baghdad first, on the basis that these illustrate the kind of early Islamic conceptions of the metropolis against which Sayf was reacting as he constructed his hometown of Kufa as the ideal *miṣr*-colony.

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[27] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 69; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 18.
[28] Bianquis and Garcin, 'De la notion de mégapole', 5.
[29] Al-Khaṭib, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 388–389; Lassner, *Topography*, 57–58.
[30] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 47; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 74.

Placing the city

Place plays a central role in the foundation accounts' contrasting constructions of each city. The contrast presented is all the more telling given that both cities occupied effectively similar sites on the Euphrates-Tigris river system, commanding the same fertile, irrigated hinterland of central Iraq (*al-Sawād*). The stories about how and why they were chosen reveal fundamental differences in the ways these cities were conceptualised: Kufa as a colony umbilically tied to the Islamic metropolis of Medina, Baghdad as the interconnected centre of the world.

Baghdad: The centred city

In all stories of the foundation of Baghdad it is the Abbasid caliph himself, al-Manṣūr, who selects the site personally, surveying the area and interviewing local inhabitants about the suitability of different sites. The accounts stress that he chose its location, initially on the west bank of the Tigris river, near a deep canal joining the Tigris to the Euphrates, in order to connect the city to a global hinterland. In one version he declares, 'it is an island between the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Tigris to its east and the Euphrates to its west, a thoroughfare for the world'.[31] In another, al-Manṣūr is advised by the local lord (*dihqān*) of the pre-existing village that if he chose Baghdad for his new city:

> provisions [would] come to you along the Euphrates in ships from the west, as well as the choice products of Egypt and Syria. Supplies would also come to you along the Tigris in ships from China, India, al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. Finally, stores would reach you from Armenia and those adjacent areas via the Tāmarrā Canal connecting to the Zāb, as well as from the Roman lands, Āmid, Upper Mesopotamia, and Mosul down the Tigris.[32]

Lassner noted this stress on connectivity in accounts of the location of Baghdad. Yet he interpreted it as a reflection of the Abbasids' desire to have a capital facing east, having 'more fully recognized the political and economic importance of the eastern provinces'.[33] This does not, however, fit with the sources' stress on Baghdad's *global* connections, and indeed the relative absence of Iran and Khurasan from their conception of the city's connectivity. Rather, it is being presented as the natural centre of the world, able to gather in all the products of the earth from the caliphate and beyond, including the medieval Roman empire, India and China. This global reach of the metropolis is represented as a manifestation of the caliph's care for the subjects of his city. Accounts have him state, 'If I live in a place where it is impossible to import

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[31] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 70–71; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 22. He goes on to emphasise that the river system enables the supply of Baghdad from the Muslim provinces of Iraq, Khuzistan, Mesopotamia, south-western Iran, the Arabian Gulf, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Syria, Antatolia, Egypt and North Africa. See also al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 238.

[32] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 243; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 7, 617.

[33] Lassner, *Topography*, 127.

anything by land or sea, the prices will be high, goods will be scarce, and shortages in the food supply will cause hardship for the people'.[34] The imperial centre's ability to suck in the goods and surplus of the empire and beyond is therefore presented not as the imperial state's domination over its peripheries, though this is implicitly asserted, but a means to serve the caliph's paternalistic care for his subjects.

These accounts usually also attest some form of prophetic revelation that the site was preordained to be settled by al-Manṣūr: either the local monotheists have a prophecy that obliquely names al-Manṣūr as the builder of his dynastic seat there, or al-Manṣūr realises he had been informed by his forefathers that he would build a city at Baghdad 'so that God's plan and decree could be implemented by me, the reports be proven correct, and the signs and prophecies be made clear'.[35] Yet while stories about Baghdad's placement are also used to advocate the Abbasids' divine election, it is this representation of its global centrality and far-flung connectedness through which Baghdad's foundation accounts code its role as a megapolis in the making.[36] As al-Yaʿqūbī wrote at the beginning of his geography, 'I have begun with Iraq because it is the center of the world, the navel of the earth; and I report about Baghdad because it is the center of Iraq'.[37]

Kufa: At the margins

In terms of its location, much the same as this could have been said about Kufa. Next to the Euphrates, about 150 kilometres south of Baghdad, it was just as connected to the Mediterranean via northern Syria and the Indian Ocean via the Persian gulf, while canals upriver connecting the Tigris to the Euphrates could integrate the city just as easily into northern routes from Mosul. However, foundation-stories of Kufa never associate the choice of its location with this wider world connectivity. The focus is instead on Kufa's connectedness to Medina in Arabia. Unlike Baghdad, the caliph is not said to have directly chosen the site of Kufa. Rather, he issues his commanders with guidelines for the type of place they should settle and is then consulted on the sites they select. The story most often repeated in the Arabic sources is that the caliph ʿUmar did not want his conquering soldiers to settle anywhere which was divided from Medina by a major body of water:

> ʿUmar Ibn al-Khattab wrote the following to Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqas while he was encamped at Ctesiphon, to his governor at Basra, and to ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀs while he was encamped at Alexandria: 'Do not put a body of water between me and yourselves. Whenever I want to ride my camel to come visit you, I want to be able to do so.' So Saʿd

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[34] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 240; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 7, 615.

[35] For the Abbasid family knowledge, see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 70. For different versions of the local possession of the prophecy trope, see al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 239, 244–245, 246, in which al-Manṣūr's supposed nicknames of Miqlaṣ or Abū -l-Dawānīq are used. On this theme, see Lassner, *Topography*, 124–126.

[36] As argued by Bianquis and Garcin, 'De la notion de mégapole', 5–6, a key feature of the megalopolis is 'la conscience d'un sort lié à des terres éloignées'.

[37] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 66; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 11.

moved from Ctesiphon to Kufa, the governor of Basra moved from wherever he was to settle at the site of Basra, and ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ moved from Alexandria to Fustat.[38]

The story again writes a caliph's care for his subjects into his choice of location for their cities. Yet here, that care becomes not about connecting his citizens to the wider world and its bounty, as it was for Baghdad, but about tying them to caliphal oversight from an Arabian centre.

The idea of choosing new urban sites on the basis of the caliph not wanting to ride his camel over rivers might at first seem inane. However, the story conveys an important message about the perceived orientation of the first Muslim cities and their relationship to the caliph. The potential jewels of the Muslim conquests, Ctesiphon and Alexandria, the Sasanian capital and the greatest city of the Roman east, bar Constantinople, would not be the loci of Muslim settlement. Rather than adopting these pre-Islamic centres of administration and culture, these accounts stress a cleavage from the former Roman and Sasanian regimes through ʿUmar's insistence that the conquerors maintain their relationship to Medina, the city where Muhammad had established his state and from which his successors still ruled when Kufa was founded. In the foundation of the *miṣr*-colonies, the rejection of former megapoleis and the foundation of new alternatives in communication with Medina becomes emblematic of the caesura between old and new political dispensations brought about by Muhammad's revelation.

By making overland connection to Medina central to ʿUmar's instructions, these accounts make the rivers of the Euphrates and the Nile into boundaries which mark the appropriate limits of Muslim settlement. This effectively constructs the sense of a natural imperial territory centred on the metropolis of Medina, an idea which is at times fused with the notion of an Arab homeland. This is made most explicit in Sayf's foundation narrative of Kufa's sister-city in Iraq, Basra. Here, ʿUmar tells his commander that he should locate his city at 'the farthest part of the Arab land and the closest part of the non-Arab land'.[39] It is crucial to recognise that before the coming of Islam there was no pre-existing, fixed idea of an 'Arab land'. Even by the time Sayf was writing, the term Arab had only recently become the hegemonic ethnic identifier for the Arabian-origin elites of the caliphate.[40] By claiming cities like Kufa and Basra as the limit of the Arab land, these accounts helped imagine into being an Arab homeland, a crucial part of the development of ethnic identity, and legitimated this idea it by having the rightly guided caliph ʿUmar invoke it as a principle.

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[38]   Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 91. See the same point that 'no major river or bridge separates you [the settlers] from us [ʿUmar] here', al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 41.

[39]   Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 12, 163; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, vol. 3, 591: في أقصى أرض العرب وأدنى أرض العجم .

[40]   Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, 85–88, 141–152, see also Webb, 'Ethnicity, power and Umayyad society', which has shown that Arab is not a term invoked in pre-Islamic or early-Umayyad poetry and can only be seen emerging in the early eighth century, becoming the dominant identification for descendants of the conquers by the late eighth century.

Therefore, the meanings ascribed to the choice of locations for Baghdad and Kufa were quite different, despite the cities' relative proximity, reflecting their differing places within an imperial urban hierarchy and, more fundamentally, different imperial geographic imaginaries. In texts about Baghdad, Iraq, despite its lack of connection to the mission of Muhammad, is figured as the 'navel of the earth', pulling in resources from throughout the caliphate and beyond.[41] This idea clearly stands in contradiction to contemporary Islamic ideas which attributed the status of world-navel to the Kaʿba in Mecca.[42] Granting that status to Baghdad was an adoption of the late antique Sasanian Iranian cosmology which claimed the territory of their empire – *i.e.* Iraq and Iran, centred on the capital of Ctesiphon, near Baghdad – as the central region of the inhabited world.[43] In contrast, Sayf's account of Kufa has nothing of these neo-Iranian cosmological influences: Kufa is envisioned as a border town, marking the boundary of an 'Arab land' focused on Medina in the Hijaz, the location of Muhammad's revelation. Thus, it is envisaged as a liminal place which links the Arab homeland and its people to an external territory to be controlled.

Peopling the city

Beyond a site, the second basic requirement for a city is that it be populated. Both Kufa and Baghdad were cities whose original populations were made up of the settled soldiers of conquering armies: Kufa, by the troops who had defeated the Sasanian empire shortly after Muhammad's death; Baghdad, by an army from caliphal province of Khurasan which had overthrown the Umayyads to raise the Abbasids to power. The contrasting ways in which these populations are presented by the foundation narratives stress very different visions of society: Baghdad's celebrates Islamic cosmopolitanism, while Kufa's constructs a vision of a pristine Muslim society constituted by Arab settlers.

Baghdad: World city

The revolutionary army which brought the Abbasids to power was drawn from the Muslim population of north-eastern Iran and parts of central Asia. Here, many local Iranians, elites and non-elites, had converted to Islam, while large numbers of Arabian settlers had intermarried with local populations, with their offspring growing up speaking Persian. The first settlers of Baghdad were from this mixed population, and their heterogeneity is celebrated in accounts of Baghdad.

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[41] Al-Yaʿqūbī uses the term at *Works*, 66; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 11: سرة الأرض .

[42] O'Meara, *The Kaʿba Orientations*, 44–50, who mentions alternative claims for Jerusalem and Marw as navel, but not Iraq/Baghdad.

[43] In the late Sasanian period the empire, Iranshahr, was elided with the central region of Avestan cosmology, *Xwarinah*. This central region was often termed Bābil (Babylon) in the Arabic sources, Tibbets, 'The beginnings of a cartographic tradition', 93–94. On the Sasanian origins of this idea, Daryaee, 'Ethnic and territorial boundaries', 128–138. On the importance of this cosmological vision to binding the Iranian aristocracy – descendants of whom were crucial to the Abbasid revolution – to the Sasanian Iranian imperial project, Payne, 'Cosmology and the expansion of the Iranian empire'.

Much as Baghdad's location is lauded for its ability to bring together the goods of the Islamic world and beyond, its diverse population is celebrated for bringing all crafts to the city:

> Everything that was made in any country was made there, because the most skilful artisans moved there from every country. They have come there from every direction, emigrating from near and far.[44]

Descriptions of Baghdad note the many districts of the city which took their name not from Arab tribes, as we shall see was the case for Kufa, but from the ethnonyms of the people who first settled there, highlighting the diverse regional and ethnic origins of the city. Thus, in the quarter of the Syrian Gate:

> Each lane is named for the people of a specific country which inhabit either side of it … [the quarter's] residents include people from Balkh, Marw, al-Khuttal, Bukhārā, Asbīshāb, Ishtākhanj, Kābulshāh, and Khwārazm. Each group of countrymen has a military and a civilian leader.[45]

Similary, in the market district of Karkh:

> Behind al-Rabīʿ's estate are the residences of the merchants and a variety of people from every country. Each lane is known by [the ethnic name of] its inhabitants.[46]

Other districts are named for the generals, high officials, or clients of the first Abbasid rulers who settled there with their followings. As al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī wrote:

> As for the streets of the city, they are named after the clients and generals of Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr].[47]

Al-Khaṭīb's topography takes pains to list the names of these men and, frequently, the services which they provided to the Abbasid caliphs and offices which they held.[48] In the image of Baghdad, its diverse inhabitants are united by their shared reward for service to the Abbasid caliphs and the revolution which brought the divinely ordained dynasty to power. Thus, accounts of the peopling of Baghdad make the city a symbolic representation of obedience to the caliph transforming the ethnic variety of Islamic world into a united whole, a symbol of Islam's claims as a universal religion uniting all peoples.

Kufa: A city for the Arabs

By contrast, Sayf presents Kufa as uniquely fit for the Arabs (*al-ʿarab*) and, at least in its idealised first instantiation, exclusively populated by them. This claim cannot be

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[44]   Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 84; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 44: كل درب ينسب إلى أهل بلد من البلدان ينزلونه في جنبتيه .

[45]   These places are in central Asia. Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 41–42; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 81.

[46]   Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 36; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 79.

[47]   Lassner, *Topography*, 72; al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 402.

[48]   Lassner, *Topography*, 66–84.

taken at face value, accepting the objective existence of an Arab race at the time of the Arab conquests. As Peter Webb has convincingly shown, 'Arab' was not a major term of identification attested in the pre-Islamic and conquest period and is thus unlikely to have been how the original settlers saw themselves. Rather, the name Arab came to be defined and widely utilised as a label for Arabic speakers with purportedly Arabian origins over the course of the eighth century. This, of course, was long after the foundation of Kufa but in the very period when Sayf was writing.[49] As has been comprehensively demonstrated for western Europe, racialising discourses were central to how medieval people understood society and constructed hierarchies within it, and the medieval Middle East was no different.[50] It seems, then, more productive to read Sayf's account's focus on the Arab nature of Kufan settlement as a product of Kufans from this later period both constructing the idea of an Arab race by writing it into history and simultaneously claiming prestige from a particular association of their city with this novel signifier for caliphal elites.

Firstly, Kufa is made out to be a city whose location was determined by its fitness for a uniquely Arab physiology. Sayf begins his account of the construction of Kufa with the arrival in Medina of messengers from the Iranian capital of Ctesiphon, bringing the news of the conquest of Iraq for Islam. The caliph, ʿUmar, is delighted but horrified at the sallow appearance of the messengers, writing to his commander:

> 'Tell me what has corrupted the Arabs' complexion and their flesh?' Saʿd wrote back, 'The unhealthy climate of Ctesiphon and the Tigris has left their flesh wasted and altered their complexion.'[51]

ʿUmar responds to this information by announcing, 'No land suits the Arabs except that which suits their camels', before instructing Saʿd to send scouts to find a fit location, adjoining both river and desert. This results in the foundation of Kufa in an ideal location for Arab health.[52] The implication seems to be that the existing Sasanian cities might be fine for Iranians but are physically corrupting for the Arabs who have conquered them. Such statements posit an essential Arab difference to other people, resulting in different environmental needs. The Arabs, in this view, thrive only in the arid, pastoral landscapes of the desert reaches from whence they came, naturalising the archetype of the Bedouin Arab.

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[49] Webb, *Imagining the Arabs.*

[50] Heng, *Invention of Race.* On the existence of race, constituted by the '[r]acial idioms, ideologies, narratives, categories, and systems of classification, and racialized ways of seeing, thinking, talking, and framing claims', without the objective existence of races, see Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 11. For a general overview of race in the Muslim middle east one still consults Lewis, *Race and Slavery.*

[51] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 41; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 63. Sayf quotes three different authorities on the disagreeableness of the climate of Ctesiphon for the Arabs, while al-Ṭabarī is aware of another such report not in Sayf's account, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 62–64.

[52] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 41; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 63. Two further passages make this association between land fit for camels and Arabs, one again quoted from Sayf, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 64–65.

Sayf's approach can be profitably contrasted with praises of Baghdad which show al-Manṣūr personally striving to find a wholesome location and contrast Baghdad's situation, and that of Iraq in general, to the supposedly pestilential climates of Syria and Egypt.[53] In the case of al-Manṣūr's choice of Baghdad, the requirements of human health appear as a universal which allows the establishment of a total hierarchy with Baghdad and Iraq at its zenith, the best of cities in the best of locations. The story of Kufa, by contrast, dismisses the Tigris region where Baghdad is situated as corrupting for the Arabs, and uses the idea of the sanitary city to argue not that Kufa is the ideal location per se, but rather an ideal location particularly for the Arabs. This, of course, ties into the idea that cities like Kufa and Basra were outposts at the extreme limit of an 'Arab land'. This discourse adds to the concept of the Arabs' homeland the idea that it was a land to which they were uniquely environmentally suited.

This notion of Kufa as a city for the Arabs is further developed in discussions of the first settlers of the city. Sayf's account only explicitly discusses Arabs settling in the city, as we see when he narrates the coming together of different branches of the Muslim armies in Iraq at Kufa. Despite some later Muslim scholars' discomfort with the recruitment of non-Muslims in Muslim armies, Arabic histories of the conquests did in fact remember the diversity of the conquest armies, notably the inclusion in the conquest armies of Christian tribesmen from the Arabian steppe, as well as Roman and Iranian defectors.[54] Yet Sayf tells us that when Saʿd and his main army left Ctesiphon to found Kufa, Saʿd instructed the Arab leaders of these mixed forces to leave their Iranian troops as garrisons for the pre-existing cities deeper in Sasanian territory, while the Arabs were recalled to Kufa. Thus:

> Saʿd wrote to al-Qaʿqāʿ Ibn ʿAmr saying, 'Leave Qubādh in charge of the troops at Jalūlāʾ, leading those who followed you and those Iranian troops who accompanied him.'[55]

Sayf's narrative had already noted that this branch of the army was made up of troops of Iranian or unknown origin (ḥamrāʾ or min afnāʾ al-nās). He had also previously made clear that this Qubādh – a classically Iranian name – was an Iranian convert from Khurasan and that al-Qaʿqāʿ had already settled these Iranians in the pre-existing city of Ḥulwān.[56] Likewise, Sayf tells us that:

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[53] Al-Ṭabarī, History, vol. 28, 242; al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, vol. 7, 616; al-Yaʿqūbī, Works, 69; al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 19.

[54] Al-Qāḍī, 'Non-Muslims in the Muslim conquest army'.

[55] Al-Ṭabarī, History, vol. 13, 65; al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, vol. 4, 42.

[56] Elsewhere, Sayf is quoted as saying, 'Al-Qaʿqāʿ Ibn ʿAmr set out to Khāniqīn in pursuit of the enemy army, leading troops of unknown origin and Iranians ... The Muslims took over Ḥulwān. Al-Qaʿqāʿ settled the Iranian troops there and put Qubādh in charge of them ... he deputised Qubādh, who was of Khurasanian origin, over the frontier', al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, iv, 34-5: خرج القعقاع بن عمرو في آثار القوم إلى خانقين في جند من أفناء الناس ومن الحمراء . . . استولى المسلمون على حلوان وأنزلها القعقاع الحمراء، وولّى عليهم قباذ . . . واستخلف قباذ على الثغر وكان اصله خراسانيا . See also al-Ṭabarī, History, vol. 13, 43, 53.

> Saʿd wrote to ʿAbdallah Ibn al-Muʿtamm saying, 'Over Mosul, leave in charge Muslim
> Ibn ʿAbd Allāh, who was taken captive at the battle of al-Qādisiyya, leading those
> Iranian cavalrymen [*asāwira*] who have responded to your call to embrace Islam,
> along with those Iranian cavalrymen who were [already] with you.'[57]

Again, Sayf is at pains to stress that another converted Iranian general, along with
the defected troops whom he led, were left behind by the Arab commander who
is recalled to settle Kufa. The point is summarised in another passage naming the
commanders who were summoned to Kufa. Each commander recalled has a full Arab
patronymic, whereas all the leaders they leave behind to garrison the frontier zones
(*thughūr*) are named Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (son of a slave of God), the patronymic typically
given to a non-Arab convert, and told to recruit as many Iranian cavalrymen as they
required.[58] Sayf is clearly setting up a paradigm of the non-Arab defectors garrisoned
in existing cities and the Arabs concentrated in Kufa. Thus, despite Sayf's narrative
recognising the diversity of the Muslim conquest armies in Iraq, his foundation story
of Kufa filters out the non-Arab presence in order to present the Kufan settlers as
ethnically homogenous Arabs.

This ideal of supposed Arab homogeneity is continued in the limited topographical
description of Kufa beyond the central square containing the mosque and governor's
residence. The city is entirely conceived of as districts allotted to particular Arab
tribes, bounded by major thoroughfares.

> To the east of the main square, Saʿd settled the Anṣār along one road, Tamīm and
> Muḥārib along another road, Asad and ʿĀmir along another road. To the west of the
> square he settled Bajāla and Bajla on one road ...[59]

The space of Sayf's Kufa is therefore organised around the Arab tribes which make
up its population. The arrival of newcomers from Arabia results in the reorganisation
of these tribal allotments, emphasising that the city was receptive to further Arab
settlement.[60] Yet Sayf never makes space in his account for non-Arabs from the
hinterland, whose migration must have been a feature of the city's early urban
history. The only implicit allowance Sayf makes for non-Arab settlement in Kufa is
his statement that the veterans of the major battles of the Iraqi campaigns (*aʿshār*)
had their own zone near to the mosque, before mentioning in passing several pages
later that the *aʿshār* included Iranians and Ethiopians.[61] However, and in contrast to
al-Balādhurī's much briefer account of the foundation of Kufa, the settlement of these

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[57] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 42; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 65.
[58] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 78.
[59] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 45; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 70.
[60] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 71.
[61] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 70–71, where he mentions that the 'tenths' (*aʿshār*) of the army were
settled in the mosque, and 76, where in the context of discussing the reorganisation of the tenths
into 'sevenths' he mentions that there were *ḥamrāʾ* and *aḥābīsh* among them.

non-Arab elements is never explicitly discussed, a sign of the tension their presence caused to his construction of Kufa as the Arab city par excellence.[62]

   Arguing for an ultimate genealogical connection between the innumerable kinship groups of the Arabian peninsula was one of the ways in which an Arab identity was constructed in the early Islamic period. By representing the city of Kufa integrating a multiplicity of tribes into an ordered urban space, collectively terming them the Arabs (*al-ʿarab*), Sayf makes the city an emblem of Arab unity, a concentrated urban microcosm of the Arabian peninsula which was being reconceived as the homeland for the newly-imagined Arab people. His vision settles just these Arabs in the new locus of Iraqi political authority, to the exclusion even of converted Iranians who had participated in the conquests. As such, he promotes a vision of an ideal, Arab-Muslim community in Iraq which would have stood in strong contrast to – and perhaps criticism of – his own day, when it was diverse troops from the Arab-Iranian melting pot of Khurāsān who monopolised the privileges of proximity to power in Baghdad.

Planning the city

The stories of the foundations of both Baghdad and Kufa detail the different forms of each city and provide an account of the process of choosing and achieving these forms. The circular form of the inner city of al-Manṣūr's Baghdad was widely commented on and various interpretations are provided for the origins and meaning behind the caliph constructing a city in this shape. It is far harder to provide a clear plan for the city of Kufa, on the other hand, yet Sayf's description of the process by which its landscape was produced invests the somewhat uncertain (for us) form of the city with clear political meaning.

Baghdad: Vision of the caliph

The idea that Baghdad symbolises the ideal of the unifying power of the caliph, the figure whose unimpeachable political authority unites the Islamic world, is borne out by the discussion of the plan of Baghdad. The city, so we are told, was laid out with geometrical precision. As was noted earlier, the most detailed surviving accounts of its form are provided by al-Yaʿqūbī in his *Buldān,* and Wakīʿ, whose description of the city is extensively quoted in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh al-Baghdād.*[63] The city consisted of suburbs arranged around a central palace-city enclosed by a double wall, circular in form, of a diameter of around either 1650 m or 2600 m, depending on how you read the account (Fig. 7.1).[64] Four sets of gates linked by a courtyard were evenly placed through these walls, at roughly cardinal points. From each of these gates, thoroughfares led through an identical series of arcades, narrow corridors, and

[62]   Contrast al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275.
[63]   Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 72–75. See the repeated returns to the account of Wakīʿ by al-Khaṭīb, quoted in Lassner, *Topography*, 51–56.
[64]   Northedge, 'Early Islamic urbanism', 164.
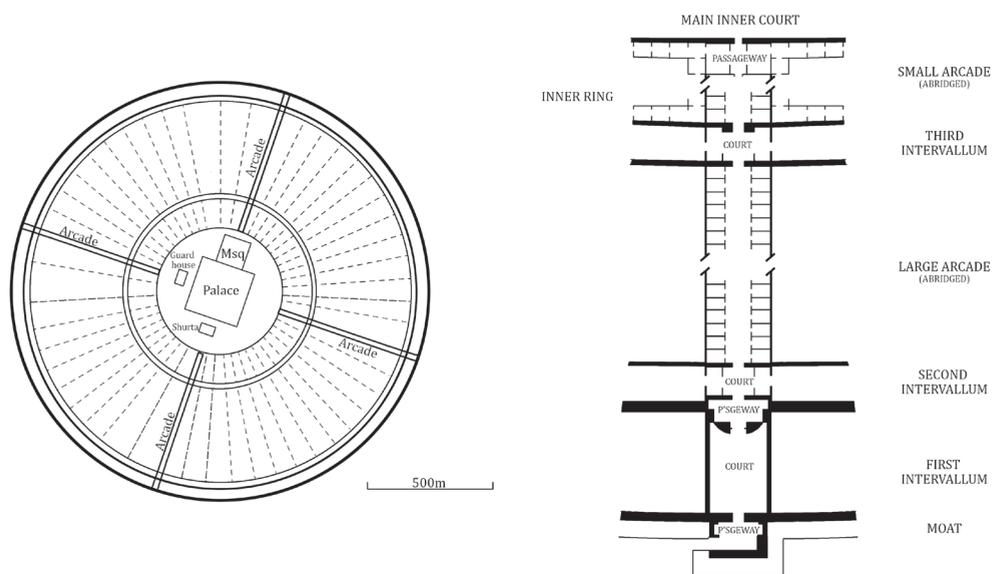
Figures 7.1 and 7.2. On the left, the plan of Baghdad, drawn by Javier Martínez Jiménez after Samarra Archaeological Survey plan, printed in Northedge, 'Early Islamic Urbanism', 164. On the right, a view of one of the thoroughfares, showing the entrance to the city at the bottom and the progression through a succession of corridors, squares and arcades to the inner court, drawn by Javier Martínez Jiménez after Lassner, Topography, *208.*

courts into a large, central space focused on the caliph's palace with an adjoining congregational mosque (Fig. 7.2). Wakīʿ and al-Yaʿqūbī's exceptional attention to detail, usually providing cubit measurements for each feature of these thoroughfares, from gate to central square, allow us to reconstruct the plan of Baghdad despite the lack of archaeological evidence for the city.

It is apparent that Baghdad was laid out as a precisely coordinated arrangement of buildings exhibiting an intense formality, including the typical features of formal monumentality noted by Michael Smith: 'axiality ... large, open plazas; symmetrical arrangement of buildings and walled areas of limited access with formal gates or entrances'.[65] The impression the city gave of being the perfect execution of a pre-ordained plan is conveyed by al-Jāḥiẓ's (d. *c.* 868) conclusion to his encomium on the city that 'it is as though it had been poured into a mould and cast'.[66]

This has led Baghdad to be recognised as an example of what Kostoff called 'diagram cities', cities 'planned at one time as a precise diagram of some presumed

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[65]   Smith, 'Form and meaning', 12.

[66]   Al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 387; Lassner, *Topography*, 56.

or promulgated order ... single-minded visions of some determined individual or institution about how the world should function ideally, under the supreme direction of that individual or institution'.[67] The Arabic sources frequently assert the caliph's direct control in realising the form of the city, telling us that:

> He marked the boundaries of the city and calculated the extent of its construction. With his own hand he set the first brick in place while saying the words 'In the name of God' and 'Praise God' and 'The earth belongs to God who makes heirs of it those of His servants whom He wishes, and the outcome is to the upright' [Q 7:128].[68]

In this passage, al-Manṣūr's individual control over and comprehension of the form of his city is fused with his claim, articulated through Qurʾānic quotation, to be the righteous, divinely appointed inheritor of the earth.

Such accounts stress that the city's peculiar form derived from the vision of the caliph himself:

> When al-Manṣūr determined to build the city, he summoned the engineers and those knowledgeable in construction, measuring, surveying, and land allotment, and he showed them the distinct pattern of the city which was in his mind.[69]

When he decided to develop the district of al-Karkh we are told that:

> Al-Manṣūr called for a broad cloth on which he set out the boundaries of the markets, arranging each type of market in its proper place.[70]

The most evocative passage on this theme has al-Manṣūr trace out the entire layout of the city in seeds doused in oil before igniting them, allowing the caliph to look upon an incendiary burning spectre of the city which would be built on these scorched foundations.[71] These accounts make the plan of the city the manifestation of the ruling intelligence of the caliph, a marvellous sign of the special knowledge the Abbasids claimed from their unique relationship to God.[72]

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[67] Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 162–163.

[68] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 241; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 7, 616.

[69] Al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 375; Lassner, *Topography*, 45: مثّل لهم صفتها التي في نفسه .

[70] Al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 391; Lassner, *Topography*, 61: حد فيه الأسواق ورتب كل صنف منها في موضعه .

[71] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 28, 245–246.

[72] On Abbasid claims to a special inheritance of Muhammad's religious knowledge and divine inspiration, which waxed and waned, being asserted most strongly under the first Abbasids, al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaḍid, see Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 130–133. The partial exception to these accounts' ascription of caliphal agency to the formation of the city is al-Yaʿqūbī's account, which does not place the same stress on the caliph's individual generation of the plan. For example, when we compare al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 24–25 with al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 375, we see clearly the same passage but with the crucial phrase 'he showed [the surveyors etc.] the distinct pattern of the city which was in his mind' missing from al-Yaʿqūbī's account, where it instead says that the surveyors etc. were assembled 'until he marked out his city which is known as Abū Jaʿfar's City'. Al-Yaʿqūbī credits also the experts who did the engineering and the astronomers who made the calculations,

Much speculation has gone into the symbolic meaning of the form of al-Manṣūr's circle city. At the highest level of cosmological or supernatural symbolism, Charles Wendell proposed that the circular form mirrored extant ideas about the form of the earth, following the argument of Mircea Eliade that 'every construction or fabrication has the cosmogony as paradigmatic model'.[73] In this reading, Baghdad was a city in the image of the world and the caliph's dominion over his city symbolised his rule over the whole earth. However, while it is possible to draw parallels between the form of Baghdad and Islamic cosmology, inherited from Sasanian, Indo-Iranian ideas, this interpretation of the city plan lacks affirmation in the Arabic sources, leaving such a projection of meaning speculative.[74] A second strand of interpretation of Baghdad's form is that al-Manṣūr was reviving the practice of the first Sasanian emperors, who in the third century AD built royal circle cities to mark the coming to power of their dynasty. In this reading, he was consciously framing his rule in an existing architectural language of imperial power and presenting himself as a successor to the Sasanian monarchs.[75]

Both readings are plausible. However, they neglect the explicit testimony about the circular form of the city. Firstly, al-Yaʿqūbī tells us that 'No round city is known in all the regions of the world except [Baghdad].'[76] As we have noted, al-Yaʿqūbī probably had a family connection to relatively intimate circles around al-Manṣūr and his court, and may thus be a reasonable guide to how they wanted the form of the city conceived. It is striking, then, that he recalled the circular form of the city not as inspired by an affinity with the Sasanian urban heritage, but rather as a feature marking Baghdad as an unparalleled urban model conceived by the caliph.

Secondly, Wakī, at the beginning of his detailed account of the topography of Baghdad, tells us that:

> Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] built the city in a circular form because a circular city has advantages over the square city, in that if the monarch were to be in the centre of the square city, some parts would be closer to him than others, while, regardless

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e.g. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 28–29. However, he still grants the caliph agency for realised form of the city, starting most of his descriptions with the phrase 'He [*i.e.* al-Manṣūr] made ...' (*jaʿala ...*).

[73] Wendell, 'Imago Mundi', 103. For different levels of symbolic meaning, see Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment*.

[74] For a brief account of Avestan cosmology see Maroufi, 'Urban planning', 8–9. Smith, 'Form and meaning', 30–34, emphasises, following Trigger and Rapoport, that empirical evidence does not bear out universal interpretations of ancient cities as cosmograms, and argues for the un-deductibility of cultural interpretations of city forms.

[75] For a recent discussion of one of these cities with related bibliography see Maroufi, 'Urban planning', though his conclusion that the Sasanian choice to build radial cities was primarily practical seems indebted to the conclusions of Smith, 'Form and meaning', 37–39, rather than based on the evidence, given that radial plans are impractical and cannot organically develop, in contrast to the orthogonal plans which Smith discusses.

[76] Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 25; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 71–72. Repeated by al-Khaṭīb at Lassner, *Topography*, 46; al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 375.

of the divisions, the sections of the Round City are equidistant from him when he is in the center.[77]

It is possible, of course, that there were other symbolic meanings which the caliph al-Manṣūr and his advisors intended when designing Baghdad. However, this was how the Arabic historical tradition interpreted the plan. Just as it was Baghdad that had brought together the various peoples of the caliphate in one space, its circular design was remembered as affirming their equality as subjects by placing them all in a comparable spatial relationship to the ruler: they were all to be equally close to, and equally distanced from, the leader of the community in his central palace. Therefore, the layout emphasises the universalist vision of Islam propagated by the Abbasids, in which believers of all stripes were united, without special preference, by the caliphs' city. In doing so, of course, it emphasised the caliph's centrality to Islam, made him the pole around which the equality of believers could be established, implicitly claiming that status within Islam derived from one's relationship to the caliph.

Kufa: City of Sunna

Accounts of Kufa have given scholars far greater difficulty in reconstructing the original city layout, compared with the exact measurements and emphasis on symmetry in foundation stories about Baghdad. Nevertheless, it is universally agreed that Kufa was centred on its congregational mosque, which was adjoined by the governmental palace, standing in a large court. From here, however, descriptions of the city leave sufficient interpretative space for considerable disagreement over its layout, exemplified by the alternative plans proposed by Massignon and Janabi (Figs. 7.3 and 7.4).

Sayf's topography discusses a series of broad thoroughfares (*manhaj*s) running out from the central court, five to the north, four to the south and three each to the east and west. Smaller roads are said to run parallel to them (*tuḥādhī hādhihi [-l-manāhij]*), some then joining the main thoroughfares (*tulāqīhā*) and some not (*tatbaʿuhā*), with dwellings situated between these roads.[78] We are told that ʿUmar had given instructions that the main thoroughfares be 40 cubits (*c.* 22–26 m) in width, with those next to them (*mā yalīhā*) 30 cubits, yet smaller roads between these (*mā bayna dhālika*) of 20 cubits, alleys (*aziqqa*) of 7 cubits and plots of land (*qaṭāʾiʿ*) of 60 cubits, giving an impression of hierarchies of street types indicated through width, along which were arranged regular-sized allotments.[79]

The supposed presence or absence of urban planning and orthogonal street alignment in Islamic cities became one of the means by which some orientalists dismissed the 'civilisation' of the Arab-Islamic world, at times reductively equating civilisation with a particular type of urban landscape ordered by the

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[77]   Lassner, *Topography*, 52; al-Khaṭīb, *Baghdād*, vol. 1, 382.
[78]   Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 70; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 45.
[79]   Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 68; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 44.
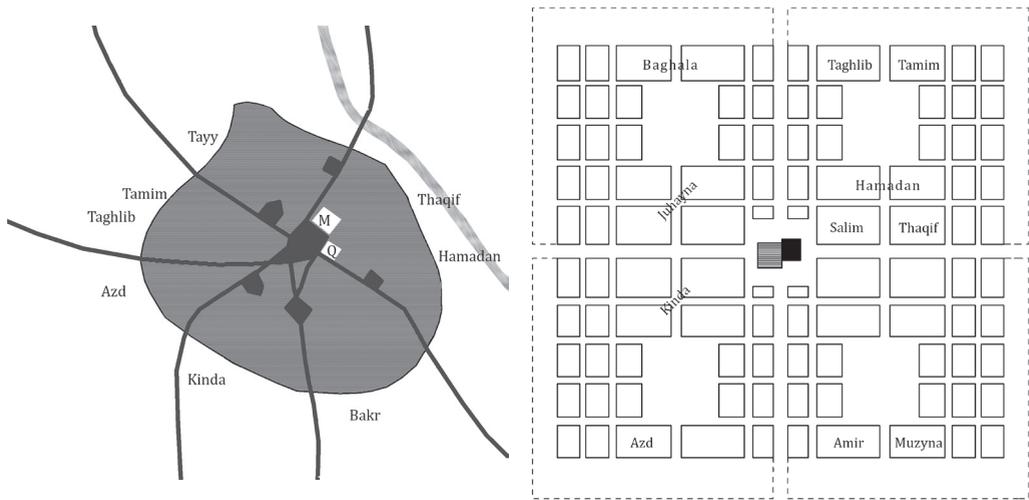
Figures 7.3 and 7.4. Different plans of Kufa after those produced by Massignon (left) and al-Janabi, both redrawn by Javier Martínez Jiménez from alSayyad, Cities and Caliphs*, figs. 3.6 and 3.7.*

right angle, supposedly derived from the classical city.[80] Some quasi-urban early Islamic foundations clearly demonstrate later caliphs' capability for developing settlements on a strict orthogonal model.[81] In the case of Kufa, however, Sayf's reference to dissimilar numbers of main thoroughfares leading from the different sides of the central square, and to near parallel streets only sometimes intersecting these thoroughfares, suggests rather a loosely radial arrangement. Nevertheless, without further archaeological work at Kufa it will be difficult to determine the accuracy of Sayf's description and perhaps clarify its ambiguities. For the purposes of this chapter, however, it is sufficient to say that if Kufa was in fact originally laid out on a regular, geometrically precise plan, one would have to strain to understand that from the sources. Therefore, at the very least, Sayf did not see fit to emphasise a geometric plan in the way that Wakīʿ would later do when describing Baghdad.

Instead, Sayf places his stress not on the particular form of the city, but the process through which it was achieved. Whereas Baghdad would be memorialised as a city whose form was an exact realisation of the caliph's divinely-accredited vision,

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80 On the association of civilisation with orthogonal plans, see Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 14, who considers that 'the straight line and the right angle ... are the marks which sunder even the simplest civilization from barbarism'. On orientalist views of the city, see Radoine, 'Planning paradigm', 530–532, who proposes alternative notions of planning to the geometrical as more productive. Reacting against the orientalist trend, though perhaps accepting some of its premises, Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, argued that Kufa, the birth of the Islamic city, was in fact a planned city with a premeditated order.

81 Most spectacularly the site of ʿAnjar in Lebanon, see Finster, 'Researches in ʿAnjar', 211, for a plan.

Sayf's account of Kufa's foundation proposes a quite different vision of the role of the caliph's authority in the production of the urban landscape. Sayf still imagines the caliph ʿUmar's close involvement in the development of the city, emphasising that the settlers consulted the caliph via messenger regarding the location of the city, where they should pasture their animals, the building materials they should use and the widths of different types of street, among other aspects of the city.[82] However, rather than himself dictating the form and fabric of the urban environment, like al-Manṣūr, he avoids imposing his own personal preferences or opinions on his subjects. For example, he is not presented as ordering the construction of the urban fabric, as al-Manṣūr is, but is rather consulted by his subjects on what kind of building material is appropriate for their city, in which process he considers their wishes rather than just proclaiming his instruction:

> Then the people of al-Kufah asked permission to use reeds as building material ... ʿUmar said, 'Living in an army camp [*i.e.* tents] is easier for you to mount your military operations from and is more convenient, but I do not like to disagree with you.'[83]

When ʿUmar does impose restrictions on the Kufans, he justifies this on the basis of his knowledge of the body of precedents set by Muḥammad through his instructions and his actions, known by its technical term as the *sunna*. Thus, in contrast to al-Manṣūr, who we saw specifying the construction and position of different types of market at al-Karkh, ʿUmar rules that a common market space at the centre of Kufa should be usable by all. The first to arrive should have the use of any available place, a principle which he justifies by analogy to the precedent which applied to the allocation of prayer places in the mosque (*sunnat al-masjid*).[84] Again, when ʿUmar accedes to the settlers' desire to build houses in brick, he tells them:

> Do so, but let none of you have more than three structures and do not compete in raising high buildings [*lā taṭāwalū fī l-bunyān*]. Stick to the *sunna* and fortune will favour you. The delegation returned to Kufa with these instructions.[85]

In this instance, ʿUmar's instruction to avoid prideful construction of tall structures implicitly references a saying of Muhammad which states that one of signs of corruption portending the apocalypse would be 'when herders of black camels compete in raising high buildings' (*taṭāwal ... fī-l-bunyān*).[86] Sayf, therefore, presents the development of the city as a negotiation between the requests of the settlers and the

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[82] For ʿUmar's advice on the location of Kufa, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 65; how they should pasture their animals and when they should be paid their stipends, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 66; appropriate building materials, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 67–68; and the correct width for roads and side streets, al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 68.

[83] Al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 67; al-Ṭabarī, *Tàrīkh*, vol. 4, 43: ما أحبّ أن أخالفكم .

[84] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 45–46; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 71.

[85] Al-Ṭabarī, *Tàrīkh*, vol. 4, 44; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 68: لا تطاولوا في البنيان والزموا السنة.

[86] See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 33: إذا تطاول رعاء الإبل البهم في البنيان .

restrictions which the caliph imposes on the basis of his knowledge of Muhammad's teachings and practices.[87]

The same account stresses the comprehensive oversight of the caliph in these exchanges, telling us that when relaying news of the settlement to the caliph, 'They would not omit anything, nor would they undertake something without consulting him about it'.[88] This notion matches proto-Sunni Islamic legal ideas being articulated in the second half of the eighth century, which argued that knowledge of proper Islamic practice was accurately transplanted to the garrison cities at the dawn of Islam through the migration of Muhammad's companions who had themselves witnessed Muhammad's *sunna*, like the founder of Kufa, Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, combined with the perfect oversight of the early caliphs who had been his most upright and close companions, in this instance ʿUmar.[89] In Sayf's presentation, ʿUmar's authority as caliph is rooted in (and limited by) his being an unimpeachable transmitter of revealed knowledge from Muhammad. This is a vision of politico-religious authority which contradicted Abbasid claims to a special caliphal relationship to God, and which was of obvious appeal to the scholars of religious tradition (*muḥaddithūn*) who staked their own authority on their assiduous transmission of Muhammad's teachings.[90] Kufa, then, is presented by Sayf as an ideal city because it embodied this proto-Sunni model of the process of correctly functioning Islamic political and religious authority. It is not an emblem of the Abbasid caliphs' divinely guided will, like Baghdad, but rather of the will of the Muslim community properly regulated by the precedents of Muḥammad, a city of *sunna*.

The contrast is drawn neatly by the way in which each city foundation-story asserts the egalitarian Islamic principle of the equality of the believers. In Baghdad, we saw that this was established by ensuring that each district stood in an equal relationship to the caliph's palace. In Kufa, as we see in the above quotation, it was established by ʿUmar's ruling to restrict the extent and height of the settlers' houses, so that no-one could assert their wealth and status through the construction of a lofty mansion. It is shared adherence to the restrictions of Islamic legal rulings which brings about the ideal of the equality of the Muslims of Kufa, rather than a shared relationship to the caliph.

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[87] AlSayyad, 'Arab caliphs and western observers', argues that this story reflects an essentially anti-urban perspective of ʿUmar and the early caliphs, perhaps even 'pure Islam'. I would argue that this positivistic reading of the sources overestimates their ability to tell us about the reasons behind events and the caliphs' true beliefs and motivations, as opposed to the articulation of different ideas within the later community.

[88] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, vol. 4, 44; al-Ṭabarī, *History*, vol. 13, 67: كانوا لا يدعون شيئا ولا يأتونه إلا وآمروه فيه .

[89] El Shamsy, *Canonization of Islamic Law*, 94–96.

[90] On the *ḥadīth*-party's rejection of special caliphal claims to knowledge see Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*, 127–128.

Conclusions

This chapter has proposed that thinking more rigorously about the production of the Arabic literary depictions of the first Islamic cities opens up new, constructive perspectives on these accounts. Moving beyond positivist readings, by drawing on developments in Arabic historiography we can see how these accounts, like much early Islamic historical discourse, were bound up in articulating later normative ideals. This approach involves recognising the limits of what these accounts can tell us about what really happened. In the case of Kufa, at least, the disparity between the archaeological record and Sayf's account makes clear that an at least partially discontinuous gulf of memory and retelling separates the event of its foundation from our narrative record of it. As such, we must be wary of Sayf's anachronistic use of eighth-century concepts such as the 'Arabs' and the *sunna* as explanatory devices in his narrative of the seventh century. As regards Sayf's focus on the Arabs (*al-ʿarab*) as protagonists in his narrative, there is little reason to doubt that most of the settlers of Kufa came from Arabia and were settled in districts named for major tribes. Yet his emphasis on Kufa as a homogenous Arab settlement, located at a site peculiarly suited to Arab health, and at the furthest reach of an Arab land, does not reflect the categories we see used in contemporary seventh-century sources. Such characterisations are more likely the product of discourses of Arab identity-construction in the eighth-century garrison towns than a real insight into how the settlers conceived of themselves. Likewise, the notion that the city's form was established in close correspondence with the rulings of the caliph ʿUmar probably simplifies a long, complex process of urban development from army camp to city. Again, Sayf's model tells us far more about his proto-Sunni ideal of the caliph's role in responding to the needs of the community and regulating it according to the *sunna* of Muhammad than it does about decision-making in the development of the early Islamic urban landscape.

Ultimately, the account of Kufa should be understood as Sayf's peculiar vision of the foundation of the city, albeit based on the narratives in circulation in Kufa in the late Umayyad period. Sayf, as a committed ʿUthmānī and apologist for the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya, seems unlikely to have had any great love for the Abbasids. It has even been suggested that the Abbasid revolutionary movement was the inspiration for his depiction of the heretical underground conspiracy which caused the first Islamic civil war, not a flattering comparison for the Abbasids.[91] The preceding analysis suggests that his account of the origins of Kufa was tailored to invert critically the ideology behind the new Abbasid capital of Baghdad, which functions as an unspoken referent in his account. Whereas encomiasts of Baghdad trumpeted its centrality to a world-vision derived from Iranian cosmography, Sayf's Kufa is tied to a nostalgic vision of an Islamic world still focused on Arabia and the spiritual centre of the prophet's city of Medina. Likewise, while narratives of Baghdad symbolise the universal reach of Islam

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[91]   Anthony, *Caliph and the Heretic*, 101.

through its cosmopolitanism and celebrate the Iranian and central Asian elements of the Abbasid constituency, Sayf contrastingly constructs conquest-era Kufa as a quintessentially Arab city, with converted Iranians settled elsewhere, distant from the seat of governmental authority. The differing layouts (and laying out) of the cities are also used to articulate alternative political ideals. The monumental formality of Baghdad is represented as a total instantiation of the unique vision of the divinely-assisted al-Manṣūr, a vision which emphasises the caliph's centrality to the Muslim community even as it distances him from it. Sayf's presentation of Kufa, by contrast, envisages the production of Islamic space through a negotiation between the will of the community and the caliph ʿUmar's regulations, which are justified through his knowledge of the practice of Muhammad rather than any innate inspiration. There is an egalitarian aspect to this ideal, which imagines restrictions on the size and height of properties to bar prideful displays of status and insists on the accessibility of the political authorities to the early Muslim community of Arab conquerors.

It is sometimes said that the layout of Baghdad was inspired by the early garrison cities, particularly Kufa.[92] However, with its carefully planned geometric form, four gates leading to major avenues meeting in the centre, fortified exterior and role as a settlement for the military following and clients of a prince, it might be more accurate to see it as a super-sized development of the tradition of late Umayyad quasi-urban palaces, adding to them the administrative functions of a fixed capital.[93] These grand examples of royal patronage used the characteristic symbols of late antique cities – fortified walls, monumental gates and colonnaded streets – to convey the urban aesthetic of a late antique imperial capital.[94] These features were all present at al-Manṣūr's Baghdad, yet absent from cities like Kufa. We lack in-depth textual discussions of sites like ʿAnjar and have to try to infer their cultural meanings from their physical form. If we accept the continuity between them and the new site of Baghdad, however, we might infer that the ideals which were projected onto al-Manṣūr's production of this new palace city were similar to those associated with the late Umayyad sites which had prefigured it. And, conversely, it is possible that Sayf's account of the foundation of Kufa articulate something of the counter-ideals of urbanism which were developing in the non-imperial Muslim cities of the late Umayyad and early Abbasid periods: more egalitarian, civilian visions centred not on political authority, networks of clientage, and lavish construction, but on the community, its space of congregation, and its self-constitution through common adherence to the *sunna* of Muhammad.

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[92]   For example Northedge, 'Early Islamic urbanism', 163.

[93]   On these, considered by Northedge to include ʿAnjar, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī, Madīnat al-Fār, ʿAqaba, and the ʿAmmān citadel, see Northedge, 'Early Islamic urbanism', 159–163.

[94]   Leal, ''Anjar: An Umayyad image of urbanism', 180, 186. The idea of Baghdad as 'a governmental complex that retained some of the outward features of an integrated city' – much as Leal describes for ʿAnjar – was already touched upon by Lassner, *Topography*, 143.

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Chapter 8

The grid enframed: Mapping the enframings of the North American grid

Reuben Rose-Redwood

Introduction

The grid has played a foundational role in the spatial organisation of cities, towns, rural communities and the national territory of the United States as a settler-colonial society.[1] Consequently, scholars from a wide range of fields have examined the North American grid through different disciplinary lenses. Few studies, however, have critically analysed the interpretative framing devices employed by contrasting discourses on the grid. This is perhaps to be expected, since 'however assertively they exert themselves, frames all too easily lend themselves to overlooking ... Yet frames are indissociable from the objects that they surround, supporting particular modes of visual response'.[2] The 'grid' is itself a framing device par excellence, both as an epistemological technique of spatial ordering and as a material framework that constitutes the inhabited spaces of everyday life.

In this chapter, I consider how the North American grid has largely been framed in three discursive registers – the political, the economic and the cultural – over the course of the past century. These discursive frames have themselves overlaid a 'grid' of interpretation upon the gridded spaces of the North American landscape. The current chapter contends that, although the grid is not reducible to a singular interpretative essence, successive generations of scholars and commentators have nevertheless read their own dreams, desires and anxieties into the grid as a means of both grounding and destabilising one of the spatial foundations of modern life in the United States.

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[1]   Reps, *The Making of Urban America*.
[2]   Platt and Squire, 'Framing the visual in Greek and Roman antiquity', 3.

Enframing the grid

With a seemingly ubiquitous presence across the United States, the grid has served as a spatial device for *enframing* the landscape as a space of geometrical order and calculative rationality. Given the grid's ubiquity, it is hardly surprising that countless scholars and public commentators have sought to make sense of the grid – and thus render it legible – over the years.[3] My aim here, by contrast, is not to add yet another explanation of the grid to the stockpile of existing interpretations. Rather, I'd like to begin with a different premise as my starting point, which is that efforts to explain the function, meaning or significance of the grid are themselves part of the *enframing of the grid*, and that the act of enframing the grid tells us more about those doing the enframing than it does about the grid itself (Fig. 8.1).

The process of enframing involves what Heidegger calls a 'gathering together' of the world 'to reveal the real' in a particular 'mode of ordering'.[4] The enframing of the grid as part of the historical and contemporary geographies of the United States has generally revolved around several key interpretive nodal points that collectively form the baseline axes of a hermeneutics of the grid. Such acts of enframing have produced a number of discursive 'grids' through which the material spaces of the grid-as-plan, and gridding as a mode of spatial ordering, have come to appear as intelligible objects of historico-geographical knowledge. As noted above, these interpretative grids are framed around three primary axes – the political, the economic and the cultural – that have served as distinct, yet by no means mutually exclusive, registers employed to enframe the grid. Some discursive framings of the grid are clearly positioned along one of these interpretive axes more so than the others and we might say that such accounts present a one-dimensional enframing of the grid. In other cases, however, discourses on the grid are situated at the intersections of two or more axes, thereby producing a more multi-dimensional frame to account for the grid as a political-economic-cultural formation.

Within each discursive register of enframing the grid, there have certainly been interpretive disagreements

Figure 8.1. The grid enframed (R. Rose-Redwood).

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[3]   For an overview of scholarship on the grid in world history, see Rose-Redwood and Bigon, *Gridded Worlds*. Also, see Rose-Redwood, 'Genealogies of the grid'.

[4]   Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology*, 20.

and intellectual disputes, yet these have often coalesced around a relatively limited set of issues, or nodal points, that demarcate the boundaries of what I refer to here as 'the grid enframed'. In the U.S. context, these nodal points have typically involved enframings of the grid as a territorial manifestation of U.S. democracy (political), an instrument of modern capitalism (economic) or an embodiment of aesthetic values (cultural). I shall explore each of these modes of enframing the grid – as well as various countervailing viewpoints within each frame – in more depth in what follows, but first I would like to highlight a few observations about the enframing process more generally.

First, most enframings of the grid are grounded in both a set of truth-claims and normative judgements that are based upon a combination of historical evidence, theoretical predispositions, contemporary observations and/or personal experiences. These combinations vary across disciplines, as different theoretical and methodological traditions of scholarship are valued differentially among the various social sciences and humanities – from the historian's deep dive into the archives and the social scientist's penchant for abstract theorising to the artist's and architect's appreciation for the potential and limits of visuality and spatial form.

Second, the enframing process generally involves the repetitious articulation and citation of specific claims and narrative devices. This often occurs when a set of quotations from a primary or secondary source become the 'go-to' reference to explain the meaning or function of a given city plan or settlement pattern. Over time, such a citational practice may become a ritualised norm that goes largely unquestioned by subsequent scholars and commentators.[5] These ritualised citational performances play a major role in the reproduction of particular enframings of the grid, serving as what Michel Callon calls an 'obligatory passage point' of scholarly inquiry, which may have the effect of foreclosing other potential avenues of interpreting the grid.[6]

Third, and most importantly, to reiterate one of the central claims of this chapter, the act of enframing the grid tells us more about those doing the enframing than it does about the grid itself. This is admittedly a rather provocative assertion, but if this claim has at least some merit, it raises a series of related questions, such as: What 'mode of ordering' informs the enframing of the grid? Who is doing the enframing, through what citational networks, and to what effect? How and why have different enframings of the grid emerged at specific historical moments and in particular geographical locations? How have such enframings circulated within and across disciplinary and geographical boundaries, and what work do they perform in enacting and legitimating particular spatial imaginaries and interventions in the present?

There have typically been several distinct 'moments' of enframing the grid during the modern period. The first moment of the enframing process occurs when a grid plan is initially proposed or adopted, and the planners offer a rationale or justification

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[5]   Rose-Redwood, 'Mythologies of the grid in the Empire City'.
[6]   Callon, 'Some elements of a sociology of translation'.

for their planning decisions. This official enframing of the grid often has a prized place within the rituals of historical narration among subsequent generations of scholars who privilege the initial intentions behind adopting the grid as a spatial plan. The second moment of enframing the grid arises when the early proponents and opponents of a city plan react to its adoption and implementation in the pages of newspapers, magazines and the first wave of scholarly accounts. Once the grid becomes the taken-for-granted spatial framework of everyday life, it is then enframed as part of the *history* of a city or country – or global history more broadly – by different generations of scholars in subsequent moments. In these later historical moments, scholars and commentators respond not only to the historical record but also to prior enframings of the grid that have become hegemonic in the scholarly literature and popular imagination, whilst reacting to the contemporary contexts and audiences to which they speak. The enframing of the grid is therefore a multi-layered process. In the remainder of this chapter, I consider a number of the key ways in which the grid has been enframed in political, economic and cultural terms over the past century in the United States.

The North American grid, politically enframed

Politically enframed, the grid is generally portrayed as either a spatial expression of democracy and egalitarianism *or* an instrument of centralised political control. In the United States, the grid is not only a city plan but also a national territorial framework in the form of the U.S. Rectangular Survey System, which provided a gridded frame to facilitate the westward expansion of settler colonialism. Put simply, the grid is a significant part of the national story of state-building and 'the making of the American landscape',[7] which is why many political enframings of the grid in the U.S. underscore its contributions to the rise of U.S. democracy.

An examplar of the grid-as-democratic frame can be found in architectural historian Steven Hurtt's essay, 'The American continental grid: form and meaning', published in 1983.[8] Hurtt defends the grid against its critics and insists that '[i]t deserves all the symbolic accord given to other ideal urban forms' because the grid is 'a diagram of the American political experiment'.[9] Taking his inspiration from the writings of John Kouwenhoven, Hurtt draws a direct connection between the grid and the foundational principles of the United States. 'At a general level', he observes, 'parallels and comparisons between the Continental grid and the Constitution are difficult to resist. It was, after all, the same body and often the same men who called both the Continental township grid and the U.S. Constitution into being'. From this viewpoint, there is something fundamentally 'common to the grid and the U.S.

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7   Conzen, *The Making of the American Landscape*.
8   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid'.
9   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid', 37.

Constitution', since both provide 'an overall framework, a structure that unifies but allows for a maximum of individual improvisation, innovation, and independence'.[10]

According to such a political reading, the 'equal lines' of the North American grid are egalitarian and non-hierarchical, thus any '[h]ierarchies perceived within the grid are the result of particulars of location and use, not of the formal order itself'.[11] The grid, Hurtt argues, is a spatial manifestation of the U.S. political ideal of 'liberty and its expression in freedom of movement and assembly', because it is 'an open, infinite system emphasizing the equality of its subdivisions and unimpeded movement along its streets'.[12] He elaborated further upon this argument in a speech delivered at the Library of Congress a decade later, noting that the grid is a 'historical symbol of the ideal form of settlement for our nation, a diagram of the social contract, a spatial manifestation of equality before the law, a framework for democracy, a symbol of the open society, freedom of movement and the right to assemble'.[13] Framed in these terms, the grid is taken to be the geographical embodiment of the political virtues of the United States. Or, as Hurtt puts it,

> the continental grid is...a particular invention of the American spirit and resonates still as an institutionalization of America's particular brand of social, political, and spatial ideals. As both a matrix for the realization of those ideals and a symbol of the 'American Way', maybe the grid 'ain't so bad after all'.[14]

This conception of the grid as a hallmark of democracy is, in many respects, the default political enframing of the grid in popular accounts of U.S. history.[15]

Yet the democratic frame is by no means the only interpretative device for enframing the grid politically. When viewed from a global perspective, there is considerable evidence indicating that the grid has served the interests of both democratic and authoritarian political regimes throughout history.[16] As planning historian and theorist Jill Grant observes, '[t]he history of the grid shows that it occurs in a variety of urbanising situations. We find it linked to tyranny and monarchy as well as to democracy...the lessons of history offer no simple correlation between the grid and equality'.[17] Similarly, in his influential study, *The City Shaped* (1991), architectural historian Spiro Kostof maintains that 'egalitarianism is no more natural to gridded patterns than to any other urban form' and that those who argue otherwise ignore 'the extensive use of the grid by absolutist powers'.[18] While both Grant and Kostof acknowledge that the grid has been used in democratic polities, they contend

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[10]   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid', 37.
[11]   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid', 33.
[12]   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid', 34.
[13]   Hurtt, 'Grand plan, monument, grid'.
[14]   Hurtt, 'The American continental grid', 40.
[15]   Also, see Hubbard Jr., *American Boundaries*, xi–xii; White, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*, 11.
[16]   Kostof, *The City Shaped*; Grant, 'The dark side of the grid'.
[17]   Grant, 'The dark side of the grid', 220.
[18]   Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 99–100.

that the grid has more commonly been associated with, as Grant puts it, 'societies that concentrate power and wealth by centralizing authority or even globalizing authority'.[19]

   This line of thought has informed a different enframing of the grid as a political technology of state power. Although the grid-as-state-power frame has a long history, its popularity in recent years has, in large part, been inspired by anthropologist James Scott's account of the grid as a governmental device of spatial legibility in his widely-read book, *Seeing Like a State* (1998).[20] Scott argues that modern forms of statecraft have come to depend upon the imposition of a 'standard grid' through which the objects of government can be 'centrally recorded and monitored' in order to make them 'more legible – and hence manipulable – from above and from the center'.[21] The question is less whether the grid is democratic or absolutist but rather how it has facilitated what governmentality theorists refer to as 'government at a distance'.[22] Seen in this light, the U.S. continental grid was a mechanism by which the governing authorities in the nation's capital sought to impose a legible 'order upon the land' in order to enhance their own governing capacities.[23] 'From an administrator's vantage point', Scott argues, '[the grid] offers a quick appreciation of the ensemble, since the entirety is made up of straight lines, right angles, and repetitions'.[24] By politically enframing the grid in these terms, the grid comes to appear as a political technology that enables a 'synoptic grasp of the ensemble' of population and territory and, as such, is conceived as integral to the rise of the modern state and the consolidation of state power.[25]

The North American grid, economically enframed

In addition to the various political readings of the grid in the U.S. context, the grid has also been economically enframed in a number of distinct ways. In world-comparative perspective, it is well established that the grid plan has been associated with a variety of economic systems throughout history – including both capitalist and collectivist economies. In the U.S., economic discourses on the grid have primarily been framed around its role as a spatial framework for the establishment of private property relations, cadastral mapping, the commodification of land and facilitating the circulation of capital.[26] Among its critics, the grid has been portrayed as a crass instrument of capitalist commodification and real estate speculation, whereas those

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[19]   Grant, 'The dark side of the grid', 220–221.
[20]   Also, see Rose-Redwood and Bigon, 'Gridded spaces, gridded worlds'; Aristotle, *Politics*; Mazza, 'Plan and constitution'.
[21]   Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 2.
[22]   Miller and Rose, 'Governing economic life', 9. Also, see Dean, *Governmentality*, 198.
[23]   The phrase 'order upon the land' comes from Johnson, *Order Upon the Land*.
[24]   Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 56.
[25]   Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 59.
[26]   Blomley, 'Law, property, and the geography of violence: The frontier, the survey, and the grid'.

scholars who hold a more favorable view toward capitalism have emphasised the grid's utility in maximising urban land values.

One of the most impassioned economic critiques of the urban grid plan was articulated by twentieth-century urbanist Lewis Mumford in his classic book, *The City in History* (1961). In a widely cited passage, Mumford argues that the grid plan:

> fitted nothing but a quick parcelling of the land, a quick conversion of farmsteads into real estate, and a quick sale. The very absence of more specific adaptations to landscape or to human purpose only increased ... its general usefulness for exchange. Urban land, too, now became a mere commodity, like labor: its market value expressed its only value.[27]

Here and elsewhere, Mumford laments the privileging of economic utility as the singular value underpinning the use of the grid as city plan. The grid of nineteenth-century North American urbanism, he observes, was symptomatic of 'a new kind of urban order, in which business took precedence over every other kind of activity'.[28] This new urban order of modern capitalist society was based upon what Mumford calls 'the progressive intensification of land use'.[29] The standardisation of real estate economies through grid-based planning played a pivotal role in this process, leading Mumford to describe the 'extension of the speculative gridiron' in cities and towns across North America as one of the 'main activities that gave dominance to capitalist forms in the growing cities of the nineteenth century'.[30]

As an outspoken critic of economic justifications for the grid plan, Mumford nevertheless acknowledges that, from the standpoint of both the real estate developer and city engineer, the grid simplified the process of urban development. 'With a T-square and a triangle', he wryly remarks, 'the municipal engineer could, without the slightest training as either an architect or a sociologist, "plan" a metropolis'.[31] Mumford concedes that the legibility of such a standardised system of urban spatial organisation could therefore be seen as a 'virtue' from a strictly 'business point of view'. As he explains, '[o]n strictly commercial principles, the gridiron plan answered, as no other plans did, the shifting values, the accelerated expansion, the multiplying population, required by the capitalist regime'.[32] Yet the planning of cities involves the consideration of much more than 'commercial principles' alone. What is needed, according to Mumford, is a recognition that planning must necessarily be 'a comprehensive process, involving the interplay of many needs, purposes, and functions'.[33]

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[27]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 422.
[28]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 423.
[29]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 422.
[30]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 425.
[31]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 422.
[32]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 422–424.
[33]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 424.
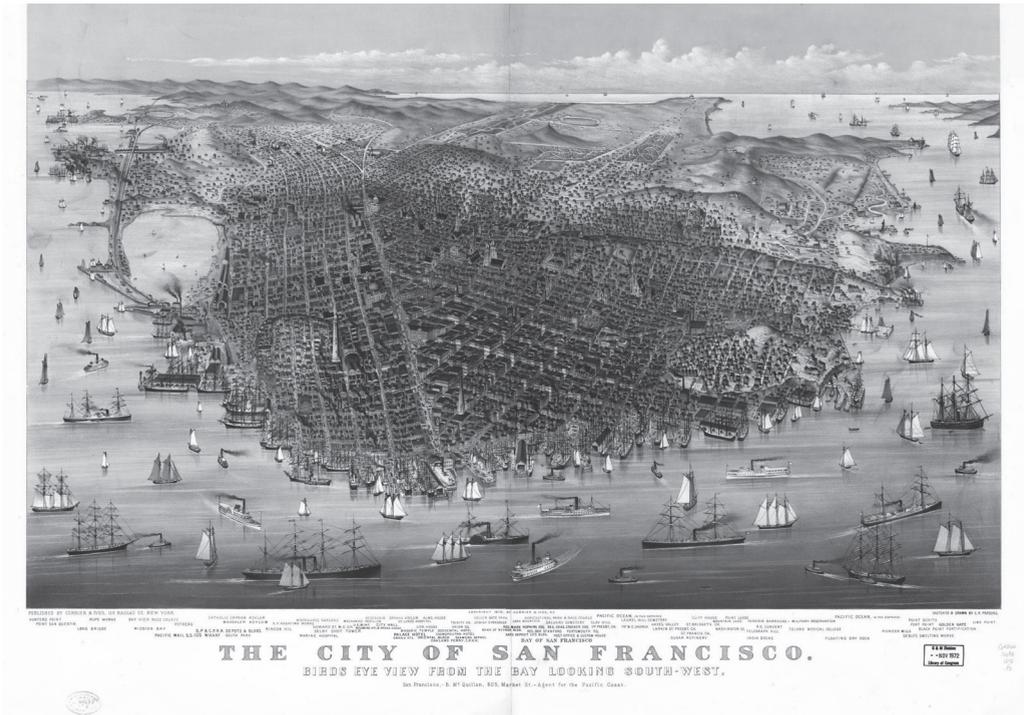
Figure 8.2. Bird's eye view of the San Francisco grid plan, c. 1878 (courtesy of the Library of Congress).

Moreover, Mumford maintains that, despite its supposed economic advantages, the grid plan often falls short in economic terms as well. The economic costs of the grid are particularly evident in cases where it is imposed upon rugged terrain without any regard for a city's topography. Mumford takes the case of San Francisco as a classic illustration of the grid's economic inefficiency (Fig. 8.2). 'On steep hilly sites, like that of San Francisco', he notes, 'the rectangular plan, by failing to respect the contours, placed a constant tax upon the time and energy of the inhabitants, and inflicting on them daily economic losses, measurable in tons of coal and gallons of gasoline wasted' (Fig. 8.3).[34] Even on relatively flat terrain, Mumford argues that the grid plan does not take into account the varying spatial requirements of different land uses, instead viewing all land parcels – whether they be residential, commercial or industrial – as equal despite the different economic circumstances and infrastructural needs throughout a city. All of this leads Mumford to conclude that the urban grid plans of nineteenth-century America were 'spectacular in their inefficiency and waste'.[35]

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[34]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 423.
[35]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 423.

Figure 8.3. The absurdity of the grid on rugged terrain at Nob Hill, San Francisco (photo by Dave Glass).

While scholars such as Mumford have indicted the grid for its role in reducing urban planning to an economic concern alone, others have embraced this plan for its economic reductionism. This latter viewpoint is most clearly expressed in legal scholar Robert Ellickson's essay, 'The law and economics of street layouts: how a grid pattern benefits a downtown'.[36] In stark contrast to Mumford, Ellickson argues that the grid plan has the effect of 'minimizing waste of scarce downtown land' and contends that the increase of property values should be the planner's chief concern when designing a city. Based upon the utilitarian logic of the 'law and economics'

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36   Ellickson, 'The law and economics of street layouts'.

approach, Ellickson's 'test' for evaluating street layouts is the principle that 'a planner laying out streets should seek to maximize the market value of the private parcels in the planned area'.[37] With this rule as his guide, Ellickson maintains that the 'grid is good' because 'a rectangular layout tends to enhance the aggregate value of downtown lots'.[38] He also contends that the grid reduces construction costs, minimises property boundary disputes and facilitates the circulation of people and commodities in the city.

   Ellickson mentions in passing that one potential limitation of his utilitarian approach to the grid is that it 'gives no weight to non-utilitarian considerations'. Yet despite this significant caveat, he remains committed to the assertion that 'on balance a planner, when appraising the quality of a proposed street pattern, should focus on the plan's effect on the aggregate value of improved lots'.[39] By reducing the complexities of urban design to a simple 'objective of maximizing land values', Ellickson claims to bring 'rigour' to the evaluation of street layouts because such an analysis can be reduced to an economic calculation. In other words, Mumford's warning that the market value of land would come to express its *only* value is taken to be the grid's chief virtue in Ellickson's crude economistic analysis. Despite their ideological differences, however, both critics and proponents have generally agreed that the grid plan played a crucial role in the commodification of land as part of the rise of modern capitalist economies in North America.

The North American grid, culturally enframed

The economic enframing of the grid is typically contrasted with cultural discourses that enframe the grid as a spatial object of aesthetic judgement. Within this cultural-aesthetic frame, the adoption of the grid plan is generally understood as an illustration of economic utility triumphing over aesthetic taste. Aesthetic critiques are pervasive in both scholarship and popular commentary on the North American grid. Even economic proponents of the grid, such as Ellickson, take it as a given that the grid has 'aesthetic deficiencies'.[40] Much of this aesthetic criticism has its roots in the Olmstedian tradition of landscape architecture, since the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. (1822–1903) was a staunch critic of the grid and designed New York's Central Park as the aesthetic antithesis of the city's utilitarian grid plan.

   In fact, the case of New York's grid plan of 1811 has commonly served as a narrative framing device to highlight the aesthetic limitations of the grid more generally (Fig. 8.4).[41] One of the earliest aesthetic critiques of the New York grid was made

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[37] Ellickson, 'The law and economics of street layouts', 475, italics removed.
[38] Ellickson, 'The law and economics of street layouts', 479.
[39] Ellickson, 'The law and economics of street layouts', 477.
[40] Ellickson, 'The law and economics of street layouts', 481.
[41] For a critique of this conventional aesthetic framing of the New York grid plan, see Rose-Redwood, 'Mythologies of the grid in the Empire City'.
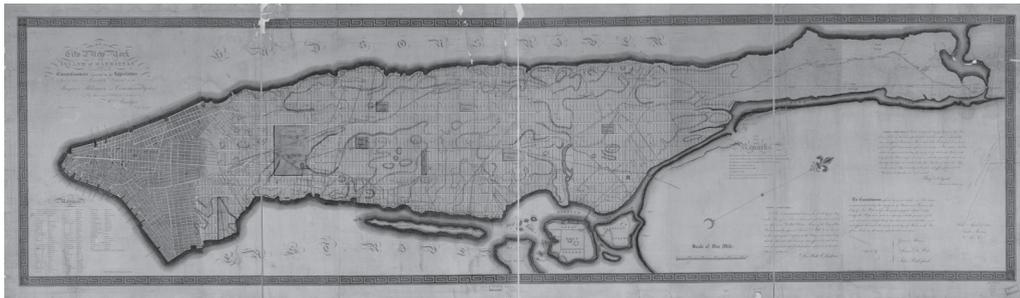
Figure 8.4. The Manhattan grid plan of 1811 (courtesy of the Library of Congress).

by poet and New York property owner, Clement Clarke Moore, who wrote *A Plain Statement, Addressed to the Proprietors of Real Estate, in the City and County of New-York* (1818). Moore argues that:

> [t]he changes wrought in the face of this island by the present mode of levelling and filling, and thus reducing it to a flat surface, are lamented by persons of taste, as destructive to the greatest beauties of which our city is susceptible ... These are men, as has been well observed, who would have cut down the seven hills of Rome, on which are erected her triumphant monuments of beauty and magnificence, and have thrown them into the Tyber and Pomptine marshes.[42]

In the early nineteenth century, Rome as a city and Roman traditions more generally served as a model of aesthetic judgement for the educated classes in the United States. In Moore's case, he made reference to Rome as part of a critique of the negative effects that imposing the grid had on the Manhattan landscape. Over the past two centuries, countless critics have similarly chastised the New York grid plan for its lack of aesthetic appeal, viewing the grid as 'totally devoid of any pretension to art or beauty', as one twentieth-century commentator put it.[43]

A recent example that foregrounds the aesthetic discourse on the grid appears in historian Gerard Koeppel's book, *City on a Grid: How New York Became New York*.[44] Koeppel argues that grids typically ignore 'natural topography' and the 'beauty of radials and curvilinears'. Consequently, he observes, the grid is 'dull and ugly generally'.[45] Koeppel cites numerous commentators – from Walt Whitman to Jean-Paul Sartre – who have criticised the aesthetics of the grid as evidence that '[t]he gridded, unbeautiful city continued to distress through the generations'.[46]

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[42] Moore, *A Plain Statement*, 49–50.
[43] Trachtenberg, 'The rainbow and the grid', 8.
[44] Koeppel, *City on a Grid.*
[45] Koeppel, *City on a Grid*, 1.
[46] Koeppel, *City on a Grid*, xix.

In a chapter entitled, 'The city unbeautiful', Koeppel contends that New York's grid plan was the 'result of the intentional exclusion of beauty' from the city planning process.[47] This aesthetic framing of the grid is largely based upon a passage from a report that the street commissioners who designed New York's grid submitted along with the map of the 1811 grid plan. The report explains that the street commissioners chose not to include 'some of those supposed improvements, by circles, ovals, and stars, which certainly embellish a plan, whatever may be their effects as to convenience and utility'. Instead, they note that 'strait sided, and right angled houses are the most cheap to build, and the most convenient to live in'.[48] In their official statement, therefore, the New York street commissioners justified the grid plan by means of a discourse of economic utilitarianism and dismissed the aesthetic discourses of urban design that were prevalent at the time, most notably in the design of the nation's new capital city, Washington, D.C. Koeppel and other critics have pointed to the commissioners' remarks to argue that 'the lack of beauty was and is the gridded city's heartache'.[49]

Yet while the designers of the New York grid plan may not have framed their official remarks in aesthetic terms, the surveyor who laid out the 1811 grid plan later praised the grid for its 'beautiful uniformity'.[50] Similarly, street commissioner Simeon De Witt wrote a treatise on linear perspective shortly after designing the New York grid plan in which he articulated a neoclassical aesthetic based upon 'the rules of symmetry' and the 'harmonies of proportion'.[51] Like many of his generation, De Witt was well-versed in the history of ancient Rome and the classical Greco-Roman traditions of aesthetics, which influenced his own aesthetic sensibilities. However, this neoclassical aesthetic frame was not explicitly articulated in the official justification of the 1811 grid plan. It is little wonder, then, that historians and other scholars have generally overlooked this neoclassical undercurrent and instead framed aesthetic discourses of the grid along Olmstedian lines.[52]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to illustrate how discourses of the grid have been framed within three distinct registers – the political, the economic and the cultural – which have played a pivotal role in enframing the North American grid in particular ways. By mapping out these enframings of the grid, the present chapter can be seen as an attempt to *enframe the enframings of the grid*. This meta-critique of the 'grid enframed' turns its gaze upon the act of enframing, because, as noted at the outset, the act of

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[47]   Koeppel, *City on a Grid*, 218.
[48]   Bridges, *Map of the City of New-York*, 24–26.
[49]   Koeppel, *City on a Grid*, 232.
[50]   Randel Jr., 'City of New York', 848.
[51]   De Witt, *The Elements of Perspective*, especially xii–xiv.
[52]   Rose-Redwood, 'Mythologies of the grid in the Empire City'.

enframing the grid is often more revealing of the interests and ideologies of those doing the enframing rather than revealing anything essential about the grid itself.

 If an author has preconceived assumptions about the benevolence of democracy, settler colonialism or free-market capitalism, or if one views these as oppressive or exploitative forces, this will surely influence how one enframes the North American grid. However, discourses on the grid are not simply reflections of pre-existing viewpoints but rather play an active role in constituting such viewpoints. Over the past century, certain enframings of the North American grid have become normalised through the rituals of historical narration, thereby legitimising some enframings of the grid more than others through practices of scholarly citation. It is through these citational practices that the political, economic and cultural grids of interpretation have been superimposed upon the North American grid, which was itself superimposed upon the landscape as a means of gathering together the world to reveal the real through the grid as a mode of spatial ordering.

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Part 2

Roman colonisation and urban experimentation

Chapter 9

Urban settlement in Emilia Romagna: Between spontaneous development, grid-planning and post-antique adaptation

Alessia Morigi

Urban settlement in Emilia Romagna in antiquity

The persistent impact of Roman colonial settlement is seen perhaps better than anywhere else in the region of Emilia Romagna. Defined by the road, named after the Roman consul, Aemilius Lepidus, who completed it in 187 BC, the *via Aemilia* (modern via Emilia), runs virtually straight some 260 kilometres from Ariminium (Rimini) on the Adriatic coast to Placentia (Piacenza), giving its name to the modern region of Emilia Romagna (Fig. 9.1).[1] The road served as the baseline for the entire system of land distribution ('centuriation') which characterises the region and which has left profound traces in the modern landscape. It equally formed the baseline for the gridded layout of the colonial cities set out along its length, including Bononia (Bologna), Mutina (Modena), Regium (Reggio Emilia) and Parma, all founded in the 180s. Just as the road was the baseline (*decumanus maximus*) of the centuriation of the territory, it formed the central east–west axis of each of the cities. The via Emilia still runs through the centre of modern Bologna. Thanks to this, the traditional ancient integration of city and country is visible with unusual clarity. It is also a prime example of how an ancient pattern can continue to impact on the modern landscape, resulting in an urban system that continues in its essentials until today.[2]

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[1]   On the *via Aemilia* and its poleogenetic role, for example Pellegrini, *La* via Aemilia *da* Bononia *a* Placentia, 141–167; on the *via Aemilia* in urban crossing, Pellegrini, *La* via Aemilia *da* Bononia *a* Placentia; Di Cocco, 'La via Emilia, 5. Imola-Bologna', 98–104; Di Cocco, 'La via Emilia, 5. Bologna-Modena', 105–109; Capurso and Cantoni, *On the road. Via Emilia*; Quilici, 'La *via Aemilia*', 81–96; Brizzi, 'La fondazione di Parma', 73–80.

[2]   On the survival of the ancient structure of the land in cities and countryside, with particular reference to Emilia Romagna, for example, Dall'Aglio, 'Paesaggio antico', 187–195.
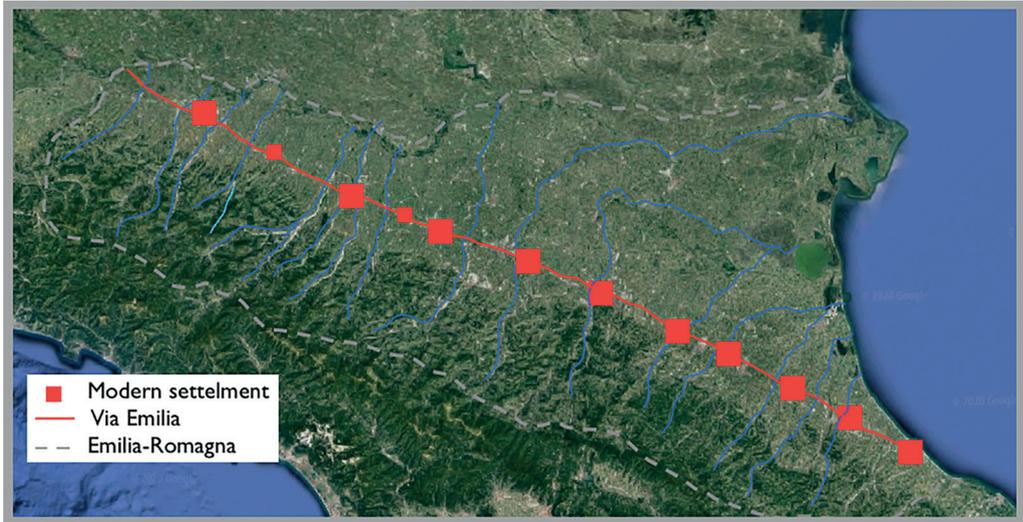
Figure 9.1. Emilia Romagna and the via Emilia, with the watercourses from the Appennines crossing the road (Alessia Morigi with Filippo Fontana).

The orthogonal grid, so typical of Greek and Roman colonial foundations, but assuming an exceptionally coherent and extensive form in this case, may be thought of as a *piano regolatore* or 'masterplan', in the sense of the overall framework within which future urban development might take place. This does not mean that the Roman municipal authorities imposed the plan by law. Rather, it was the overall plan imposed by the Roman authorities, from the consul to the land surveyors (*agrimensores* or *gromatici*) who worked for him, which formed a framework so strong as to be determinant, albeit with modifications, on subsequent development up to the present. Thus, even where new cities grew up after the initial phase of colonisation, as Forum Popilii (Forlimpopoli), taken here as a case study, it follows the model set by the road and its centuriated grids.

While the grid is imposed mathematically onto the landscape, it does so taking into account the local geomorphology. The via Emilia itself followed what was evidently a prehistoric track, running at the foot of the Appeninnes, and crossed by routes issuing from the valley mouths of the Appennines, like so many teeth of a comb. There were often settlements of the pre-Roman peoples of the area at the points of intersection, which corresponded with later Roman cities. In such cases, the compromise with the physical characteristics of the landscape aims to fit in with the project of occupying the land without significantly reducing the normalising tendency to the orthogonal, which is simultaneously practical in its rational exploitation of space and symbolic of identity in the Roman world. This means that there is no contradiction between pre-existing conditions before Roman occupation and their absorption into a Romanised landscape.

The result is that we can read this landscape at two levels. At the macro level, we meet a non-hierarchical distribution of urban centres along the consular road: none is in a position of dominance and all have comparable characteristics. At the micro level of the city, the fact that the city plan echoes the centuriation of the landscape means that the same orthogonal scheme repeats itself in centre after centre. For this reason, those who study contemporary Emilia Romagna have remarked on a significant equilibrium in the modern settlement pattern, free of factors that favour one centre to grow at the expense of another and marked by recurrent forms of layout in the part of the modern city which is built over the ancient city.

The impact of the ancient settlement pattern in contemporary Emilia-Romagna

Modern urbanists frequently refer to the 'Emilian model', understood as the extension of the urban limits to the maximum by the aggregation of a series of urban centres into a single civic organism of an area as large as a region. The connection of already existing centres along a single axis, expanded by the growth of new centres, results in a single city as large as an entire region, and a region which was a single city, a city/region 260 kilometres long.[3] One might compare this maxi-city to the single fungus, *Armillaria ostoyae*, in eastern Oregon, which thanks to the interconnection of its rhizomes beneath the soil covers 10 square kilometres: the cities that sprout above the surface in Emilia Romagna are all products of the same underlying system.[4] The systematic operation of territorial planning by the Romans was to translate into a long-lasting phenomenon for the life of the region, so determining its history down to our own day. The intimate relationship between city and country would make city dependent on country in terms of sustenance, while guaranteeing its functioning by means of exchange with the world outside.

The result of the original and programmatic decentralisation of productive functions was to ensure that no centre formed with the aim of exploiting a particular natural resource or a single type of economic activity. Any city limited to a single role would have been condemned to stagnation. Settlements enjoying a full range of roles prospered by combining functions relative to the production of long- and short-range services, services of miltary, administrative, cultural, religious and commercial types. The cities of Emilia Romagna have effectively inherited from antiquity a character analogous to the modern understanding of the 'transactional' or 'quaternary' city, that is one in which modern technologies of information and communication have

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[3] For example, on the persistence of the Emilian landscape from ancient times to today, starting from via Emilia Farinelli, 'Il sistema Via Emilia', 47–70; Quintelli, 'L'imprescindibile archeologia', 331–339; Farinelli, 'Le origini e il sistema', 245–252. On the continuity of use of the Via Emilia, for example Quintelli, *S.S 9 via Emilia*; Vernizzi, *Parma e la via Emilia*; Quintelli, '*Peregrinatio Aemiliae*', 216–219; Quintelli, '*Habitare* la Via Emilia', 190–215; Quintelli, 'Tra Emilia e Romagna', 161–174.

[4] Casselman, 'Strange but true'.

Figure 9.2. The centre of Bologna with S. Petronio, the city hall and the Palace of the Notaries (Davide Colagiacomo, Wiki loves monuments, 2017).

introduced to metropolitan growth a fourth dimension to that of the industrial revolution. The classic example is Bologna, where in piazza Maggiore, between the church of San Petronio, symbol of religious power, and the City Hall, seat of political power, was the location of the Palace of the Notaries, the seat of the most powerful guild in medieval Bologna, a guild specialising in the production, treatment and circulation of specialised information (Fig. 9.2).

This attention to the maintenance of equilibrium, so as to ensure no Emilian city dominated the others, is again traditionally traced back to the model of the Roman

city. This connective rationale did not change over the course of the centuries in that it represented the identity of the region and only assumed more complex forms, in passing from a heteronomous system to one based on self-organisation.[5] Not even today does Bologna, as the metropolitan city whose area of activity crosses the region to stretch along the Adriatic ridge, integrate the other urban poles of the region into a complex of relations of control.[6] On the contrary, the settlement framework of Emilia Romagna remains composed of a grouping of transactional cities of medium dimensions, characterised by absence of a really pronounced internal relationship of hierarchical domination, even after the recent construction of the high-speed Mediopadana station. For this system, Farinelli coined the term 'mesopolis', borrowed from Plutarch, pointing to the absence of a condition of dominance. This same condition of 'mesopolis' has been extended to explain not just the balance between one city and another, but also the popular and democratic political management within each city of the Emilian corridor.[7] By no coincidence, this theme links to that of the transmission of identity of place, from the ancient to the contemporary settlement, and by this route manages to touch the theme of the superiority of modern cities over what Marc Augé calls 'non-places',[8] in favour of a city in which urban form reflects the dynamics of communal life, following the democratic and participatory model which typifies modern life.

Experience in the field in Emilia Romagna

Awareness of this continuity of settlement inspired the national programme, 'MMCC – 2200 years along the via Emilia', on the occasion of the anniversary of the colonies of Modena (Mutina) and Parma.[9] This gave rise to reflection on the theme of Roman cities and their legacy,[10] which allowed focus not just on the Emilian centres that

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[5] On the dialogue between ancient and contemporary, with particular reference to Emilia Romagna, Quintelli, *L'abbazia*; Quintelli, 'Tra singolare e plurale', 313–324. On the theme of the city as a place of identity, for example Mazzuconi, *La città a immagine*; Abrams and Wrigley, *Town in Societies*; Rossi, *Modelli di città*; Andreev, 'Urbanization', 167–177; Assmann, *La memoria culturale*; Le Goff, *Patrimoine et passions identitaires*; Ricci, 'Luoghi estremi della città', 97–127; Benci *et al.*, *Città, identità, spazio pubblico*; Scavone, *Città, identità storica.*

[6] For an update on Bononia/Bologna and on the intersection between ancient and contemporary urban landscape, Morigi, *Bononia 2.0.*

[7] Farinelli, '*Mesopolis*: l'exemple de la plaine du Pô', 207–224; Farinelli, 'Mesopolis', 33–46.

[8] Augé, *Nonluoghi.*

[9] International Symposium *Fondare e ri-fondare* organised by the author on behalf of the Municipality of Parma and the University of Parma to celebrate 'Parma 2200' in the framework of the national program MMCC – 2200 years among the via Emilia (www.2200anniemilia.it); the symposium proceedings are published in Morigi and Quintelli, *Fondare e ri-fondare.*

[10] On the ancient shape, its anthropological implications and its identity role in terms of foundation, persistence and substratum, for example Rykwert, *L'idea di città*; Corti, *La città com'era*; Morigi, 'Nuove carte d'identità', 277–280; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Cosa significa', 35–46; Smith, 'L'idea della fondazione', 25–34; Amistadi, 'Limes', 277–284; Volpe, 'Dall'archeologia urbana', 47–62; Morigi, 'Contro l'abuso', 321–345.

were Roman colonial foundations but also on those small and more spontaneous agglomerations which make up the connecting fabric of the great colonial foundations. Indeed, it was the sum of all these types of settlement that guaranteed, in terms of the contemporary reading here followed, the 'transactional' function of the ancient city which has survived into the present. The results have been encouraging, in that both colonial foundations and lesser centres show a pattern of development whereby each settlement originates from a pre-Roman centre located on a crossing of the Piedmontese track, which became the Roman via Emilia, and the comb of routes from the Appennine ridge. The city may undergo progressive modifications, but constantly falls back on the underlying structure of the junction between water and land routes.[11]

Research projects developed under the auspices of the S. F. E. R. A. programme (Spaces and Forms of Emilia Romagna in Antiquity) by the University of Parma expanded to include Bologna, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Forum Popilii and Sarsina and have offered a cross-section of settlements between colonies, forums and centres on high ground and plain.[12] What has emerged is a substantial parallelism between colonies and minor centres, both typified by progressive modifications, following a 'quaternian' rationale, and above all by a strong impact on the post-antique city. If the impact of the colonies is more familiar for the rigid skeleton of their planned layout, less predictable data have emerged from the minor, non-colonial centres, which even so show orthogonal grid plans like the colonies.[13]

Forum Popilii and Sarsina offer an interesting cross-section, representing examples of minor centres, one in the plain and the other on the high ground, both located in Romagna: they illustrate how the road network underlies the birth and maintenance of the system of landscape. Forum Popilii grows up on the via Emilia and Sarsina on one of those Appennine routes which cross it at right-angles, known to the historical record as the initial axis along which the Romans penetrated north Italy during the process of Romanisation of the third century BC.

Forum Popilii (Forlimpopoli)

In the case of Forum Popilii,[14] the impact of the ancient city on the contemporary urban and suburban landscape is so pronounced as to represent one of the best topographical indicators for reconstructing the form of the Roman city. From this

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[11] On the continuity between pre-Roman and Roman times on the urban route of the Via Emilia, for example Morigi, 'Il linguaggio urbano'.

[12] Morigi, 'Progetto S.F.E.R.A.', 809–822; Morigi, 'Archeologia in Unipr', 113–134; Morigi, 'Archeologia al plurale', 35–78.

[13] With regard to the structure of the Roman colonies along the Via Emilia, I refer to the bibliographical summaries below for Bologna and Parma.

[14] On Forum Popilii, Morigi, '*Forum Popili*'; Morigi, *Limitationes*, 325–362; Morigi, 'Coefficienti paleoambientali', 293–336; Morigi, 'La zona industriale', 15–25; Morigi, 'Il contributo', 1–39; Morigi, 'Forlimpopoli nell'archivio', 803–817; Morigi, 'I rinvenimenti di Casa Bondi', 1–10; Morigi, 'Forum Popili', 513–536; Morigi, 'Il mestiere del topografo', 423–440; Morigi, 'Augusto in provincia', 401–424.
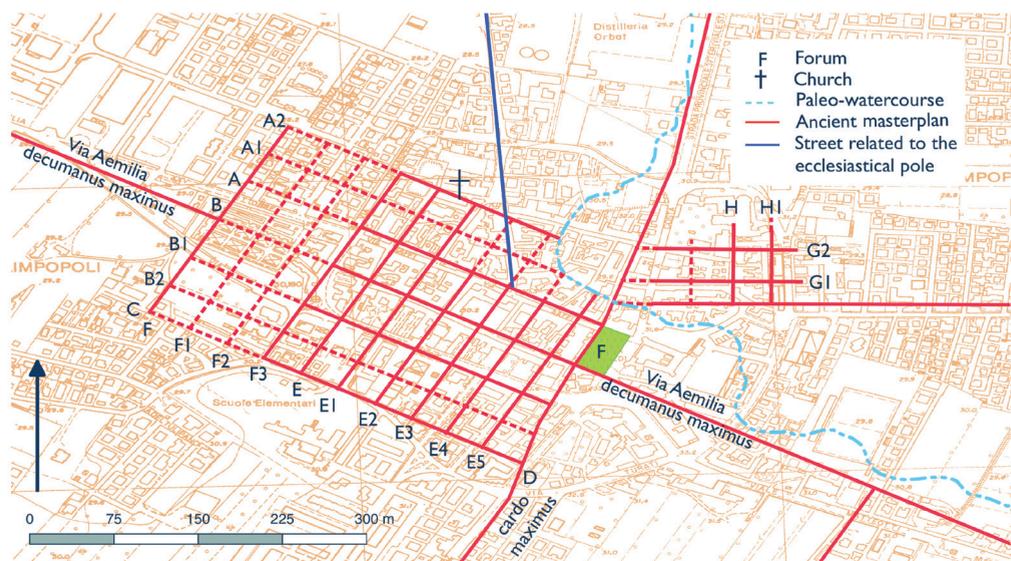
Figure 9.3. Forum Popilii/Forimpopoli: The ancient grid overlaid on the modern street plan (Alessia Morigi with Filippo Fontana).

point of view, the site is only an example of a phenomenon met repeatedly in the centres in the plain of Cisalpine Italy and beyond, in which the skeleton of the antique substrate is preserved in the form of the contemporary city. An extensive survey of the territory of Forum Popilii, cross-referenced with archival documentation, has made it possible to produce an archaeological map of 114 sites and to identify forum, cult buildings, baths, residential structures, ceramic industries, necropolis and infrastructure, so reconstructing the history of the settlement diachronically (Fig. 9.3). Previous archaeological literature had only produced a series of tentative theories on its urban development. Initially, a large necropolis on the via Emilia to the east of the modern city was confused with the nucleus of the Roman city. Then a local historian, Tobia Aldini, recognised in the city a grid of square blocks, with a regular module of approximately 50 metres. The project started by building on this knowledge, making heavy use precisely of the impact of the ancient city on its later successor, given the scarcity of visible archaeological remains thanks to the advanced level of spread of concrete which is typical of north Italy. In short, it has been possible in terms of the environment to recognise the ancient water course as it passes through the built-up area in antiquity, not only on the basis of archaeology but also of the sinuous form of the modern cadastral divisions, which faithfully reproduce the lateral shifting of the riverbed. It is no coincidence that no ancient structures survive within that area.[15]

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[15] Morigi, 'Coefficienti paleoambientali', 293–336; Morigi, 'I percorsi dell'acqua', 523–553.

The impact of the road network on the modern city is easy to recognise. Indeed, as often happens, the modern cadastral divisions preserve a good part of the 'masterplan' of antiquity. Apart from the main roads attested by Roman paving, the central urban sector shows a conspicuous series of breaks in the modern roads, which form a regular network derived from the Roman layout. This pattern is lost only in the northern sector, by no coincidence heavily affected by the lateral shifts of the riverbed mentioned earlier, but also transformed by Christianisation; the presence of a church here diverts the road that approaches it and so modifies the ancient layout. In this way, we have an example of the passage to the Middle Ages, thanks to the common phenomenon of the centrifugal attraction of the road network by ecclesiastical centres, which thus find themselves served by a fan-shaped array of roads. On the basis of what is known, the archaeological data and the continuities in the modern road layout both confirm the form of the ancient city, which was organised in four strips following the rhythm of the dividing line of the via Emilia: the two inside strips, flanking the via Emilia, are 70 m wide, the two outside strips are 50 m wide, in each case including in the measurement the widths of the roads.

These are measurements which are found in Cisalpine Gaul as early as the third century, and definitely in the second century BC. The urban masterplan undergoes no substantial modification throughout the period of antiquity, as is proved by the still-visible impact of the road network on the contemporary road masterplan and the fact that it is broadly compatible with Roman structures. To get a better picture, we need in any case to consider the impact of the ancient city, not only within the settlement but also in the suburbs, since the combination of data provides evidence not only for the shape of the city but also for its dating. In the surrounding territory three different systems of centuriation meet, perfectly preserved in their impact on the modern landscape. To the one nearest the city belong both the via Emilia as *decumanus maximus* and a *cardo* which enters the city at the level of the forum, along which runs the route which descended from the Appennines to the plain as far as the city. To judge by the surviving traces of road surface, the republican chronology of the roads coincides with that of the via Emilia, dated to 187 BC, and with the centuriation to which the via Emilia and the valley-bottom road belong. This ambitious strategic project integrating city and territory was thus fixed to the *terminus post quem* of the creation of the centuriation, of the opening of the via Emilia and of the valley-bottom road itself, which is certainly earlier than city and centuriation. Other clear examples of cities whose location is determined by such intersections are Regium Lepidi[16] and Parma, where excavations in the course of

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16   On Regium Lepidi, Ambrosetti *et al.*, *Lepidoregio*; Morigi *et al.*, 'La città invisibile', 77–95; Morigi and Bergamini, '*Regium Lepidi*', 55–67; Morigi, 'Archeologia in Unipr', 113–134; Macellari and Podini, 'Le origini di Reggio Emilia', 167–184; Capurso, 'Reggio Emilia', 185–196; Storchi, *Regium Lepidi*; Morigi and Bergamini, 'Vie urbane regolari', 60–64; on the territory, Morigi *et al.*, 'Appennini in rete', 997–1039.

publication reveal a pre-Roman settlement that guarded the river crossing where later the Roman city was to grow up.[17]

In the case of Forum Popilii, the masterplan is consequently linked to the opening of the via Emilia and the system of centuriation that is based on it, traditionally dated between 187 and 173 BC, and supported by archaeological evidence.[18] The settlement has been traditionally dated to the end of the second century BC, yet no explicit evidence survives in favour of lowering the chronology to the period of activity of the consul of 132 BC, Publius Popilius Laenas. Obviously, we cannot exclude this, but the consul, whose names occurs on milestones, in reality only seems to have intervened in the centuriation further out from the inhabited centre and was not involved in the masterplan of the city. Even the original place name, which according to some was Forum Populi, might have been modified subsequently in return for the services of the consul, possibly expressing a political favour independent of the founding of the settlement. If we need to find a context for the birth of the settlement, the likely timeframe would be that of consolidation of Roman presence in Cisalpina after the completion of conquest through a 'viritane' distribution (involving assignation of land to individuals without the creation of a colony) documented in the sources, one which saw the insertion of new families who possibly went to occupy the area in question. The settlement would thus gradually lose the pioneering and precarious form which characterised it, to become a more secure and protected centre, thanks also to its location on the margins of the great programme of centuriation of Romagna. The new and consistent demographic growth which occurred in Romagna in the mid-second century BC produced an unexpected increase in the volume of business in the marketplaces where numerous inhabitants of the countryside converged. The consequence was their rapid transformation into true cities. It could have been this climate which gave life to the urban development of Forum Popilii.

The impact of the city in terms of influence after antiquity is visible not only in the city centre but beyond it, and affects not only planned layout but also, for example, productivity. In the immediate periphery of the city is located the production centre of the famous amphorae of 'Forum Popilii' type, which anticipates the urge to ceramic production typical of the whole zone of Romagna that fronts on the via Emilia, starting with the most famous case of Faenza. The productive urge was shared in the hills behind the city where villas had ceramic production centres not limited to internal consumption.[19]

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[17] On the urban shape of ancient Parma, for example Catarsi and Malavasi, *L'Oltretorrente di Parma*; Morigi, 'La città dentro la città', 659–693; Catarsi, 'Il contributo dell'archeologia', 367–500; Calvani and Marchi, *Ventidue secoli a Parma*; Gelichi and Greci, *Andare Oltretorrente*, 81–114; Catarsi, 'Il territorio della colonia', 135–150; Malnati and Marchi, 'Le origini della colonia di Parma', 97–112; Morigi and Tedeschi, 'Luoghi archeologici ritrovati', 355–374; Morigi, 'Il linguaggio urbano'; Morigi *et al.* 'Ricerca archeologica', 269-290.

[18] For a synthesis on the centuriation of Romagna, Morigi, '*Limitationes*', 325–362.

[19] Morigi, 'La zona industriale', 15–25.

Figure 9.4. Mosaic floor from the Palace of Theoderic at Galeata (Alessia Morigi).

The most striking example is that of the Roman villa on top of which was later to develop the residence of the Gothic king Theodoric, which I am excavating with the fieldwork mission of the University of Parma (Fig. 9.4).[20] Here, right from the outset of the phase in which Forum Popilii grew up, there developed a series of kilns which were progressively updated and modified with their associated plant. Over this villa, which was active from the second century BC to the fourth century AD, the famous 'palace of Theodoric' was later built, which in itself represents an exceptional story of continuity in a phase in which Forum Popilii by contrast tends towards decline. If we were looking for the best indicator of continuity of the antique, we would not

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[20]   The archaeological mission of the University of Parma in the area of the villa of Theodoric at Galeata is directed by the author under concession by the Ministry (MiC) to the University of Parma. For recent publications, see Morigi and Villicich, *Scavi nell''area della villa di Teodorico*; Morigi *et al.*, 'Le ricerche archeologiche', 267–288; Morigi and Villicich, *Di Villa in Villa*; Morigi and Villicich, 'La campagna di scavo 2018', 169–192; Morigi and Villicich, 'Vivere in Appennino'; Morigi and Villicich, '*Pars fructuaria*'; Morigi and Villicich, 'Mosaici in villa'. The Galeata sessions of LXXI Conference of Studi Romagnoli are dedicated to the activities of the archaeological mission: among the scheduled interventions, for example Morigi and Villicich, 'Ieri oggi domani', 79–128.
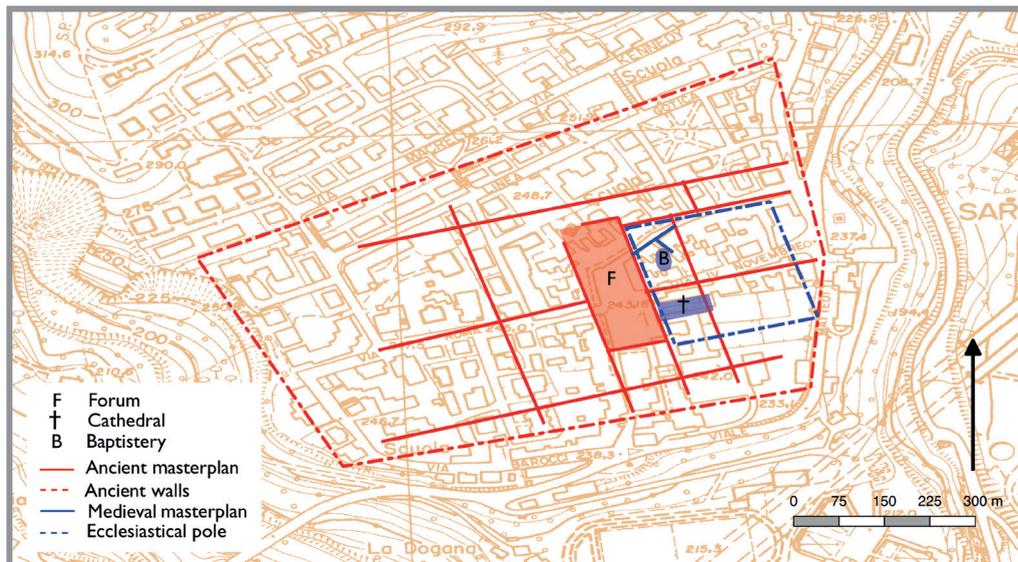
Figure 9.5. Sarsina: The Roman grid overlaid on the plan of the modern city (Alessia Morigi with Filippo Fontana).

find it at Forum Popilii but at Ravenna and in the extensions of imperial residences in the hinterland. This observation is not surprising if we consider that we are in the area which gravitates around the capital city, and if we recall that from the moment the port of Classis was opened, this same area is in dialogue with Ravenna in terms of commercial exchange and supplies for shipping. With the arrival of Theodoric, the aqueduct which supplied Ravenna from the imperial period onwards and which rises in these hills was developed and the hinterland of Romagna saw a phase of renewal in an ever-closer relationship with the coast.

Sarsina

The impact of this dynamic goes beyond the strictly Theodorican phase and reaches the Middle Ages, thanks to the presence in the territory of the whole circuit linked to St Ellero and the via Romea Germanica, which is the corresponding route on the Adriatic side to the via Francigena. It is St Ellero and St Vicinio,[21] both present in the hagiographic tradition, to which is owed the revitalisation not only of the territory but of cities like Sarsina, first capital of Umbria, then a Roman administrative centre which gave birth to Plautus, and finally an important episcopal seat (Fig. 9.5).[22]

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[21] Morigi, *A carte scoperte*, 503–523.

[22] On ancient Sarsina, for example Ortalli, 'Topografia di Sarsina romana', 117–157; Ortalli, *Archeologia a Sarsina*, 11–23; Ortalli, *Sarsina romana*, 317–332; Ortalli, *Sarsina*, 556–561; Morigi, 'Sarsina e la valle del Savio', 31–54; Morigi, 'Sul suburbio settentrionale di Sarsina antica'; Morigi, 'L'età antica', 169–178.
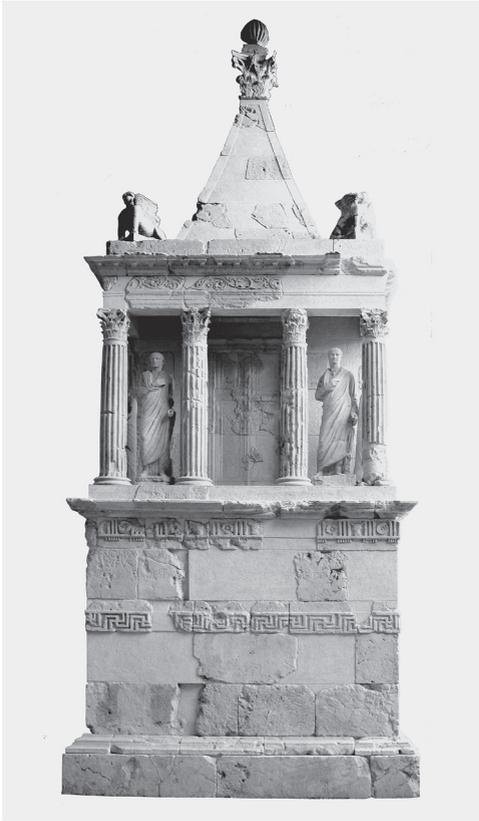
Figure 9.6. Sarsina, Mausoleum (Storia di Sarsina, 1. L'Età Antica *(Cesena, 2008))*.

Sarsina itself provides us with a good example of the long-term impact of the ancient city, in that excavations carried out in the Christian sector have made it possible to estimate in detail the phase of transformation of the masterplan in its passage from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Roman Sarsina too benefited from exchanges with Ravenna, to which it owes its elegant urban appearance and its high standard of living, evidenced in the imposing mausolea brought to light in the necropolis (Fig. 9.6), the decorative schemes in sculpture and mosaics of the rich *domus*, down to the important sanctuary of oriental divinities. The close ties to Ravenna clearly favoured the penetration of ideologies and cults from abroad; this much is confirmed by the numerous epigraphic attestations of people of Levantine origin, coming from the Mediterranean but reaching Cispadania via the port of Ravenna.

These populations were probably variously employed in the satellite occupations of the fleet, as shown by the professional guilds of *dendrophori*, *fabri*, *centonarii* and *muliones*, which were engaged in business involving wood for ships, sail linen and river transport. After flourishing in the Roman period, Sarsina too tends to decline, but the impact of the ancient city persists and is modernised thanks to the introduction of specifically Christian structures.[23] Between the fourth and sixth centuries, an episcopal seat is established in the area to the north-east of the Forum, where one building may be identified as a baptistry, and where various finds confirm the presence of a cult building. The Forum thus polarises the Christian quarter, which in turn is located within the ancient street grid sitting, not by chance, on what had been the major artery of communication between city and territory since pre-Roman times. The circuit of roads round the Christian quarter, then, is modified, starting from the Roman roads which lose their rectilinear character to embrace the new religious turn.

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[23] On late ancient and medieval Sarsina, see Budriesi, 'Nuove ricerche', 351–372; Guarnieri, 'Sarsina', 763–796; Ortalli, 'Variabili di sistema', 71–101; Guarnieri, 'Lo scavo di via IV Novembre a Sarsina', 103–118; Morigi, 'Dalla Sarsina pagana', 17–54; Morigi, 'Dal tempio alla cattedrale', 55–95; Morigi, *A carte scoperte*, 503–523; Morigi, 'Città in transizione', 1651–1662.
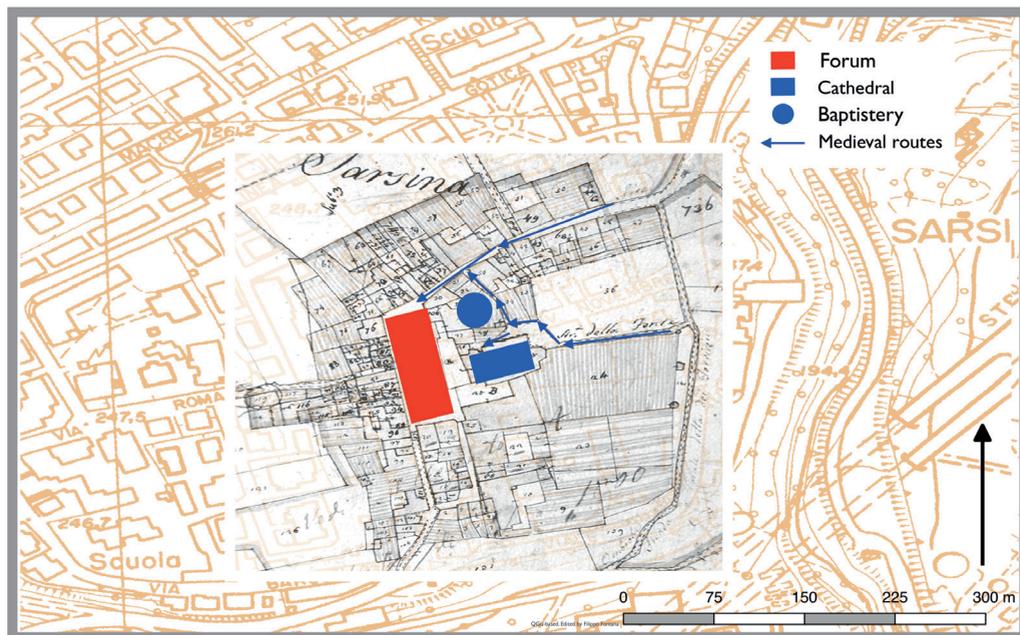
Figure 9.7. Sarsina: The Pontifical cadaster overlaid on the map of the modern city (Alessia Morigi with Filippo Fontana).

The phenomenon is the one we have already seen of centrifugal attraction exercised by the religious pole in relation to the surrounding roads, which end up abandoning their rectilinear course to follow a radial arrangement to serve the new episcopal nucleus. The Roman road network thus survives up to the present in the contemporary road layout, but it reaches us in the version modified in the Christian phase, as far as concerns the zone where buildings linked to religious function are found. If we look at the map, the quadrant to the east of the present main square spreads in a network of modest, non-rectilinear streets. The road which leads to the Forum initially faithfully follows a *decumanus*, but then turns to the south, to brush the structures of the hypothetical baptistery and finally comes out into the piazza, reaching the cathedral.

Analogous considerations apply to the circuit round the baptistery itself, close to which data from excavations confirm the presence of a crossing, substituting a Roman route which was obliterated to make room for the Christian quarter. The roads of the western quarter are rotated by about twenty degrees against the preceding Roman grid. The Pontifical Cadaster itself reorganises the road network around the cathedral as a multidirectional route, called 'della Fonte', which enters the city in a westerly direction, then to bend to the north, describing a large hemicircle (Fig. 9.7). By no coincidence, the Pontifical Cadaster shows clearly the modular grid of the Roman *insulae* in the form modified in the late antique phase.

Figure 9.8. Parma: Medieval cathedral and baptistery (Fondare e ri-fondare: origine e sviluppo della città di Parma. Costruzione di un'identità policentrica lungo la via Emilia tra Parma, Reggio e Modena*, Atti del Convegno di Parma 12–13 dicembre 2017, Il Progetto dell'Arché 2, (Padova, 2018)).*

From the perspective of the present city, even the cathedral takes into account the direction of the *cardo maximus*, though in its later guise, conditioning the façades of the buildings set on the piazza. The strong architectural presence of the fabric of the medieval cathedral, facing on what even in antiquity was the main square, is still today the major element of continuity of the life of the Roman Forum. In other contexts, like that of Parma,[24] cathedral and baptistery always take into account the Roman

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[24]   Morigi, 'La città dentro la città', 659–693; Calzona and Milanesi, 'La città e la cattedrale di Parma', 253–264.

street layout but are dislocated in peripheral areas behind the walls of the ancient city (Fig. 9.8). At Sarsina by contrast the cathedral seems monolithic and invasive in relation to a modern settlement pattern that is uniform and anaemic; but in reality it is the structure which most follows the rules of antiquity in preserving the Forum as the city's political and spatial centre of balance.

Conclusion

The gridded layout of the region of Emilia Romagna follows a logic common to both Greek and Roman colonial foundations. But while Greek colonies might form clusters, as in Sicily and south Italy, they were independent foundations with limited links to the founding city or metropolis, and limited links to one another.[25] In the case of the Po Valley, the Romans founded, in a short period of time, a string of cities that were strongly linked to one another both by the road that formed their common artery and by a coherent system of grids which simultaneously articulated city and country. As colonies, they remained part of the Roman polity in a clear attempt to impose a markedly Roman character on the territory. The longer term outcome is that long after Rome ceased to be dominant, the cities of Emilia Romagna remained interconnected is a sort of equilibrium in which no one city dominates, the close association of town and country persists and the grid, which once served the convenience of Roman surveyors and settlers seeking regular plots of land, continues to form a sort of 'masterplan', albeit subject to the subsequent modifications, offering a framework for later urban development.

Acknowledgements

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[25] See the paper of Irad Malkin in this volume.

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Chapter 10

The long-term aspects of urban foundation in the cities of Roman *Africa Proconsularis*

J. Andrew Dufton

The history of Roman urban foundation in North Africa can benefit from the type of cross-regional, diachronic comparison encouraged within the current volume. Roman colonies were not created *ex novo* in a single foundational moment. They were, instead, part of a much wider project imbricated within the long-term urban history of the region. The continued development of the built environment of Roman colonies after their foundation can be attributed to the mix of Roman colonists, non-Roman citizens and local populations that lived within.

The study of Roman foundations, particularly in the North African context, has often failed to consider this longer-term picture. At a regional level, the distribution of foundations has been attributed primarily to a larger Roman imperial policy. In the first stages of Roman control new colonies, primarily for veteran colonists, were established in the agricultural heartland of the Medjerda valley and along the Mauretanian coast.[1] In most cases these new colonists were installed alongside earlier indigenous settlements or existing communities, although we lack clear archaeological evidence for pre-Roman activity at many sites. Some towns were also created *ex novo* in this earliest wave of settlement, most notably the refoundation of Carthage that began under Caesar and was completed by Augustus.[2] After the time of Augustus far fewer *ex novo* colonies were created; those that were clustered along the Numidian and Mauretanian borders of the empire and could be linked to establishing a permanent presence amongst the semi-nomadic indigenous population.[3] In both colonial cohabitation alongside existing communities and *ex novo* foundation, the new settlement marked a significant point of spatial rupture and resettlement from the pre-Roman landscape; this was particularly the case in the three examples discussed here.

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[1] Gascou, *La politique municipale*, 26–27; Gascou, 'Politique municipale de Rome', 141–144.
[2] Gascou, 'Politique municipale de Rome', 141.
[3] Shaw, 'Fear and loathing'.

At the level of the individual settlement, our understanding of the Roman colony in North Africa still owes much to the focus on foundational rites and urban planning introduced in earlier scholarship.[4] The plans of specific Roman foundations are discussed as rigid forms: the nature of the urban grid, the precise orientation of the streets, the logistics of survey, the demarcation of urban and rural space. The terms adopted by modern scholarship to describe the layout or shape of new towns further reinforce the importance of the moment of survey rather than subsequent development, if perhaps unconsciously. In particular, the continued use of *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* to describe principal north–south and east–west thoroughfares (respectively) borrows vocabulary from the partition of the surrounding countryside, despite the fact that these streets do not consistently correspond with rural land tracts and the usage of these terms in urban contexts is not attested in the ancient sources.[5] Even the act of foundation itself is often compressed into a single event, flying in the face of archaeological evidence that shows in many cases the gap between initial survey and subsequent construction occurred over years or decades.[6] It is assumed, largely uncritically, that later inhabitants would follow the parameters established in early planning, even as many cities show a more fluid developmental trajectory suited to changing circumstances and the priorities of local citizens.

The situation is further complicated by uncertainty on the role of non-Romans in North African foundations.[7] A lack of archaeological evidence should not be used to dismiss out of hand the very real contributions of non-Romans within founding populations.[8] We lack evidence in general for the earliest years of each colony and there is no question that these local peoples came to have a significant impact on the built environment within decades of the foundational event. Furthermore, the early to mid-twentieth-century excavation of many North African sites usually involved the obliteration of later activity in favour of exposing the earlier, intended Roman urban form and would probably have equally dismissed or discarded the types of non-Roman evidence (particularly ceramics) needed to truly understand the makeup of the first inhabitants. The cities of *Africa Proconsularis* may be some of the best-surviving and most well-known cities of the Roman world, but the situation surrounding their excavation and publication encourages a type of static, two-dimensional thinking.

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[4] Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*; Ward-Perkins, *Planning in Classical Antiquity.*

[5] Ward-Perkins, *Planning in Classical Antiquity*, 27–28. I avoid the use of *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus* in the foundations discussed here to step away from this reified act of survey but still rely on *cardo* and *decumanus* occasionally as a shorthand differentiation between the roughly north–south and east–west streets that make up the heart of each town.

[6] This is certainly the case for larger, coastal sites such as Utica and Carthage where properties were still being gradually infilled even a century after the initial survey (Dufton, 'Roman Utica'; Lancel, *Carthage*, 430). We might assume a similar lag between survey and the completion of construction occurred at the sites discussed here, albeit on a shorter timescale.

[7] Bénabou, *La résistaince africaine*, 394–397; Cherry, *Frontier and Society*, 101–103; Fentress, 'Forever Berber'; Shaw, 'Soldiers and society'.

[8] See for example Sears, *Cities of Roman Africa*, 68.

This chapter explores the biography of three North African sites: Thamugadi (modern Timgad), Cuicul (modern Djémila) and Madauros (modern Madaure). Each town was founded within a few decades at the end of the first century AD. The foundational and later populations of each show disparate origins and varying degrees of connection to Roman institutions and the Roman state. They all also show differing implementations of early colonial planning and urban ideals. Looking at the foundation of each town as a long-term process – rather than a singular, static event – draws out the dynamic negotiations and complex colonial identities at play. This, in turn, highlights the agency and contributions of subsequent generations to the shape of the urban landscape in Roman-period North Africa and beyond.

Colonial New Orleans and 'creole generations'

With these ideas in mind, I begin my discussion not in the cities of Roman North Africa but rather with a vignette of urban foundation and orthogonal planning from French efforts in North America: the city of New Orleans.

Founded in 1718, New Orleans has been described as an inevitable, and yet also an impossible, city.[9] The site was inhabited before the arrival of the French by indigenous populations and, as is so often the case with colonial foundations across all periods, the indigenous presence highlighted some of the benefits of the location to the earliest colonists.[10] Nonetheless, the delta of the Mississippi River was a daunting and inhospitable landscape that presented a number of environmental and physical challenges to the settlement's early inhabitants: a lack of arable land suitable for the Provençal-style crops colonists naively assumed would flourish in the New World; a propensity for disease caused by the swampy, stagnant waters surrounding the site; and a danger of seasonal flooding that has plagued the city from its foundation to the present day. Added to these environmental concerns, early New Orleans also presented colonising elites with the unenviable task of managing social relationships between the diverse communities with a stake in the city's foundation. Indigenous populations, French colonists (both elite landowners and poor exiles), slaves from the African continent and unlicensed Canadian fur traders all contributed to the development of a creole society that still characterises both popular and academic conceptions of the city.[11]

An urban plan for the city was central to the parallel colonial goals of controlling nature and shaping New Orleans society – so central, in fact, that early settlement was forced to wait until the arrival of an engineer capable of the task before building commenced in earnest. In an evocative letter written in January 1722, the Jesuit traveller Charlevoix described the early days of the settlement as 'two hundred

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[9]   Lewis, *New Orleans*, 20.
[10]   Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 79.
[11]   Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 11; Powell, *Accidental City*, 197–221. See also Dessens, *Creole City*; Guenin-Lelle, *French New Orleans*.

people sent to build a town ... camped on the banks of a great river, where they have only dared to put themselves in shelter from the weather, while waiting to have a plan drawn for them so they might have some houses built'.[12] The military engineer responsible for drawing the plan, Adrien de Pauger, arrived with ideals drawn directly from the intellectualism of emerging Enlightenment thought and heavily influenced by both the rediscovery of Vitruvius a century and a half prior and the successes and failures of the earliest spatial planning of Spanish colonisation.[13] The resulting plan de Pauger developed for the city followed a rigid orthogonal grid of square blocks that met in a central cruciform plaza dominated by a cathedral and overlooking the banks of the river (Fig. 10.1).

There was, however, a significant distance between idealised urban planning for New Orleans and on-the-ground implementation. Tracing de Pauger's oversight of the early construction brings to the fore some of the tensions between the engineer's vision for the city and the competing needs of the disparate communities involved from the moment of foundation.[14] These tensions would probably have been even more prevalent if not for a hurricane in September of 1722, a 'fortunate' event from the perspective of de Pauger's urban vision that effectively destroyed almost all earlier structures and provided the blank slate needed for urban experimentation.[15] The importance of compromise between the lofty ideals of the early foundation and the reality of life in the colony continued to play out over time, and numerous shifts in attitudes can be seen between the first generation colonists and the subsequent populations. These adaptations impacted both the habits and practices of the population and the physical shape of the city itself. While de Pauger's plan set out large plots of land for houses and private gardens, for example, it did not take account of the need for accommodation for enslaved labour at each plot; gardens were quickly reduced in size or removed altogether to make way for slaves' quarters.[16] The city walls included in most early representations of the city were also never constructed, reflecting not only a lack of resources and labour needed for their construction but also a lack of social will on the part of later generations to enclose the city and thus control the movement of its various populations.[17]

These individual moments are but a few points in a much longer urban history which, when taken collectively, demonstrate a constant process of negotiation that shaped the trajectory of New Orleans' development. The shape of the city emerged as much through improvisations or adaptations by subsequent generations as any single

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[12] Letter of January 22, 1722, as quoted by Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 64.

[13] Guenin-Lelle, *French New Orleans*, 52.

[14] There are a number of reasons that not all of the inhabitants of the city shared the desire for a rigid grid. Some protested the implementation of a new street plan that reduced in size or cut across their existing plot, while others were justifiably upset when their existing houses were pulled down because they did not follow the alignment of de Pauger's new design. See Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 64–65.

[15] Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma*, 22; Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 81.

[16] Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 98; Powell, *Accidental City*, 97.

[17] Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 95.
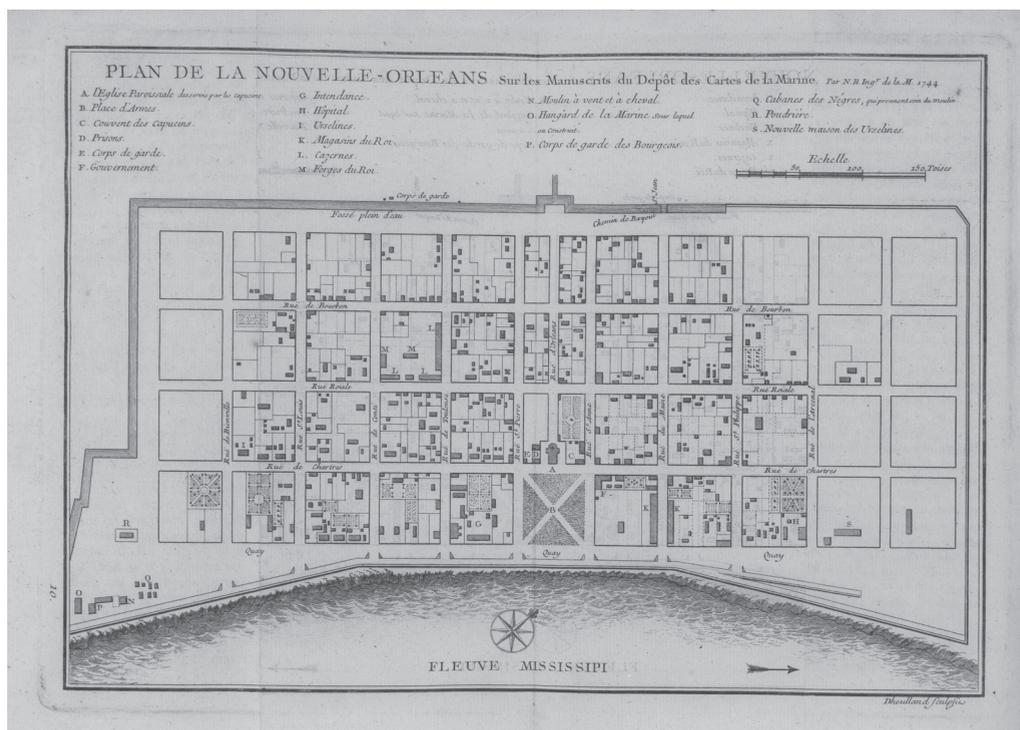
Figure 10.1. An early map of New Orleans (1744) showing the early urban plan designed by de Pauger (courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library).

event planned by the earliest colonial leadership. Dawdy refers to these subsequent generations of colonists as the 'creole generations'.[18] This term is used not strictly in a linguistic or ethnic sense – although we might assume a high degree of interaction between the various stakeholders in the early colony – but rather as a means of recognising the continuous adjustments needed to cope with living in a new, colonial context. Regardless of origins, later populations adopted and contributed to varying degrees to a new, city-specific identity. The history of colonial New Orleans is thus as much a story of the later creole generations as an account of the early efforts of de Pauger.

Three North African colonies

The developments of colonial New Orleans cannot be retrojected onto Roman Thamugadi, and the type of detailed urban history available in more recent historical contexts will rarely be possible in more ancient settings. However, this short biography

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18   Dawdy, *Devil's Empire*, 7.

does raise some interesting questions surrounding not just the importance of the foundational plan but also the role of subsequent generations in shaping the much longer process of urban foundation. The use of the terms creole/creolisation has a much longer history in studies of the Roman provinces and it is not my aim to relitigate these debates here.[19] By the late first century AD the residents of North Africa would certainly have held complex identities drawing on a wide range of cultural influences, and we might consider them all some degree of creole according to this thinking. However, Dawdy's more targeted use of 'creole generations' to refer specifically to those living in a colonial foundation in the years that follow the foundational event can offer a helpful heuristic in the Roman context, and I use the term according to this narrower meaning. The act of foundation is not the full history for any new settlement. Looking only at the regional imperial policy behind North African settlement locations or the initial intentions of Roman surveyors ignores both the ways in which these cities evolved and the complex social interactions between colonists and local populations.

In the following text I present three short urban biographies of roughly contemporary Roman colonies: the cities of Thamugadi, Cuicul and Madauros. Despite all being founded under similar circumstances within a few decades at the end of the first century AD, much is made of the differences in urban planning between the colonies and the apparent choices of Roman surveyors to adopt these differences. I argue that comparing developments at these sites over the longer term introduces a more significant role for local populations and non-Roman citizens, one that requires a deeper consideration of the identities of each city's inhabitants and pays closer attention to changes to the built environment through time.

Thamugadi

The city of Thamugadi, Algeria is both the most well-known of the Roman foundations across North Africa and also the site which shows the heaviest hand of Roman urban planning. The colony – known in antiquity as Colonia Marciana Ulpia Traiana Thamugadi – was founded in AD 100 using a highly rational, orthogonal plan with distinctive square city blocks (*insulae*). The initial colony comprised a grid of twelve by twelve *insulae*, enclosed by a fortification wall and occupying an area of around ten hectares (Fig. 10.2).

Two primary thoroughfares were clearly distinguished by the porticoes and shop fronts lining both sides of each and the four gates in the city walls at their respective terminals. These streets meet at the town's forum and thus recreate a common topography of the Roman military fort and also a shared layout with many earlier Roman colonies across Italy and the western provinces.[20] Although the earliest

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19   Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman provinces'; Woolf, 'Beyond Romans and natives'. See also the wider critique of hybridity and related concepts such as creolisation presented by Silliman, 'A requiem for hybridity?'.

20   See Ward-Perkins, *Planning in Classical Antiquity*, 27–32.
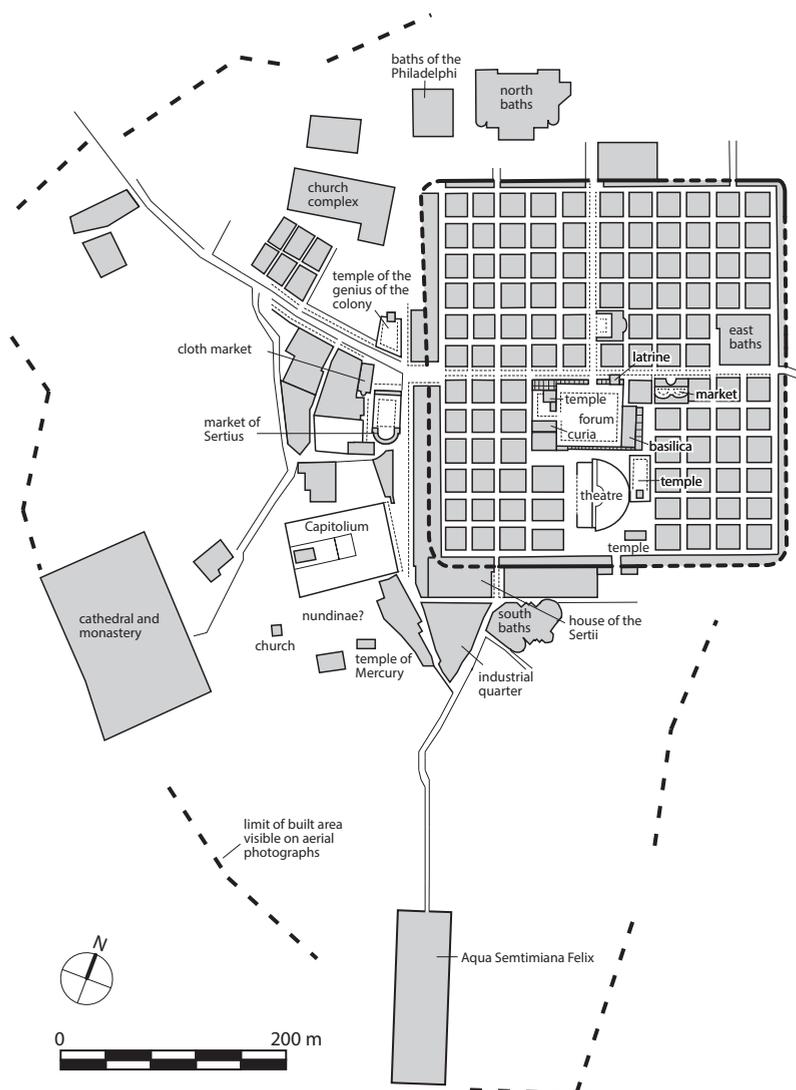
Figure 10.2. Plan of the city of Timgad at its greatest extent (after Ballu, 1910).

settlement seems to have lacked some of the key items of urban furniture we might expect of a Roman colony – there is no known theatre, amphitheatre or civic basilica amongst the first stages of building, and only a single baths – open space for some of these monuments appears to have been left in the original plan under the assumption that they would be constructed in the subsequent decades.[21]

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[21]   Dufton and Fentress, 'Roman North African urbanism'.

This square template was imposed upon the landscape by the military surveyors of the Third Augustan Legion, who were stationed at the nearby barracks of Lambaesis, and embedded within the plan of the city is an implied hierarchical social structure for the earliest inhabitants. Three initial classes of *insulae* can be identified, despite the later developments at the town. The majority are divided equally into eight individual properties; blocks along the key east–west thoroughfare are divided into two properties with shopfronts, and along the principal north–south street each block is a single, presumably elite residence. The alignment of the blocks, furthermore, corresponds with the rising of the sun on the birthday of the emperor Trajan (18 September), an observation first made by Barthel but since confirmed using the open source Stellarium digital planetarium.[22] The surveyors of the town were clearly influenced by a dedication to the imperial cult, but this alignment also implies an extensive knowledge of the landscape prior to the survey of the city. It also raises questions of the extended sequence of events surrounding the foundational moment.

It is somewhat of an anomaly that the earliest settlement of Thamugadi maintains such a static, rational plan when chronologically comparable North African foundations follow a different, seemingly more organic path; we must thus look to the earliest inhabitants to understand how the city developed. Estimates for the initial population of the town range from 1000 to 4000 people, with the figure probably closer to the higher estimate.[23] The city's first settlers were likely of a mixed composition, drawn to the site to take advantage of its proximity to the nearby military camp through providing for the needs of the stationed legion. Epigraphic evidence suggests some of the first colonists were military veterans, both former legionaries and local auxiliaries only recently awarded the citizenship; however, a large percentage of the deduction was also assigned to non-military families from elsewhere in North Africa.[24] The epigraphic record further indicates that the town was the site of various civic administrative offices. For example, the *conductor quintarum* T. Flavius Felix, an official thought to have been responsible for collecting taxes or rents from imperial estates, erected a statue of the satyr Marsyas in the forum at some point during the reign of Trajan.[25] The early date of the inscription suggests T. Flavius Felix was amongst the first settlers at the colony. A further administrative post, the *advocatio fisci* tasked with controlling the imperial treasury in the region, was also based at the nearby fort of Lambaesis.[26] This initial administrative role for the town perhaps resulted in more

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[22]   Barthel, 'Rom. Limitation', 110; Dufton and Fentress, 'Roman North African urbanism'.

[23]   Fentress, *Numidia*, 129–130.

[24]   Gascou ('Inscriptions de Tébessa', 565–568) proposes the regular appearance of the *nomen* Marius in the region refers to the descendants of the Gaetulians enfranchised by Gaius Marius after the Jugurthine War. Lassère (*Ubique Populus*, 262) further suggests that settlers from North Africa more generally should be considered a large part of the deduction at Thamugadi.

[25]   *CIL* VIII 17841.

[26]   *CIL* VIII 2757. See also Dolganov, '*Nutricula causidicorum*'.

citizens invested in upholding the hierarchical urban plan, as laid out by imperial legionary surveyors.

If the early decades of the city were dominated by an adherence to the precision of the military surveyors, this was certainly abandoned in the years that followed. The first major digression from the original plan involved the transformation of the central public space of the town. Roughly forty years after Thamugadi's foundation a new civic basilica was added on the western side of the forum and the founding temple on the east was considerably enlarged. The forum itself was also expanded to the south, such that its area enclosed a previous east–west street and its boundary aligned with the southernmost extent of the new basilica.[27] The result was a slight distortion of the shape of the city's central space and the destruction of an earlier housing block. A lack of suitable commercial space, limited to the handful of shops along the principal *decumanus* in the initial foundation, was also rectified reasonably quickly with the construction of a new market to the east of the forum. The Severan period saw the destruction of the western and southern wall of the original town and the significant expansion of the city to the west and the south. Commercial and residential space spread along the road to Lambaesis in the west, including a second market for the city constructed by M. Plotius Faustus in the early third century.[28] By the mid-fourth century a second cloth market had been constructed, abutted by a series of warehouses and yet more shopfronts.[29]

It is in this south-western quadrant of the city that we have some details of who was responsible for the abrupt departure from the initial urban plan envisioned by the Third Augustan Legion and the possible social factors contributing to these changes. M. Plotius Faustus and his wife, the same family responsible for the construction of Thamugadi's second market (and often referred to as Sertius and Sertia in epigraphic materials), were at the heart of a drastic restructuring of this neighbourhood. Purchasing property alongside the original city walls, the couple destroyed the fortification and merged multiple plots to construct a large, elaborate residence flanked by a handful of smaller houses, shops and storage facilities. The Sertii also paid for the construction of the city's large *capitolium* and its *temenos*, placed directly across the street from their new residential developments and dedicated in the early third century.[30] I have outlined elsewhere the ways in which this type of property consolidation and development – involving both the displacement of earlier residents and a transformation in the character of the neighbourhood – represents a process of gentrification that is common to North African cities in the second and early third centuries.[31] Similar consolidation is noted elsewhere at Thamugadi, for example, in

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27 Trifilò, 'Public architecture'.
28 *CIL* VIII 17904–17905.
29 Dufton and Fentress, 'Roman North African urbanism'.
30 Quinn and Wilson, 'Capitolia', 150.
31 Dufton, 'Gentrification in Roman North Africa'.

the purchase of two adjoining blocks to create one extended property, and annexing the street between them in the process.[32]

More relevant to this discussion are the ways in which wealthy citizens such as Sertius and Sertia rapidly abandoned the rigid and rational planning of the early foundation; they adapted to the realities of life in the new city and took full advantage of opportunities to shape urban development in order to serve their own largely commercial interests. Any central oversight to these building works lacked the will or the means to strictly maintain the idealised urban layout. Fentress speculates that Sertius' equestrian rank was unlikely the result of inherited wealth but rather resources acquired during his lifetime, including profits from his involvement in the construction industry.[33] If so, he would have been well-versed in the ins and outs of manipulating the civic administration to make way for urban regeneration. Wealthy individuals such as Sertius probably bribed officials for permission to demolish existing structures, either through direct monetary gifts or in-kind donations to the city.[34] In this case, the construction of a new market and *capitolium* by the Sertii may have been a necessary concession to allow for the destruction of the city walls, the drastic restructuring of the neighbourhood and the development of a large private residence incorporating previously public fortifications.

There is a potential role for onomastic evidence here, despite the stickiness of teasing out the cultural meanings behind the many personal names appearing in North Africa's plentiful epigraphic record. Names following the Roman convention might equally represent families moving from elsewhere in the Roman world or local North Africans adopting Roman practices during the various stages of cultural alignment with the rest of the Mediterranean – in particular, through adapting local names into a recognisably Roman format alongside the granting of Roman citizenship.[35] Connections between epigraphically attested names and the complexities of North African identity are made most convincingly when epigraphic materials can be considered as part of bilingual texts or alongside other evidence, such as the broader context for display of dedicatory inscriptions or as part of a larger suite of funerary practices.[36] Sadly, in most cases the decontextualised and unstratified nature of the surviving epigraphic record makes such in-depth onomastic analysis difficult; interpretation of the origins of and motivations behind individual names must remain conjectural to some degree. Even when lacking these wider contextual clues, however, the cautious unpicking of surviving onomastic details about the individuals

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[32]   Thébert, 'Private life', 345.
[33]   Fentress, 'Frontier culture'.
[34]   Février, *Maghreb romain*, 22.
[35]   For example, see the process of onomastic assimilation at Lepcis Magna outlined by Birley, 'Names at Lepcis Magna'.
[36]   Lepcis Magna again presents some of the best coverage of local identity as understood through epigraphic materials alongside these other forms of evidence, see for example Quinn, 'The reinvention of Lepcis'; Fontana, 'Leptis Magna'.

responsible for urban change still yields an appreciation of how later generations related to earlier population movements, particularly when patterns begin to emerge that cut across multiple new foundations.

The full name of Sertius, M. Plotius Faustus, is one such example of a name that may be indicative of a complex underlying identity. The *nomen* Plotius is of Italian origin, frequently attested in Campania, Latium and Umbria. In North Africa the name appears most commonly in military settlements or new foundations from the first century AD onwards: sites such as Thamugadi as well as the nearby barracks at Lambaesis, the previous base of the Third Legion at Ammaedara (modern Haïdra), or the Roman colony at Theveste (modern Tébessa).[37] Attestations of the Plotii, in other words, are largely the result of migration into North Africa during the first centuries of Roman rule. The *cognomen* of Faustus, on the other hand, seems to draw from distinctly North African influences. Names relating to a good omen and names referring to a child as wished for or as a divine gift are, in general, far more frequent in North Africa than elsewhere in the Mediterranean.[38] A reason often suggested for this discrepancy is the common use of similar indications of fortune or favour in Punic naming; the North African popularity of Latinised names such as Felix, Fortunatus or Donatus is thus thought to be a continuation from a pre-existing convention and, in the earliest examples, perhaps even a literal translation of Punic names into comparable Latin forms. Lassère, following from the arguments of Halff, thus interprets Faustus in the North African context specifically as a Latinisation of the Punic Hanno due to the two names' very similar meanings.[39] The use of names such as Faustus by people living in cities like Thamugadi is also consistent with a broad reinvention of Punic tradition by populations not originally consumed by the sphere of Carthaginian political control, including the adoption of Punic language, the emergence of new *tophet* sanctuaries mirroring earlier ritual sacrificial practices, and the spread of Punic civic administration through the office of the *sufete*.[40]

North Africans such as Sertius thus adopted these hints of earlier tradition as a direct response to the growing political influence of Rome, creating a new awareness of a specifically North African identity that could offset a globalising Roman culture. His family was, in a sense, precisely the type of creole generation that we might expect to exert a heavy influence on the development of Thamugadi over the longer term.

Cuicul

The city of Cuicul (modern Djémila) serves as a second case study of the impact of creole generations on the implementation of colonial urban planning. Cuicul is situated on a long, linear outcrop in an otherwise hilly landscape, at the intersection of a major north–south road from the Mediterranean coast to the barracks at Lambaesis

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[37] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 83.

[38] Kajanto, 'Latin nomenclature in North Africa'.

[39] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 452; see also Halff, 'L'onomastique punique'.

[40] McCarty, 'Africa Punica?'; Quinn, 'The reinvention of Lepcis'.

and an east–west route from the Numidian cities of Calama (modern Guelma) and Cirta (modern Constantine) to the contemporary colony of Sitifis (modern Sétif). The city was founded under the reign of Nerva (AD 96–98) as a veteran colony, placing its creation only a few years before the construction of Thamugadi in AD 100. As with the survey and construction at the later city, the foundation of Cuicul likely included some involvement of the imperial legate and military engineers of the Third Augustan Legion, although there is little surviving evidence that speaks directly to this participation. The city plan and urban trajectory also differ drastically from that of Thamugadi, at least on first glance.

Early development emerged along a north–south axis, surrounded by fortifications and defended by the natural topography (Fig. 10.3). At roughly eight hectares in area, the initial colony was comparable in size to both the first settlement at Thamugadi and also the early city of Madauros, discussed later. A long north–south axis ran the length of the initial colony, marked as at Thamugadi by the porticoes flanking the street on both sides. A less prominent street cut across the peninsula from east to west and formed the southern extent of the town's forum. It is often assumed that, as a result of the natural topography, only a passing attempt was made at a more orthogonal or standardised urban plan at Cuicul along the lines of those we observe at Roman foundations elsewhere.[41] Certainly the local conditions should be singled out as an element that challenged both the initial survey and the later generations of the town. Yet the topography alone does not account for some of the differences observed between Thamugadi and Cuicul. A closer look at both the decisions made in the years after the foundation and what we know of the early population sheds further light on why the city's development may have diverged from its contemporary.

The evolution of the city's forum is one example of the quick adaptation of the town's citizens and abandonment of early planning. The first forum was roughly square in plan, at the intersection of two key streets as we might expect in the idealised plan of the Roman colony. More surprisingly, there is little evidence for either a temple or any other civic buildings in this first iteration of the town's central space. This was perhaps justified by the presence of a large altar squarely in the centre of the forum, underneath the more elaborate third century AD structure that remains *in situ*.[42] There are no recorded remains of any earlier structure; however, the existence of a prior altar in the same location as the third-century addition both explains the latter's awkward off-axis positioning and provides a valuable hint as to the original extent of the forum space.

As at Thamugadi, a lack of suitable commercial and civic space in the original colony was the motivating factor for some of the earliest urban renewal efforts at Cuicul. One of the first major changes was the addition of a market immediately to

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[41] Février, 'Notes sur la développement urbain', 658; Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 577.
[42] Dufton and Fentress, 'Roman North African urbanism'. An opposing view of the position of the original altar is provided in Février, 'Notes sur la développement urbain'.
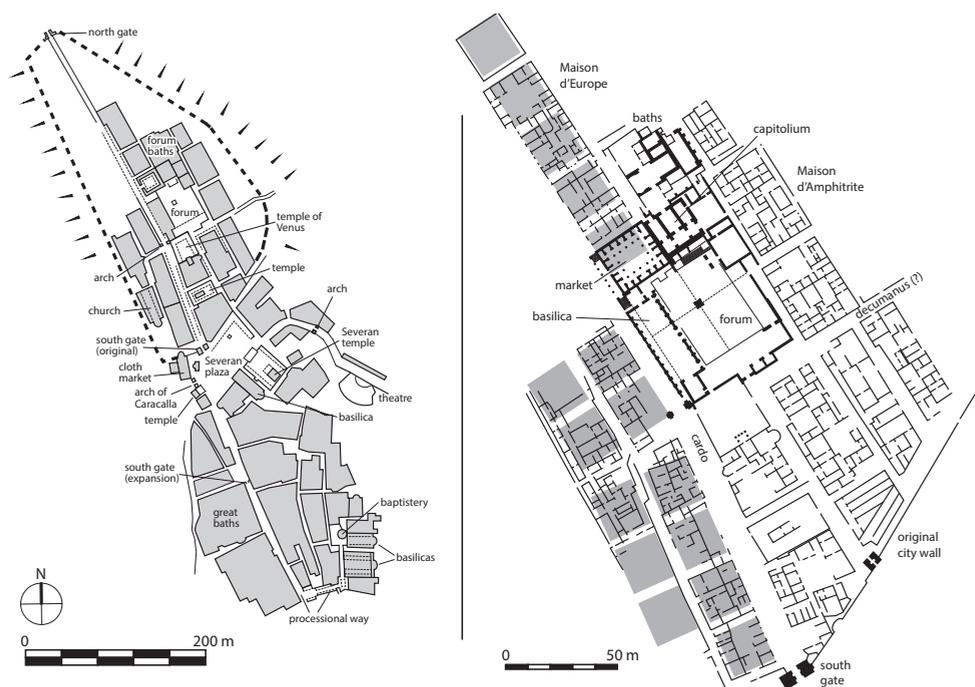
Figure 10.3. Left: plan of the city of Cuicul at its largest extent (after Leschi, 1953). Right: detail of the town centre (after Blanchard-Lemée, 1975); grey shading compares blocks from Thamugadi to the western artisanal and residential neighbourhood.

the north-west of the forum, sponsored by a pair of brothers – L. Cosinius Primus and C. Cosinius Maximus – during the reign of Antoninus Pius.[43] The addition of a civic basilica in AD 169 further disrupted the forum's original extent; these works were initiated by the Cosinii as well, although multiple dedicatory inscriptions found within the structure also tie its construction and decoration to the priest C. Julius Crescens Didius Crescentianus.[44] This new building completely transformed the western perimeter, interrupted the portico of the street to the west, extended the forum's overall footprint and necessitated a new principle means of access from the south. The northern extent of the forum was further disturbed in the following decades with the construction of a *captolium*. The temple was apparently an afterthought to the original design of the forum, as it was inserted at a slightly different alignment, abutting the existing market as well as blocking its eastern entrance, and also truncating the town's first bath complex to the north.[45] The *curia*, an essential building for the administrative

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[43] Février, 'Notes sur la développement urbain', 658–659.
[44] *CIL* VIII 8318 and 8319.
[45] Quinn and Wilson, 'Capitolia', 152.

council of the town, was also a later addition, as it abutted the *capitolium* and blocked an earlier north–south street running from the baths.

Developments of the late second century further impacted the focus of Cuicul's public life. By this point the city's population had clearly outgrown the original walled area and there was a need to expand to the south, the only direction for growth not severely limited by the underlying topography. A new plaza was constructed south of the fortification walls, possibly occupying an open space previously used for a seasonal market and immediately outside the town's original southern gate.[46] This plaza was surrounded by a disparate collection of monuments constructed in the third and fourth centuries: a temple to the Severan imperial family, a temple to Saturn Frugifer, a series of porticoes, a monumental fountain, a cloth market and a triumphal arch to the emperor Caracalla.[47] The articulation between the original forum of the town, this new Severan-era space, and the ribbon expansion of the second through fourth centuries further to the south serves as the textbook example used by the architectural historian William MacDonald in his argument for the importance of urban armature, the system of major thoroughfares connecting key monuments that he argued defines the Roman city.[48] While understanding the shape of urban growth is not my focus here, it is important to note that (unlike at Thamugadi) Cuicul's early monumental development was carried out largely, if not exclusively, in the hands of local elites. Surviving epigraphic evidence suggests that the monuments of the original forum itself, as well as the town's subsequent developments, were not sponsored by the state or constructed by the engineers of the Third Legion.[49]

The residential buildings of the old town also provide insights into how the urban ideals of the founders may have been adjusted or abandoned almost immediately in the first decades of the city.[50] For example, an artisanal neighbourhood to the west of the principal north–south avenue – including a number of modest private residences, shops and small workshops – saw little renovation from the earliest phases.[51] As a result of the longevity and lack of development in this quarter, we might expect that the properties, streets and block layouts are arguably the most representative of the earliest plan of the city. The neighbourhood is defined by a series of roughly square blocks that are arranged along a north–south axis. The first *insulae* running along the west of the porticoed street are of dimensions ranging from 19–23.5 metres north–south and 18–21 metres east–west; these ranges are mirrored in the houses north of the market on the east side of the same street. The next set of blocks, further down the sloping topography, generally share the same north–south dimensions but are

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[46]   See Fentress, 'North African *nundinae*'.
[47]   Février ('Notes sur la développement urbain', 660–663) provides a good overview of these developments. See also Pensabene ('Gens Septimia') for details of the temple to the Severan cult.
[48]   MacDonald, *Architecture of the Roman Empire*, 5–14.
[49]   Dufton and Fentress, 'Roman North African urbanism'.
[50]   Février, 'Notes sur la développement urbain', 658.
[51]   Allais, 'Le quartier occidental'.

roughly 17.5 metres in width.[52] A similar shortening of blocks is visible in the south-east quarter of the original settlement, where east–west block widths decrease from 20 metres, to 18 metres, to 17.3 metres according to the natural slope of the promontory. Of course these properties did see regular renovations or alterations that impacted block sizes, including the consolidation of properties (as seen at the Maison d'Europe) and encroachment onto sidewalks and streets. Nonetheless, these measurements all hover closely around the rigid block sizes of early Thamugadi, which measure *c.* 20.75 metres square (or 70 Roman feet). It seems reasonable to follow Allais' suggestion that the initial urban system implemented at Cuicul was intended to be quite similar to that imposed at Thamugadi.[53]

The fact that the two cities developed into such disparate urban forms is due partially to the decisions of surveyors to take account of differences in topography but must also be considered in relation to the dynamic choices of the populations living in each settlement in the subsequent generations; at Cuicul, who were these later inhabitants? Only a handful of families are known from epigraphic materials, especially in the earliest decades of the colony, and these show an early population of mixed or ambiguous origins. Of particular note are references to members of the Arnensis tribe who are thought to have moved to Cuicul and nearby Sitifis (modern Sétif) either from the territory of Carthage or the coastal Augustan colony of Saldae; this group included the Cosinii responsible for the transformation of the western side of the forum.[54] The *nomen* Cosinius is of Italian origin, primarily from Campania and usually appearing in the form Cossinius; in North Africa, the name also appears at Cirta as part of the colonisation of Caesar and Augustus of the Cirtaean confederation.[55] The brothers Cosinius, of the tribal affiliation Arnensis, were thus most probably the descendants of an earlier wave of Roman colonists. The other figure involved with the construction and decoration of the basilica, the priest C. Julius Crescens Didius Crescentianus, presents a similar (if more complicated) picture. The name Didius is of Italian origin, common in Campania and Umbria, noted again amongst the earliest colonists at Saldae and Carthage.[56] Lassère interprets the *cognomen* Crescens as an unknown African name transcribed into Latin; if correct, this example is once more following the common North African naming practice of describing a child as a lucky development or gift.[57] As with Sertius at Thamugadi, the key figures responsible for the early transformation of Cuicul were thus ostensibly connected to other towns in North Africa and earlier foundational episodes and not migrants moving to the town from elsewhere within the Roman world.

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[52] See Allais ('Le quartier occidental', 101–102) for full measurements of individual properties.
[53] Allais, 'Le quartier occidental', 102.
[54] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 258–259, 604, 610.
[55] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 176.
[56] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 177, 613.
[57] Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 452; Kajanto, 'Latin nomenclature in North Africa'.

Madauros

Little is known of the municipal history of my final example, the city of Madauros, particularly the details surrounding its foundation. The site was known to have some sort of settlement prior to the establishment of a Roman colony and was under the control of the Numidian king Syphax in the third century BC, subsequently passing into the realm of Masinissa.[58] There is little direct evidence for the location of this earlier occupation, and no obvious pre-Roman remains within the Roman city itself. There is also little evidence for the organisation of the pre-Roman settlement, with no references to any form of municipal status or leadership until the establishment of the Roman *colonia*. The foundation of a Roman colony occurred in the latter half of the first century AD, under the Flavian dynasty, as attested by an inscription at the site from the reign of Nerva.[59] This places Madauros' origins at the beginning of a wider regional strategy by Rome, largely implemented under Trajan in the early second century AD, that involved the reorganisation of the territory south of Theveste (modern Tébessa) and the creation of a reservation for the tribal lands of the Musulamii, all to prevent future uprisings and consolidate Roman control after the revolt of the Numidian Tacfarinas.[60] The location of the city between the territories of the Musulamii, a loose confederation of Gaetulian tribes, and the lands of Numidians made the site well-suited to surveillance of both groups.[61]

The act of foundation at Madauros was likely overseen by the imperial legate responsible for the Third Augustan Legion, as was the case at other city construction projects in the region including Thamugadi and Cuicul.[62] Only a fraction of the city has been exposed, and much of the plan is obscured by the later Byzantine fortification of the central urban area. As a result, we lack the more detailed information on developments over time that have been observed at Thamugadi and Cuicul. Nonetheless, some basic observations about the earliest urban landscape are possible, particularly as the street network of the city remained relatively unchanged after the moment of foundation.[63] The settlement is oriented 27 degrees west of north and based around a central, rectangular forum, slightly off-centre at the meeting of a north–south *cardo* and an east–west *decumanus* marked in importance from the surrounding streets by their frontages and porticoes. The open area of the forum measures 32.4 metres by 28.5 metres, a similar shape but significantly smaller than the roughly 50 metres by 42 metres recorded at Thamugadi.[64] A theatre seating approximately 1200 people abutted the northern limit of the forum; two bath complexes further enhanced

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[58]   Apuleius, *Apologia* 24.

[59]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 9; Gsell, *Inscriptions latines*, no. 2070.

[60]   Fentress, 'Romanizing the Berbers', 29.

[61]   Bénabou, *La resistance africaine*, 418.

[62]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 10.

[63]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 19.

[64]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 58.

the monuments of the city, constructed in the late second and early third centuries.[65] Burials marked the boundaries of the city to the west and south.[66]

A roughly orthogonal alignment for Madauros is confirmed by the presence of two other substantial thoroughfares parallel to the principal *cardo* and *decumanus* (Fig. 10.4). One street ran from the north-west to south-west, approximately 70 metres south of the forum. Another passed alongside the baths in the north-eastern site area and continued roughly 90 metres to the east of the forum. All of these streets were paved, and measured anywhere from 5.5 metres to 8.5 metres in width.[67] This is where the regularity of the plan at Madauros ends. We might expect – given the relative proximity of the city to Thamugadi, the roughly contemporary dates of foundation and, unlike Cuicul, the construction of both on a relatively flat part of the landscape – that the two cities would share more architectural characteristics. The haphazard abandonment of the archetypal Roman veteran colony prompted its initial excavator, Stéphane Gsell, to suggest that the town lacked the resources and skilled labour to properly implement a Roman plan for the settlement.[68] Instead, I argue that these differences arose through the colonial negotiations of the subsequent generations of the Roman settlement, much like later generations at Thamugadi, Cuicul or even New Orleans continued to shape their own built environment.

Fully understanding the urban development of Madauros thus requires a return to the words of its most famous citizen, the author Apuleius. Apuleius described a population that was half-Numidian, half-Gaetulian, positioned at the boundary between the territories of the two peoples.[69] This description, from a work written in the middle of the second century AD, refers indirectly to the creole generations of the city founded by the Romans a century prior. Yet the population also certainly included Romans, a group completely omitted in Apuleius' description. Epigraphic evidence suggests these Romans were drawn not just from Italy, but also from within North Africa and across the western Mediterranean. In addition to the *gentes* of the Iulii and the Claudii common to military veterans there is also a large group of inscriptions bearing the *cognomen* Marius amongst the earliest colonists that, as at Thamugadi, likely refers to Gaetulians first recruited to the army under Marius over a century prior.[70] Gsell further notes eighty-eight references to the Flavii, likely the result of many of the local population being awarded Roman citizenship under the Flavians, if

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[65] On the theatre, see Lachaux, *Théatres et amphithéatres*, 90. On the baths, see Thébert, *Thermes romains*, 214–218.

[66] Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 22.

[67] Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 19.

[68] Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 64. This observation aligns with the fetishisation of the 'correct' orthogonal form of Roman town planning espoused by Haverfeld (*Ancient Town-Planning*) a decade prior.

[69] 'Now as for my native city: it lies on the very border of Numidia and Gaetulia, as you showed from a work of mine, a speech delivered in public before the right honorable Lollianus Avitus, in which I called myself half Numidian and half Gaetulian.' Apuleius, *Apologia* 24, tr. by C. P. Jones.

[70] Gascou, 'Inscriptions de Tébessa', 568.
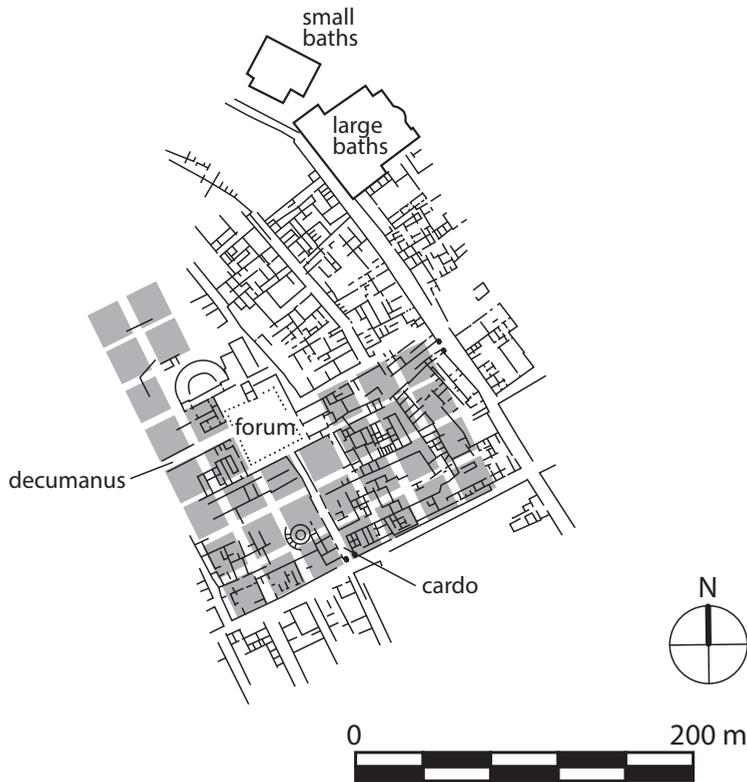
Figure 10.4. Plan of the city of Madauros at its largest extent (after Christofle, 1930); grey shading compares blocks from Thamugadi to the buildings immediately surrounding the forum that formed the earliest colony.

not at the moment of foundation then in the decades that followed.[71] Further 'Roman' colonists were drawn from across the empire; Lassère notes additional colonists with possible origins in Baetica, Gaul and Italy.[72]

On the whole, the smaller, less significant, and less wealthy settlement at Madauros may have featured a more pronounced discrepancy between numbers of Romans and locals than at larger regional centres such as Thamugadi. It is unclear what became of the earlier indigenous population of the settlement after the Roman foundation. Gsell suggests either the continuation of a *civitas* of non-Romans alongside the veteran colonists, or the loss of sovereignty for the indigenous peoples.[73] The former possibility is noted at many existing settlements where Roman colonies were established within

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[71]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 12.
[72]   Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, 253–254.
[73]   Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 12.

existing towns, such as at the Numidian city of Cirta under the reign of Augustus.[74] In the latter scenario, local peoples would have lost their autonomy but still lived in the new city of Madauros as *incolae* (foreigners) or, eventually, as citizens; the awarding of citizenship thus accounting for the many Flavii attested in the epigraphic record.

Regardless of the exact breakdown of the population of the city, tensions between these groups must have played out in the development of Madauros in the years following its foundation. The power dynamics between these original settlers, and the compromises made by subsequent generations, may therefore help to explain some of the particularities of the city plan as it has been preserved to the present day. Returning to the plan of the city, Gsell suspects the square blocks immediately surrounding the forum delineate the full extent of the earliest Flavian settlement.[75] The combination of these streets creates a roughly square block arrangement, measuring approximately 95 metres by 92 metres and bisected by traces of lesser streets. The result is an urban plan of slightly different dimensions but still highly reminiscent of the *c.* 21.75 metre blocks recorded at Thamugadi (see Figure 10.4). Despite the similar overall dimensions of the orthogonal plan at the two cities, the construction at Madauros departed from this template considerably. If the street alignment was not significantly altered in later periods, as archaeological evidence suggests, then slight shifts in street widths or alignments and inconsistent internal block sizes suggest a tension between the initial designs of Roman military surveyors and the implementation of these designs by the Roman and local populations of the city itself. There is also no evidence for walls surrounding the city at any point during Roman rule, in contrast to those recorded at other comparable foundations such as Thamugadi – although these were partially dismantled to accommodate later growth – or Cuicul. As with the inconsistent application of regular block sizes, a lack of walls may further point to a disconnect between the initial plans for the settlement at Madauros and the realities of their construction.

These differences arose through the actions of the creole generations of the settlement and were not solely to do with the negligence of the builders. Subsequent inhabitants appear to have quickly abandoned aspects of the Roman colonial planning ideal, such as walls or regular property sizes, in favour of more immediately local priorities. The interaction between the populations impacted by a colonial foundation such as Madauros does not occur only at the moment the city was created but is played and replayed by the city's inhabitants in the generations to follow.

Discussion

These three short biographies of Roman colonies highlight the ways in which each town followed a markedly diverging trajectory and applied differing implementations of orthogonal planning. Despite these differences, a long-term look at the developments after the moment of foundation suggests there may also be more similarities in the

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[74] Lepelley, *Cités de l'Afrique romaine*, 383.
[75] Gsell, *Mdaourouch*, 19.

underlying processes at play than initially thought. Early urban planning for all three sites shared a common block size and shape, adapted to account for local topographic conditions (as at Cuicul) or amended by inhabitants in later years (as at Madauros). Transformation of public spaces at all three towns made room for new functional needs and was driven by local elites, each with their own motivations. Growth beyond the confines of the original colony was not encumbered by foundational planning aims for any of the towns and, in the case of Thamugadi, even included the destruction of a segment of the city wall for the benefit of a single, wealthy family. On the whole, a balance of idealised planning and survey, flexible adaptations to practical limitations such as topography and, importantly, an active negotiation by later generations all contributed to the urban fabric of each town.

A shift in focus from the moment of foundation to a long-term foundational history requires a new attention on the identities of the creole generations, the inhabitants of the city responsible for respecting, or not, early colonial planning ideals. Many different groups living in these settlements will most certainly have shaped urban change far beyond the figures we can see in the epigraphic record. It is nonetheless striking that some of the families actively abandoning grids, tearing down city walls or reshaping public spaces were those arriving from elsewhere in North Africa. Some, like the brothers Cosinii at Cuicul, were most probably the descendants of the first wave of Roman colonists to North Africa a century prior and, as in cases such as Sertius at Thamugadi, these individuals may even have been presenting deliberately hybrid identities. Investigating the origins and urban impacts of these later populations helps us to understand the changes observed at individual cities within a much longer, regional trajectory of urban foundations. Roman colonists from the late-first century BC at sites such as Carthage or Saldae, as well as North Africans first given Roman citizenship from the early first century BC, all brought unique perspectives and differing levels of engagement with the Roman state to bear on the development of Thamugadi, Cuicul and Madauros. The foundational histories of these earlier settlements are imbricated with the creation of later colonies, and vice versa.

Cities must be considered as dynamic spaces rather than static forms, and colonial tensions between top-down and bottom-up planning are not adequately appreciated by looking at a snapshot of the moment of foundation alone. Taken collectively, these histories demonstrate the benefits of looking at detailed changes to the built environment alongside evidence for individual contributions by a city's inhabitants. To return to the example of the French engineer de Pauger and the construction of New Orleans, the city as process will always outweigh the city as idealised diagram over the longer term.

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Chapter 11

No colonies and no grids: New cities in the Roman east and the decline of the colonial urban paradigm from Augustus to Justinian

Efthymios Rizos

In the era of Rome's expansion, colonisation was a central aspect of the growth of the empire, the conquest of territories and the exploitation of new lands. Like any form of colonisation, the purpose of Roman *coloniae* was to create communities of landowners who would be loyal to Rome and her sociocultural paradigm. Loyalty was tied into the special rights of Roman citizenship, which set the inhabitants of *coloniae* apart from the rest of the provincial population, while the creation of landed classes was achieved through the systematic distribution of land to the settlers. Sophisticated surveying systems of land distribution were employed for the design of these communities' settlements, thus marking the colonial cities and their hinterlands through orthogonal grids – urban and cadastral ones. By the third century AD, however, the circumstances which conditioned the rise of this model of urbanisation disappeared. Conquered lands were strongly integrated and conquests of new territories virtually ceased, while, from the third-century crisis onwards, the empire had to fight for its integrity rather than expansion. The political and practical reasons for creating *coloniae* gradually disappeared, while the very status of a *colonia* was reduced to little more than an honorific title, when the right of citizenship was awarded to all free citizens of the empire in AD 212. During late antiquity, cities in many areas shrank and the level of urban life visibly declined, which means that the demographic need and resources for creating new cities were limited. Nevertheless, the empire did not cease to found new cities, demonstrating a steady faith in the idea that the civilised world was to be ruled and governed through the network of urban settlements. This chapter will explore how the political and architectural characteristics of the early Roman colonial urban paradigm – Roman citizenship and land distribution through orthogonal planning – lost their importance in the foundation of new cities in the Roman east from the Principate through to the end

of antiquity. In the light of Michael Smith's quantitative approach to the principles of orthogonality, coordination, monumentality and standardisation in ancient urban planning, we shall outline how Roman city-building gradually gave up the long-standing predilection of the ancient world for high coordination and standardisation in favour of less regular patterns. This development in urban planning will be linked to the socio-political transformations of the empire.[1] The six centuries of city building at the command of Roman emperors discussed here comprise both the epilogue in a tradition of ancient urbanism with roots in the Archaic period, and the prelude of medieval urbanism. Our analysis seeks to elucidate the transition as a multifaceted continuous long-term historical process.

New cities and colonial status under the Principate

After Roman citizenship was extended to the whole Italian peninsula in the mid-first century BC, the privileges of colonial status retained their relevance in the other provinces mostly in association to the settlement of veterans. In Augustus' numerous foundations, the ideal of a *colonia*, defined by its orthogonally designed settlement and the special political rights of its citizens, reached its highest level of maturity. Veteran *coloniae* theoretically constituted the highest rank in the political hierarchy of settlements in the provinces and, in the Latin west, they had a major role in promoting urban life and Roman culture in regions with underdeveloped urban traditions. By contrast, in the east, the colonies were planted within a world of long urban traditions and ancient cities which could often claim remarkable cultural superiority.[2]

The complexities of Rome's encounter with the urban traditions of the Greek east are reflected in what may have been the most unusual Augustan colony: Actia Nicopolis in Epirus. Being part of a chain of colonies dotting the east coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, it was designed as a typical Roman city. Actia Nicopolis was a newly built settlement on a flat lowland location, fortified, orthogonally planned and surrounded by rich land divided by centuriation. Its fortifications protected some 150 hectares, and the architecture of its public buildings, which included a massive theatre and odeum, betrayed a highly Italianate culture (Fig. 11.1). The built infrastructure of Nicopolis was quite typical of an ideal Roman colony.[3] What made it unusual was its structure as a polity: the same settlement apparently hosted a dual community comprising two registers of citizenry – a *colonia* of Roman citizens and a *polis* of free Nicopolitans. Implanting a colony into a pre-existing city was normal in Republican colonisation and quite common under Augustus – as, for instance, in the other Augustan colonies of Greece, *i.e.*, Patras, Corinth, Pella, Dium, Cassandrea and Philippi – but it normally led to the abolition of the pre-existing civic community and its substitution through the colonial one. At Nicopolis, however, Augustus founded *ex novo* both the colonial

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[1]   Smith, 'Form and meaning', 12–21.
[2]   Potter, *Roman Empire*, 40–47.
[3]   Andreou, 'Τοπογραφικά'.

Figure 11.1. Actia Nicopolis of Epirus (Andreou, 'Τοπογραφικά', plan 9).

and poliad communities and settled them in the same new city. Nicopolis was partly a new Greek *polis* founded by a Roman emperor – perhaps it was mainly a *polis*, because the Roman *colonia* does not seem to have played an important role in the long term. Augustus' new *polis*, with its evocatively Greek name, was also the custodian of his newly established Panhellenic shrine of Apollo, where the Greeks were to celebrate Augustus' victory and worship him as their liberator. Nicopolis marked the beginning of a new era in the relationship between Rome and Greece and, at the same time, set a precedent for urbanisation dissociated from Roman colonial status.[4]

The model of Nicopolis was probably consciously emulated by the emperor Trajan in the cities he founded in Thrace after his wars in Dacia (AD 101–102, 105–106). Fifty years after its full annexation by Rome, Thrace was still largely tribal, unurbanised and unsuitably organised to provide support for the Lower Danube armies.[5] For this reason, Trajan replaced the old tribal districts of administration (the *strategiae*) with twelve new cities and civic territories whose names, all Greek, were a memorial to the emperor and his victories.[6] Two of them bore the name of Augustus' victory city, Nicopolis (Nicopolis ad Istrum and Nicopolis ad Nestum); another five were named after the emperor, his wife and sister (Augusta Traiana, Traianopolis, Plotinopolis and Marcianopolis). The cities of Topirus, Bizye, Tonzus (soon renamed Hadrianopolis), Anchialus, Serdica and Pautalia retained local Thracian or Greek names adorned with the epithet Ulpia.[7] None of these cities was declared a colony, but they all had the status of a *polis* (*civitas libera* or *civitas peregrina*), used Greek as their official language and had Greek poliad institutions (*demos*, *phylai* and *boule*) as their polity.[8] Like the provinces of north Anatolia, Thrace was a Hellenistic kingdom annexed by Rome and it was treated as a part of the Greek east, even though the indigenous Thracians were not ethnically Greek. Besides their language and civic institutions, the Trajanic cities of Thrace also displayed their Hellenising culture through public buildings of an architectural style and functionality typical of a Greek *polis*. Their civic squares (at Nicopolis ad Istrum and Philippopolis) resemble *agorai* of Greek cities in Asia Minor rather than western *fora*, while their show-buildings comprised *odea*, *stadia* and theatres. These buildings represented a way of life related to the cultural background of the settlers of the new towns, who were mostly provincials from Asia Minor.

As far as their morphology as settlements is concerned, the Trajanic cities of Thrace adhered to patterns of west Roman rather than Hellenistic urbanism, occupying flat sites on plains rather than defendable upland locations or promontories. The priority of their founders was the systematic allotment of land to settlers, and therefore their construction started with the laying out of orthogonal street-grids, seemingly without

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[4]   Purcell, 'Nicopolitan Synoecism'; Ellis Jones, 'Cities of Victory'.
[5]   Batty, *Rome and the Nomads*, 526–527.
[6]   Parissaki, 'L'abolition du système'.
[7]   Jones, *Cities*, 22–23; Gerov, *Landownership*, 43–67, 136–177; Poulter, 'Roman towns', 116, 130; Batty, *Rome and the Nomads*, 526–530; Topalilov, 'Epithetons Ulpia'; Topalilov, 'Ulpian cities'.
[8]   Gerov, *Landownership*, 140 ff.; Poulter, 'The Transition', 15–20.

any provision for fortifications, even though their locations were devoid of natural defensive qualities. Even Nicopolis ad Istrum, a city exposed to potential invasions because it was built on the Danubian Plain north of the Haemus, had no walls for more than seventy years after its foundation (Fig. 11.2). Security was evidently entrusted to the military machine of the Danube *limes.*
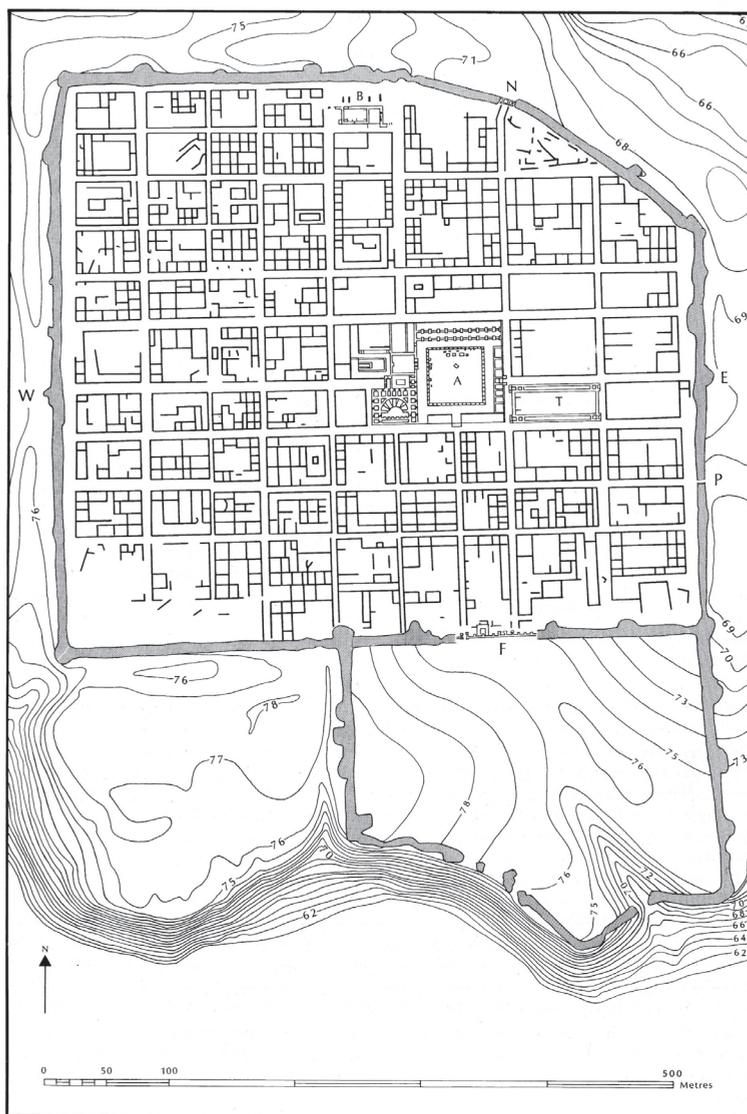
Figure 11.2. Nicopolis ad Istrum (Poulter, Nicopolis ad Istrum, *plan 1).*
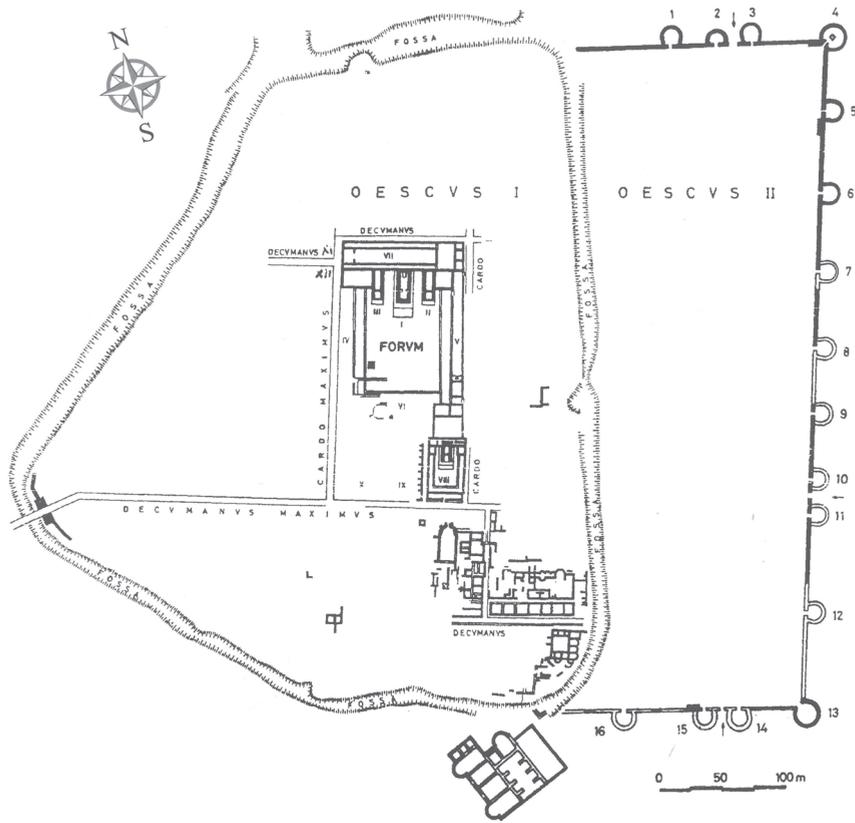
Figure 11.3. Oescus (Ivanov, 'Colonia Ulpia Oescensium', fig. 2).

One may ask, however, whether the absence of walls in the Trajanic *poleis* was also dictated by a political principle precluding the militarisation of cities which were not *coloniae* and therefore not fully Roman. This becomes clearer, when one compares the Thracian *poleis* with the two veteran *coloniae* founded by the same emperor in the neighbouring province of Moesia, Ulpia Oescus and Ulpia Traiana Ratiaria.[9] About 100 kilometres north-west of Nicopolis ad Istrum, Oescus was a very similar city in size and form, being very small, *c.* 21 hectares in size, built on a flat site and equipped with an orthogonal street plan like Nicopolis (Fig. 11.3). The predominant language in the inscriptions of Oescus, however, was Latin and the architecture of its monumental civic centre was ostensibly Italianate, following the form of a forum with civil basilica and Capitoline temples, in stark contrast with the Hellenic agora of

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[9]   Ivanov, 'Colonia Ulpia Oescensium'; Dintchev, 'Ratiaria', 183–185.

Nicopolis with its theatrical *odeum/bouleuterion* and fine Ionic *stoa*.[10] These two civic complexes were an unmistakable statement of cultural and political differentiation.

Another striking difference, however, was that Oescus and Ratiaria were fortified from the moment of their foundation. As former legionary bases and communities of veterans, the two *coloniae* had a special direct connection to the army, which the Greek *poleis* of Thrace lacked, and this was architecturally acknowledged through the presence of fortifications. The first systematic campaign for the construction of city walls in the *poleis* of Thrace took place after the invasion of the Costobocci in the 170s, which damaged many cities and exposed the necessity of preparing settlements in the interior areas for defence. Fortification under Marcus Aurelius is epigraphically attested at Serdica, Philippopolis and Callatis, while excavations have produced evidence for the dating of the walls of Pautalia, Augusta Traiana, Nicopolis ad Istrum and Philippopolis to the AD 170s.[11] Most of these wall-circuits have a characteristic oblong, partially quadrate polygonal shape, observed at Serdica, Pautalia, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Marcianopolis, Augusta Traiana-Beroe and Traianopolis.[12]

Breaches in the security of the empire as a whole demonstrated the need for a wider diffusion of active participation in defence, hence the cities of the interior, regardless of their political status, were allowed to be fortified. The Trajanic *poleis* of Thrace probably continued to build and maintain their fortifications into the Severan period. It was against this historical background that Caracalla issued the Antonine Constitution in AD 212, extending citizenship to all free men in the empire who were already enfranchised in a city, whereby the special status of colonies was reduced to a mere honorific title, repeating what had happened in Italy more than two centuries earlier. Yet, the colonial title preserved its mystique for some decades and it was awarded as a distinction to pre-existing cities, notably civilian *municipia* of legionary bases like Carnuntum and Singidunum or cities which resisted mid-third-century invasions, like Thessalonica and Philippopolis of Thrace.[13]

The only new foundation to be styled a colony after the Antonine Constitution was Philippopolis of Arabia (Shahba, Syria), which was also the only new city to be established during the third-century crisis. This late *colonia* was not established out of a need to house veterans or boost urban life, but because it was the birthplace of the emperor Philip the Arab (AD 244–249). Philippopolis was given the right to mint coins which bore the legend Φιλιπποπολιτῶν Κολωνίας. The Greek language of the coins and indeed of all civic inscriptions of the new city indicates how different this *colonia* was from its earlier counterparts in the east, which displayed their *romanitas*

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[10] Dintchev, 'Philippopolis и Nicopolis ad Istrum'; Dintchev, 'Oescus'.
[11] Philippopolis (AD 172): *IGBulg.* III.1 878. Serdica (AD 176/180): *IGBulg.* IV 1903. Callatis (AD 172): *IScM* III 97–99. General discussion: Mihailov, 'La fortification de la Thrace'.
[12] Ivanov, 'Augusta Traiana/Beroe', 476; Stančeva, 'Serdica', 63–64; Kirova 'Serdica/Serdika', 204–211. Ivanov, 'Nicopolis ad Istrum'; Poulter, 'Nicopolis ad Istrum', 12, 90–91; Ruseva-Slokoska, *Pautalia*; Katsarova, 'Pautalia'.
[13] Kornemann, 'Coloniae', 549–550.
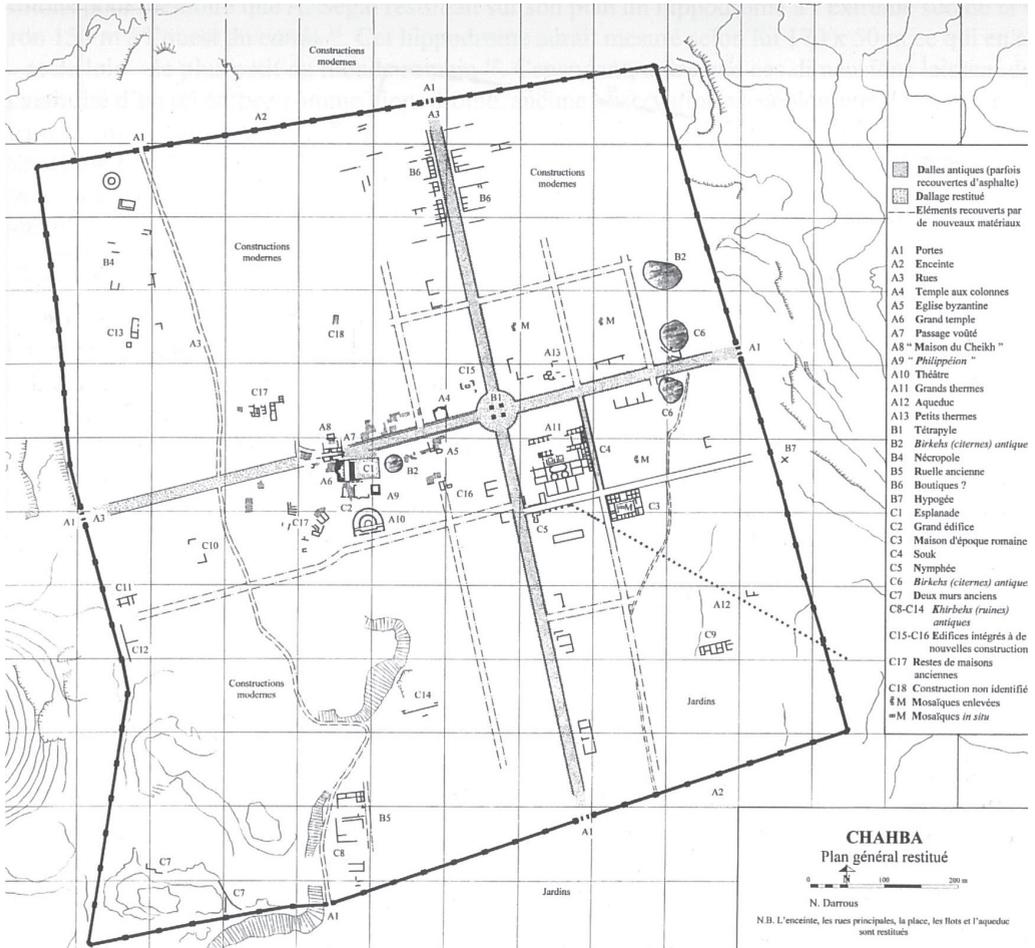
Figure 11.4. Philippopolis of Arabia (Darrous amd Rohmer, 'Chahba Philippopolis', fig. 1).

through the use of Latin in their inscriptions and coins.[14] Besides the colonial title, Philippopolis had no difference from a Greek *polis* in its political organisation. Philip the Arab clearly wished it to be a fine and notable city. It was designed to have a fortified space of about 70 hectares, surrounded by an almost quadrate circuit of walls. Two central colonnaded streets intersecting in a right angle connected the four gates (Fig. 11.4). A number of civic buildings, notably a forum, theatre, baths and a public building dedicated to the emperor's cult, were built along the two *emboloi*. In other words, the city was envisioned to become a community living according to the standards of Greco-Roman civic life, and relevant infrastructure was provided.

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14 Oenbrink, 'Shahba/Philippopolis'.

A question arises, however, as to who would inhabit this fine, spacious and well-conceived city, as there are no traces of a fully-developed orthogonal street grid beyond the two central streets. After Philip the Arab's murder in 249, the project of Philippopolis seems to have been given up and the city is likely to have been left with its original local population, without the addition of new settlers. Interestingly, despite the failure of the monumentalisation project, Philippopolis was not an unsuccessful urban foundation inasmuch as it preserved its civic status, at least down to the Arab conquest of the seventh century. The fact that the walls of the city preceded the laying out of its street grid introduces us to a new stage in Roman city building. Philippopolis was the prelude to practices of late antique urbanism, with imperial initiative and defensive considerations taking priority over the functions of the city and the allotment of land to settlers.[15]

A new category in Roman urbanism: The tetrarchic fortress town

When Diocletian undertook to reform provincial administration and the army, the rebuilding of devastated old cities and the foundation of new ones became an important aspect of his policy. The foundation of new cities of the Tetrarchic period was closely tied into the military reforms of the time, and in particular to the creation of the mobile reserve armies and the new long-distance logistics system for the supply of the frontier troops (*annona militaris*).[16] Their military instrumentality was so central that they can be described as fortress-towns. By this time, even the title of a colony had apparently ceased to matter and was not awarded to any of the new cities of the period.

An illustrative example is the city of Diocletianopolis of Thrace (today's Hisaria in central Bulgaria), which was one of several cities created by and named after the Tetrarchs in the Balkans.[17] Diocletianopolis received a very strong fortification which protected *c.* 30 hectares. Its walled area was traversed by a spacious *cardo maximus* (12 metres wide) connecting the two main gates (north and south). Its crossing with the similarly wide *decumanus maximus* at the centre of the settlement was marked by a monument, perhaps a *tetrapylon* (Fig. 11.5). Yet it seems that this ambitiously commenced urban plan was not finished. The *decumanus maximus* does not continue much further east or west than the crossing nor does it correspond to gates in the walls. In the rest of the settlement, there are notable buildings, probably private, lining the *cardo maximus*, and secondary streets crossing it, but they do not seem to conform to a rigidly designed orthogonal grid. Like Philippopolis of Arabia, Diocletianopolis gives the impression of an urban project which was left largely unfinished, even though it was inhabited and prospered as a major city down to the early seventh century AD.

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[15] Dey, *The Afterlife*, 21–25.

[16] Rizos, 'New Cities'; Rubel, 'L(I)bida/Slava Rusă', 216–224.

[17] Rizos, 'New Cities', 27–29; Madzharov, *Diokletsianopol*; Madzharov, 'Diocletianopolis.'
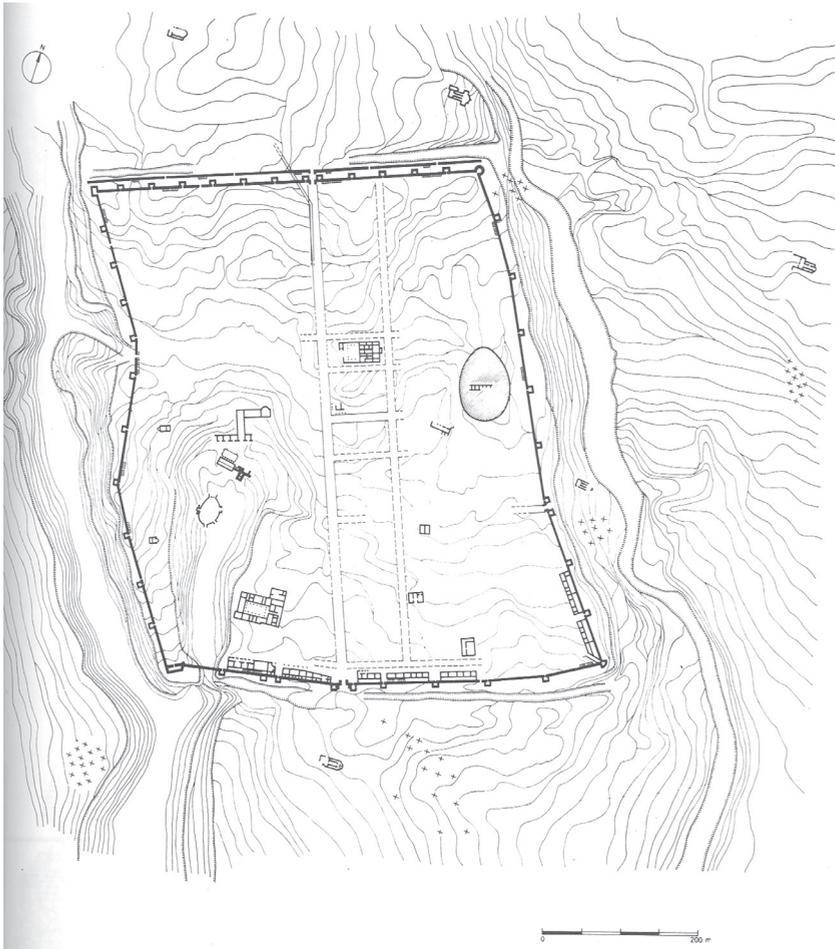
Figure 11.5. Diocletianopolis (Madzharov, Diokletsianopol, *plan 10).*

A panegyrist reports that Diocletian filled 'the deserted parts of Thrace with inhabitants brought from Asia', which very probably refers to Diocletianopolis and other new towns in the region, and indicates that the emperor repeated what Trajan had done two centuries earlier when he populated his towns partly with settlers from Asia Minor.[18] Did he also proceed with a similar distribution of land to the settlers? If this was the case, it probably did not involve sophisticated surveying methods, because no orthogonal street systems or cadastral grids can be found in Diocletianopolis or the other known Tetrarchic new cities of the Balkans. Although the sites chosen for their construction were typical of early Roman urbanism – mostly flat lowland locations –

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[18]   *Panegyrici Latini* 8.21.1 (in Mynors *et al.,* In Praise of the Roman Emperors, 141).

the Tetrarchic cities differed from those of the Principate in their spatial and, most importantly, social articulation. In cities like Diocletianopolis, Tropaeum (Adamclisi, Romania) and Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (Hungary) construction took place in a loosely orderly manner – neither organic nor forming a grid of orthogonal *insulae*. The plans of these settlements may have simply followed the practices of military building and fortress architecture. The two central roads of Tropaeum, for instance, intersect in a T-crossing, recalling the *via principalis* and *via praetoria* of early Roman legionary forts (Fig. 11.6). Unlike early Roman cities, where the fortified space was occupied by numerous houses of landed families in densely arranged *insulae*, the Tetrarchic/Constantinian cities included a small number of extensive manorial houses whose plans and sizes were too varied to conform to a rigid orthogonal grid. These houses resembled early Roman country villas rather than urban residences, and enjoyed central positions and direct access to the main streets often through porticoed façades. Fine examples have been revealed at Alsohetenypuszta (Hungary), Keszthely-Fenekpuszta (Hungary), Abrittus (Razgrad, Bulgaria) and the already mentioned Diocletianopolis.[19]

These houses also represented the main platform for monumentality in their cities, since the latter featured hardly anything in the way of public monuments. Besides bathhouses, no forum, temple or other buildings of the Greco-Roman civic tradition has ever been found at them (with the exception of a small amphitheatre at Diocletianopolis). Diocletianopolis may have lacked a forum, but it had an extensive sector of military barracks built along its south walls, indicating that the city served as a more or less permanent military base.[20] Its location in the interior Diocletianic province of Thracia rather than on the *limes* proper suggests that the forces stationed in the city were units of the mobile/comitatensian army rather than *limitanei*. An idea of how this military involvement may have worked is provided by the account of Ammianus Marcellinus about the city of Amida in Mesopotamia (Diyarbakir, Turkey), which was fortified in AD 337 by Constantine's Caesar and later emperor Constantius II (Fig. 11.7, 1). Amida had a permanent garrison of the Fifth Legion Parthica, but was also temporarily used as a stronghold by several campaigning legions at times of war.[21] Besides the billeting of troops, a central aspect of these cities' military role was their function as storage and distribution centres of supplies procured through the logistics network of the military *annona*. This is mainly reflected in the presence of large storage buildings (*horrea*) of the military type in them, the most thoroughly investigated examples of which can be found in the Danube provinces.[22] The early fourth-century Pannonian cities known as Inner Fortifications (Keszthely-Fenekpuszta, Alsohetenypuszta, Környe, Ságvár and Tác in Hungary) and the cities of

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19 Heinrich-Tamáska, 'Überlegungen zu den 'Hauptgebäuden''; Mulvin, *Late Roman Villas*.
20 Madzharov, *Diokletsianopol*, 101–111; Rizos, 'New Cities', 29.
21 *Ammianus Marcellinus* 18.9.1–3 (in Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellus*, 462); Assénat and Pérez, 'La topographie antique', 59.
22 Rizos, 'Centres of the late Roman'.
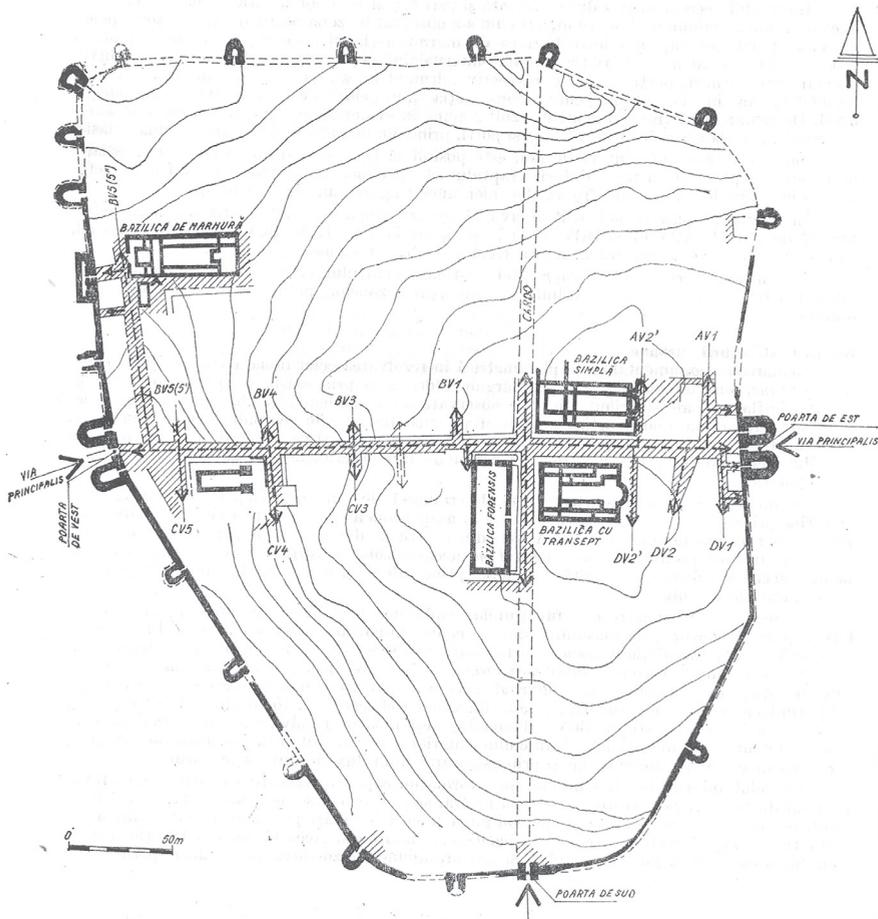
Figure 11.6. Tropaeum (Barnea, Tropaeum Traiani*, fig. 107).*

Abritus, Zaldapa and Tropaeum in Moesia Inferior and Scythia Minor (now in Bulgaria and Romania) were characterised not only by their strong fortifications, but also by their massive and monumental *horrea*.[23] A particularly impressive example can be seen at the centre of the city of Tropaeum in Scythia Minor (Adamclisi, Romania). A building inscription from one of the city gates informs us that this city (the *civitas Tropaeensium*) was built from its foundations ('a fundamentis constructa est') for the support of the frontier defence ('ad confirmandam limitis tutelam').[24] Tropaeum and

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[23] Rizos, 'Centres of the late Roman'; Heinrich-Tamáska, '*Castellum – Castrum – Civitas*?'; Heinrich-Tamáska, 'Castra and towns'; Dintchev, 'Новите късноримски центрове'.

[24] *CIL* III, 13734 = *IScM* IV 16 = *HD* 028858 (last update: 26 June 2013, Feraudi); Poulter, 'The Transition', 35.
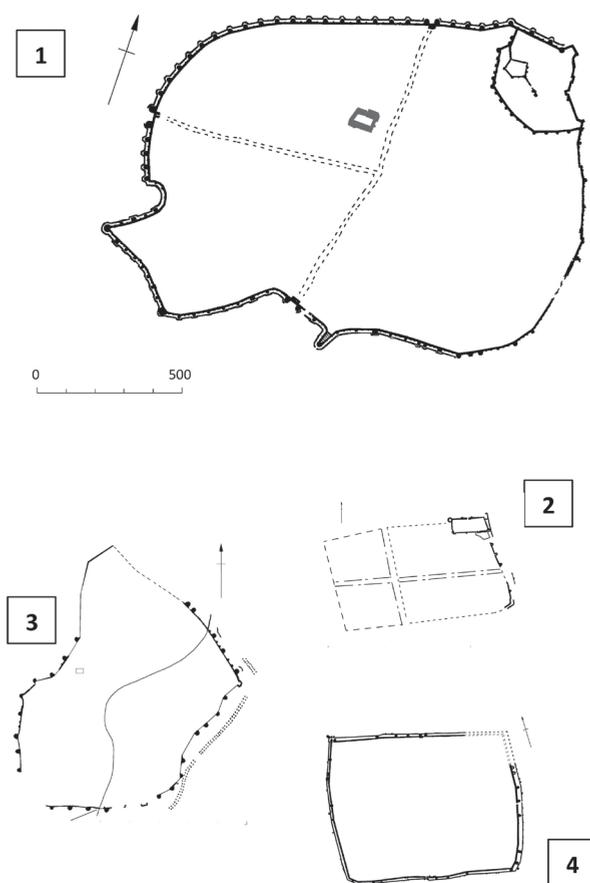
Figure 11.7. 1. Amida 2. Theodosiopolis 3. Dara 4. Martyropolis (Crow, 'Theodosiopolis', fig. 8).

the other new cities of the Tetrarchic and Consantinian periods exemplify a shift of ideals and principles in Roman urbanism, marked by the abandonment of the strict distinction between military and civilian space. The centrality and monumentality of military building suggests that the army substituted for civic institutions to some extent in the life of these communities.

Being roughly contemporary to the foundation of Constantinople, the new cities of the Tetrarchic period reflect the context, realities and practices of city building at a time when the most successful of the Tetrarchs, Constantine, conceived the idea of turning Byzantium into New Rome. Constantinople may have in some ways resembled other new cities of the same period, as it was probably built and designed by people who had been involved in other urban projects. The Constantinian Walls,

for which we currently have no archaeological evidence, may have followed an architectural style similar to that of other cities and major fortified sites of the time – perhaps something like the walls built in the 310s at Tropaeum or the imperial villa of Gamzigrad. Similarly, the city's main thoroughfares, especially the central artery known as the Mese, are likely to have been built in a fashion similar to the porticoed streets of the other Tetrarchic cities and palaces. Yet, did Constantinople follow the practices of Tetrarchic urbanism even in their treatment of orthogonal street grids? How were building plots distributed to Constantine's companions and senators? Could the humble fortress-towns of the frontier provinces provide useful lessons for a reconstruction of the magnificence of Constantinople? The neighbourhoods of the new capital were known by the names of aristocratic properties which are recorded in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* as *domus.* Some of these properties included entire sections in the porticos of the central streets of the city with their shops (*e.g.* the *Emboloi* of Domninus along the Makros Embolos).[25] Should we imagine these elite residences as being similar to the large villa-like houses along the central streets of Diocletianopolis or Keszthely-Fenekpuszta?

Constantinople's foundation was motivated by the geostrategic considerations of the same turbulent era which produced new fortress towns and peripheral government centres of the Tetrarchic Empire. Constantine was probably still thinking as a Tetrarch when he considered, as the sources claim, Serdica and Thessalonica as possible candidates for his prospective capital. A new dimension in his thinking, however, seems to have emerged, when he conceived the idea of establishing his capital in the Troad. From this point on, Constantine was acting as a new Aeneas, breaking the taboo of Rome's irreplaceability by its own foundation myth – Rome herself was a Trojan colony and nothing could prevent the return of sovereignty to the mythical Urheimat.[26] For centuries, travellers sailing towards the Hellespont used to recognise Constantine's unfinished capital in the remnants of an imposing ancient fortification.[27] Geostrategic pragmatism and Constantine's personal military triumph prevailed over symbolic rhetoric, and the Hellespont was given up for the Bosphorus. The political implications of Constantine's unprecedented decision were mitigated through gestures acknowledging the seniority of the elder Rome, such as the inferior status of the Constantinopolitan senate and urban prefect.[28] By this process, however, the political aspect of the foundation of the city and the notion of citizenship briefly returned to the forefront. It was perhaps against this background that Hispellum, an Augustan *colonia* of the first century BC in Umbria, appealed to Constantine, requesting leave to stop sharing religious obligations with neighbouring Volsinii. Perhaps targeting the emperor's sensitivities with regard to civic matters,

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[25]   Janin, *Constantinople*, 344–345.

[26]   Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale*, 29–31.

[27]   Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, 2.3 (in Bidez and Hansen, *Sozomenus*, 51); Zosimus, *New History*, 2.30 (in Ridley, *Zosimus*, 37).

[28]   Dagron, *Naissance d' une capitale*, 119–146, 213–239.

the Hispeallates invoked their ancient colonial status, even though it had been just a honorific title since the extension of Roman citizenship to all of Italy. Constantine indeed took interest in their appeal and granted their request, instructing them, among others, to update their civic title in his honour, changing the old Colonia Iulia Hispellum into Colonia Flavia Constans.[29] This was perhaps the last time a Roman emperor troubled himself about the colonial title of a provincial city.

New cities for a Christian empire

The new era inaugurated by Constantine was marked by further challenges in the security of the empire and by deep cultural and institutional changes with the rise of Christianity and the power of the Church. In 378, the Roman world was shocked when the emperor Valens was captured and killed in battle near Hadrianople and the barbarians reached the outskirts of Constantinople. Total disaster was averted through the efforts of Valens' successor, Theodosius I, who, over the following decades, focused on strengthening fortifications of the Thracian hinterland of Constantinople. A series of settlements in the province of Europa were fortified and declared cities and were named after Theodosius and members of his house (Panium-Theodosiopolis, Bergule-Arcadiopolis and Selymbria-Eudoxiopolis). The design and outlook of these settlements is very poorly understood due to the lack of archaeological data, but they were closely related to the organisation of defence zones near the capital and it is therefore reasonable to imagine them as continuing the highly militarised tradition of Tetrarchic/Constantinian fortress towns of the early fourth century.[30]

Besides challenges in the Balkans, the Theodosian period included the annexation of new territories after the dissolution of Arsacid Armenia and its division between east Rome and Sassanian Persia. A new frontier line was established between the two rival empires, crossing the Armenian district of Karin where, in the 430s, Theodosius II (r. 408–449) established a small fortress named after himself, Theodosiopolis. Some seventy years later, the emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–518) expanded the original fort and turned it into a major city. The Armenian historian Moses of Khorene reports that the new settlement included a prominent place called Augusteum with military depots and it was filled with arms and troops, while Procopius mentions that, under Justinian, it became the headquarters of the *magister militum per Armenias*.[31] Both Moses and Procopius talk extensively about the use of the city as a military centre, while another Armenian source provides a meticulous description of the exceptionally strong walls and other provisions for the defence of the city against siege.

Besides the city's military role, the Armenian sources allude to the civilian component of Theodosiopolis, as they refer to the abundance of water springs on the

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[29] Lenski, *Constantine and the Cities*, 114–30 (with references to the inscription of Hispellum).
[30] Rizos and Sayar, 'Urban dynamics', 97–99.
[31] Moses of Khorene 3.59 (in Adontz, *Armenia*, 119); Garsoïan, 'Date de la fondation', 189; Crow, 'Theodosiopolis', 111. Procopius, *Buildings*, 3.5.12 (in Dewing and Downey, *Procopius*, 204–205).

site and the overall cleanness of streets, houses, squares, marketplaces and *macella* in the city. The army was certainly not the only institution in Theodosiopolis, but it was joined by the Christian clergy which is now for the first time ascribed with an active role in the foundation of a new city. The Armenian sources mention both the military commander Anatolius and the *Vardapets* David and Moses as leaders of the building project, while, twenty years after its foundation, Theodosiopolis is attested as the seat of a bishop.[32] Under Justinian, we hear about the construction of churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the Forty Martyrs. Another new city which was established with strong clerical involvement under Theodosius II was Martyropolis/ Mayperqat in Mesopotamia. Around AD 400, the Syrian bishop Marutha brought from Persia to the Roman empire a large collection of relics of martyrs and, with the support of emperor Theodosius II, he established a city which soon became one of the most famous religious and military centres of Roman Mesopotamia.[33]

Both Theodosiopolis and Martyropolis were successful foundations and remain flourishing cities down to our days (Erzurum and Silvan respectively), which creates obstacles for their archaeological investigation. Jim Crow recently suggested that the extent of the Theodosian fort of Theodosiopolis may be roughly identified as the small citadel of Erzurum, whilst the Anastasian expansion of the town may correspond to the fortified area of medieval Erzurum with the main Islamic monuments (Fig. 11.7, 2).[34] The proposed shape and size of the settlement is reminiscent of the better-preserved fortification of Martyropolis (Fig. 11.7, 3). Both towns have a roughly rectangular shape and an extent of about 20–30 hectares, possibly including two perpendicularly crossed central streets like the tetrarchic fortress towns (Figs. 11.7 and 11.8). If Crow's hypothesis is correct, the rectangular 30-hectare fortification of Theodosiopolis represents a city which was built under Anastasius I and, according to Procopius, it was officially named Anastasiopolis, even though this name did not outlast the reign of its builder. According to Procopius, the walls of Martyropolis were a work of Justinian who renamed it as Iustinianopolis and made it headquarters of the *dux* of Armenia.[35]

The emperor Anastasius I implemented a systematic plan of renewing and enriching the defensive infrastructure of all the frontier zones of the empire, thirty years before his more famous successor, Justinian, launched his empire-wide building drives. Anastasius' prudent financial policies gave him the confidence to proceed, while conflicts in the east and the Balkans gave him incentives for new

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[32]   Anatolius is only mentioned by Moses of Khorene (see n. 31), while Moses and David feature in the hagiographic narrative of the *Reproach of the Wretched Dyophysites by the Holy Armenian Vardapets Moses and David*. For a quotation of the latter translated into French and information about the edition of the Armenian text, see: Garsoïan, 'Date de la fondation', 191; Crow, 'Theodosiopolis', 112.

[33]   Fowden, *Barbarian Plain*, 45–59.

[34]   Procopius, *Buildings*, 3.5 (in Dewing and Downey, *Procopius*, 200–205); Crow, 'Theodosiopolis', 114–115.

[35]   Procopius, *Buildings*, 3.2; John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 18.5 (in Jeffreys *et al.*, *The Chronicle*, 246).
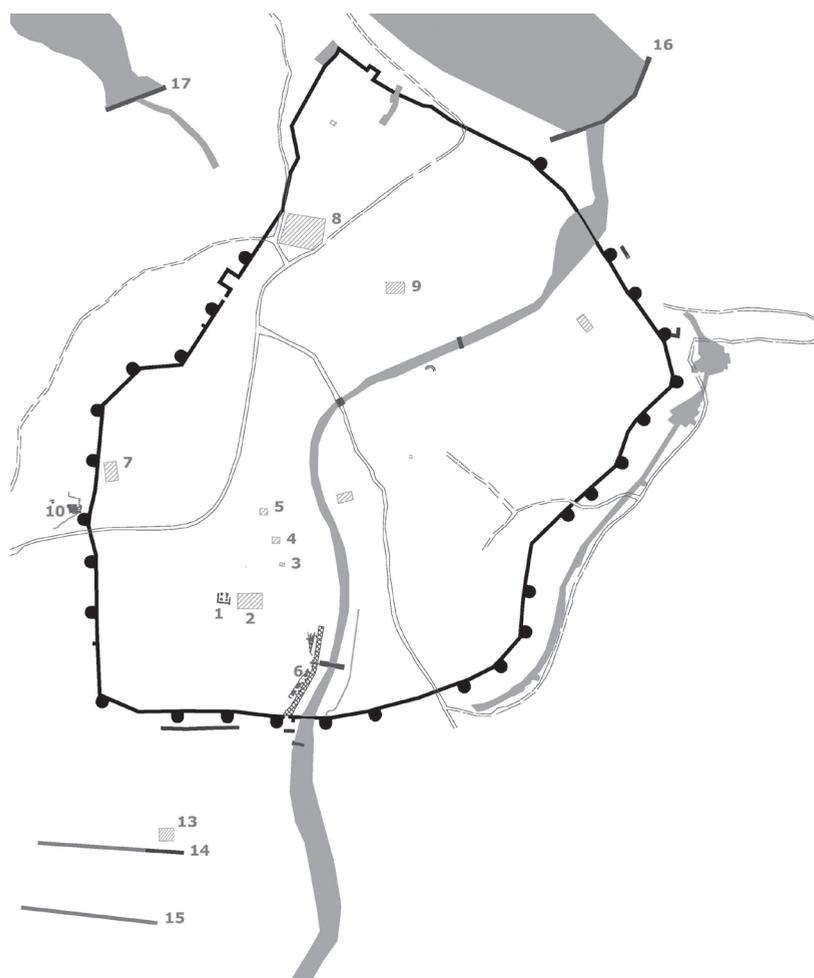
Figure 11.8. Dara-Anastasiopolis. 1. Tetrapylon. 2. Cathedral and cistern. 3-5. Remains of monumental complex (bishop's palace?) 6. Shops and street. 7-8. Cisterns. 9. Church of Saint Bartholomew (?) (Keser Kayaalp and Erdoğan, 'Recent Research', fig. 2).

construction.[36] The already mentioned expansion of Theodosiopolis-Anastasiopolis belonged to a broader building drive for the strengthening of the fortified strongholds of Roman defence along the borders with Persia, which included the expansion and refortification of Satala and Melitene.[37] Perhaps his most famous work, however, was the new city of Dara in Mesopotamia, which was built in the aftermath of a Persian invasion in AD 503, when Roman defence collapsed and Amida was temporarily captured. Explaining the reasons for the defeat, Anastasius'

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[36] Capizzi, *Anastasio*, 189–232.
[37] Procopius, *Buildings*, 3.4 (in Dewing and Downey, *Procopius*, 184–201).

generals reported that their military operations in Mesopotamia were inhibited by the fact that the Romans 'had no siege works ready and no place of refuge for rest, because the fortresses were remotely located and were too small to receive the army; and the water and other food supplies that were in them were not adequate'. They therefore urged the emperor to build a city 'as a place of refuge for the army and a resting place, for the preparation and storage of weapons.'[38] The emperor accepted the suggestion and proceeded with the foundation of a new city near the border line. This was a violation of the peace treaty with Persia, but the shah's inability to react because of his war in central Asia gave the east Romans the opportunity to rectify their defective position in Mesopotamia. Speedy action was required and the Romans built the new city in a phenomenally brief period of time, completing its defences within three years, an achievement which is recorded with obvious pride in the sources. The most important of them, the *Syriac Chronicle* of Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene, reports that Dara was carefully chosen at the suggestion of engineers sent to the area by the emperor. It had previously been a village owned by the bishopric of Amida. The author reports that 'the emperor gave gold to bishop Thomas [metropolitan of Amida] as the value of the village that belonged to the church and he purchased it for the treasury. He freed all of the settlers who were in it and donated to each one his own land and his own dwelling'.[39] Although in principle designed to help the military, Dara was also planned to become a proper city. The relationship between the civilian and military components of the project is also reflected by the fact that the management of its construction was assigned to both the *dux* of Mesopotamia, John, and the bishop of Amida, Thomas. The latter appointed some of his clerics to the daily running of the works and, when the project was finished, one of them, Eutychian, became the first bishop of the new city of Dara-Anastasiopolis.[40] The whole arrangement recalls the combined roles of priests and soldiers in the foundation story of Theodosiopolis.

The foundation of Dara was not conducted through the settlement of new population, but by the transformation of the local serfs into free landowners through the distribution of land. The population was soon augmented by craftsmen and workers who came from east and west to work on the massive building project, attracted by the handsome salaries offered by the authorities – the human resources for the building were not exclusively military. How the new city related to the pre-existing village as a settlement cannot be currently assessed due to the lack of archaeological evidence. The fortifications of the Anastasian town surrounded an area of roughly forty hectares divided into two parts by the gorge of the river Kordes which flows through the centre of the city (Fig. 11.8). The wall circuit has a partly rectangular shape in the south-west part which contains the cathedral complex in its middle and

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[38]   Pseudo-Zachariah, *Chronicle* 7.6a, 6b (quoted from Greatrex *et al.*, *Chronicle*, 247).
[39]   Pseudo-Zachariah, *Chronicle* 7.6c (= Greatrex *et al.*, *Chronicle*, 247).
[40]   Pseudo-Zachariah, *Chronicle* 7.6b–d (= Greatrex *et al.*, *Chronicle*, 247–251).

may therefore have been the most important sector of the settlement or the place where the building of the new city started. Just in front of the cathedral there are the remains of a monumental tetrapylon which may suggest that the city was planned to have orthogonally crossed central streets, but no other traces of such arteries have been found.[41] Thus, in Dara-Anastasiopolis even the last remaining element of orthogonal urban planning, the perpendicularly crossed central alleys, was given up, perhaps under the pressure to finish the building project quickly or due to the need to adjust to the rough terrain of the site.

At roughly the same time as Dara was built, Anastasius also undertook to turn the fortress of Resapha into a city and centre of the Gassanid federates who joined the service of the imperial army in AD 502. Resapha was one of the fortresses of the Diocletianic *limes* in Syria (the *Strata Diocletiana*) which developed into the Christian pilgrimage centre of Saint Sergius and was made a bishopric in the early fifth century. Anastasius built a new fortification which quadrupled its size, and the project continued until the reign of Justinian when the city took its final shape. Although the interior of the city has not been fully investigated by archaeology, it is assumed that there was a quite regular street plan, with two perpendicularly crossed streets and a central tetrapylon (Fig. 11.9). The urban plan apparently adjusted to the bed of a stream and to the presence of holy sites which were marked through the construction of sumptuous churches.[42]

In the Balkan provinces, features recalling those we have already seen in the east can be found in three settlements. The earliest is the probably Anastasian fortified town in the quarter of Horizont in modern Balchik (Bulgaria), on the Black Sea coast of the province of Scythia Minor (Fig. 11.10). The ancient name and character of this settlement have not been identified, and there is no known reference to it in the written sources. Yet, it features a rectangular fortification of about 15 hectares, very similar in shape and architecture to that of Resapha, while finds indicate that it was occupied from the early sixth century onwards. Its interior has not been sufficiently explored yet.[43] Much more is known about two cities founded by Justinian in the 530s in his native north-west Balkan provinces – Iustiniana Prima and Iustiniana Secunda. Iustiniana Prima has been identified as the site of Caričin Grad in south Serbia, a small but ambitiously designed fortified town, featuring two arteries with porticoes crossed in a fine circular piazza with the emperor's statue (Fig. 11.11).[44] Iustiniana Secunda was the successor of the earlier city of Ulpiana in the province of Dardania (near Gracanica in today's Kosovo), a very large early Roman *municipium* and Tetrarchic fortress town which was destroyed during the great earthquake of AD 518. In the 530s, it was replaced by the settlement of Iustiniana Secunda, built immediately east of the earlier fortified city (Fig. 11.12). Iustiniana Secunda was substantially larger

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[41] Keser Kayaalp and Erdoğan, 'Recent Research'.

[42] Gussone and Sack, 'Resafa/Syrien'; Westphalen, 'Untersuchungen zum Strassennetzwerk'.

[43] Torbatov, *Scythia Minor*, 263–270.

[44] Ivanišević, 'Main Patterns'.
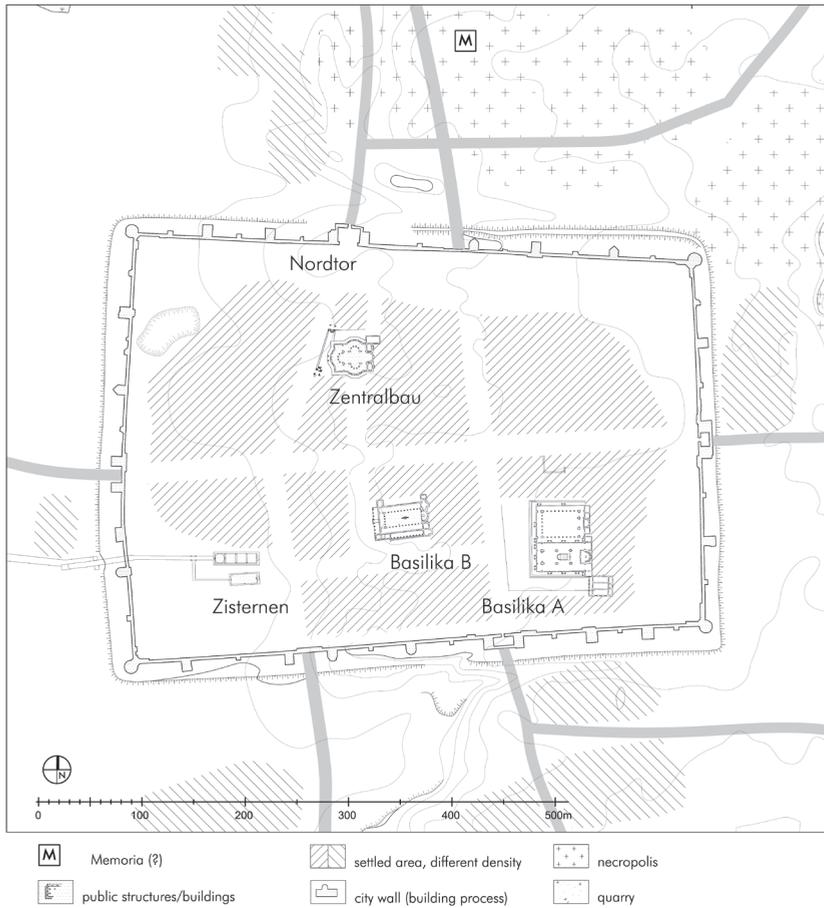
Figure 11.9. Resapha (Gussone and Sack, 'Resafa/Syrien', fig. 8).

than Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima (16 vs 7.4 hectares) and much more regular in its design, with a perfectly quadrate fortification, *c.* 400 metres square. Its interior seems to have been articulated by two perfectly axial intersecting arteries following the best practices of early Roman orthogonal settlement design. This was probably the last orthogonally designed city founded by the Roman Empire – the swan song, as it were, of the Roman *groma*. Future research will hopefully show whether, besides the central streets, there was also a fully-developed grid.[45]

Studies on Iustiniana Prima have often stressed the dimension of imperial rhetoric reflected in this city's foundation in honour of Justinian's native area, but this approach

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[45]   Teichner, 'Ulpiana – Iustiniana Secunda'.
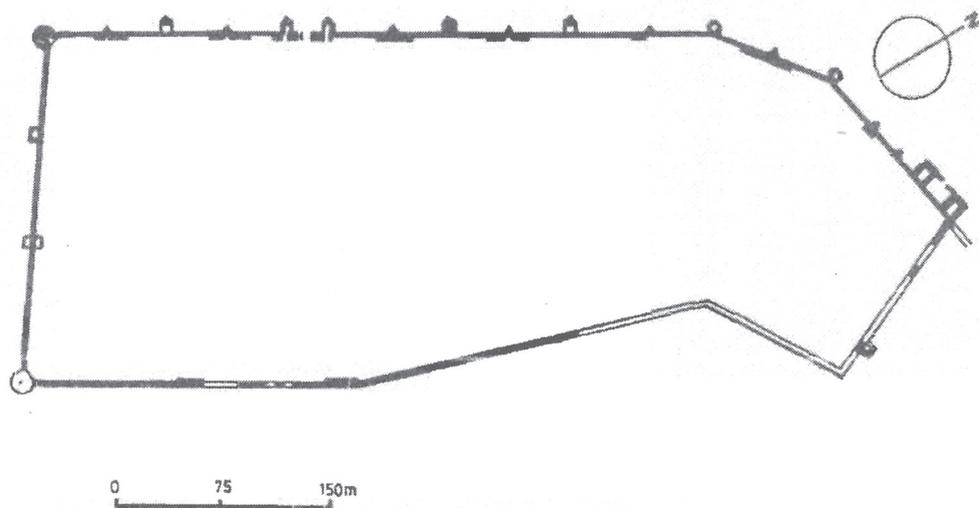
Figure 11.10. Balchik, Bulgaria. Fortified city in Horizont (Torbatov, Defence System, *fig. 69).*

downplays the fact that, besides propaganda, new cities like this also addressed real needs and problems. Ever since Attila's invasion of 447, Constantinople had been unable to restore full control over the Danube frontier. This weakness only started to be redressed under Anastasius who reclaimed the Lower Danube, while Moesia Superior and the Danube beyond the Iron Gates had to wait until Justinian to return to Constantinople's grip. The restoration of Roman domination in the north Balkans under these emperors entailed building drives for the renewal of the settlement network after a long period of decline.[46] The geographical distribution of Anastasius' and Justinian's building projects – the former's works gravitate in the east Balkans, while the latter's appear in the central and west parts of the region – followed the northward expansion of Constantinople's dominion. Besides glorifying the names of their founders, the new cities of these emperors served the real needs of provinces under restauration.

The foundation of Iustiniana Secunda was the result of the relocation of a damaged older city, which also involved a reduction of its size – apparently responding to the decline of its population. Relocations of cities were increasingly frequent from the sixth century onwards, but they normally resulted in much less orderly settlements than Iustiniana Secuda. The need for natural defensibility led to a preference for extremely rough sites, unsuitable for orthogonal design and lacking sufficient resources for the development of agriculture and landownership. Two examples can be

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[46] Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars*, 124–197.
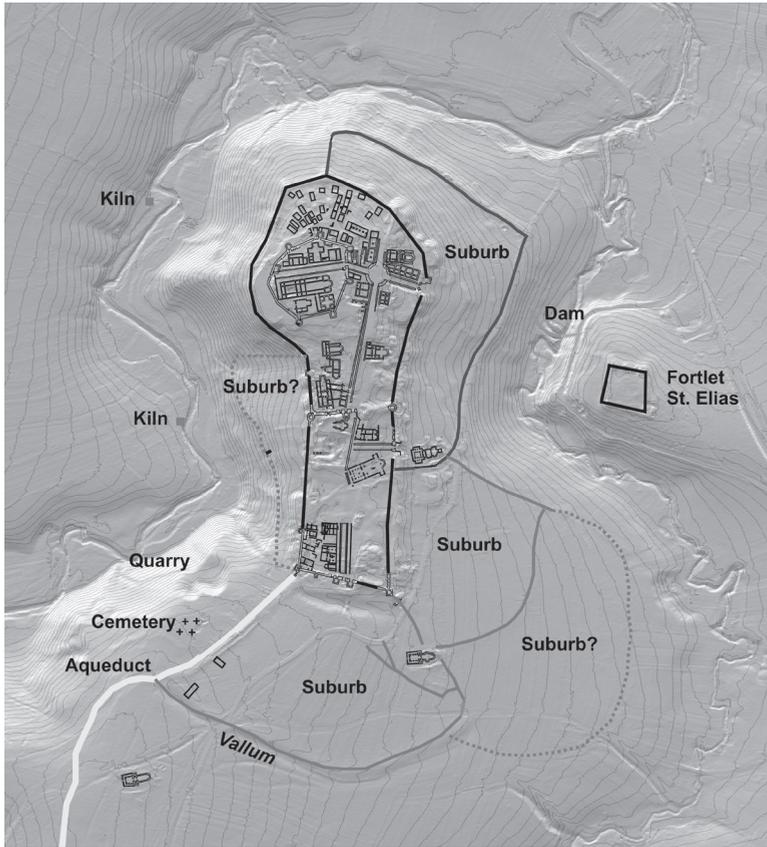
Figure 11.11. Caričin Grad (Ivanišević, 'Main Patterns', fig. 3).

seen in Moesia Inferior and Cappadocia. In the late fifth century, the city of Nicopolis ad Istrum experienced a dramatic decline in its population and settlement size, while a new city emerged some 20 kilometres south, on the citadel of Tsarevets Hill in today's Veliko Turnovo (Bulgaria). This city, which has been tentatively identified as Zikideva of the late antique episcopal lists, succeeded Nicopolis as the main settlement in that part of the Danubian Plain through the Middle Ages and down to the present.[47] The difference between the two settlements could hardly be sharper: the flat lowland and orthogonally designed Trajanic city, surrounded by good arable land and linked to the Danube by navigable rivers and roads, was given up in favour of a steep hill in a remote forested gorge at the foothills of the Haemus range, surrounded by high rocky cliffs and by the maeanders of the river Yantra (Fig. 11.13). It was an almost impregnable site, evidently chosen to deter siege, but also devoid of substantial

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[47]   Dintchev, 'Zikideva'.
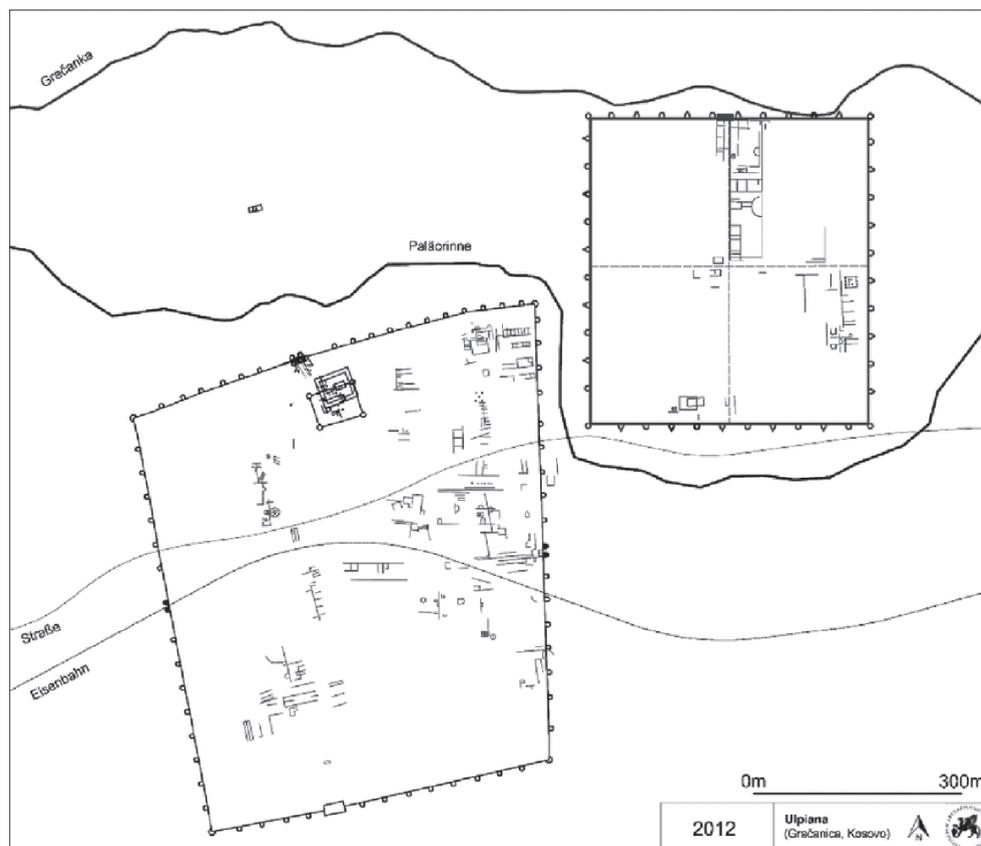
Figure 11.12. Ulpiana (left) and Justiniana Secunda (right) (Teichner, 'Ulpiana-Justiniana Secunda', fig. 2).

agricultural resources. We have no recording of when and by whom Tsarevets/Zikideva was chosen and founded, but are better informed about the relocation under Justinian of the city of Mokisos in Cappadocia, which is described in detail by Procopius. The settlement of the new Justinianic town has been idenitified as the site of Viranşehir, a large settlement, exceeding 70 hectares in size and nested within the side-crater of the volcanic Mount Hasan Dağı (Fig. 11.14). Hauntingly impressive by its large size and complete lack of any kind of urban planning and infrastructure, this city exemplifies the transition into an era when the orderly distribution of property and conditions of urban civility became a luxury for a society struggling for survival.[48]

Tsarevets/Zikideva and Viranşehir/Mokisos are less monumental than prestigious imperial foundations like Resapha or Iustiniana Prima, but display, nonetheless, the same emphasis on ecclesiastical building. Finely built churches, in contrast to all

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[48] Berger, 'Viranşehir'; Berger, 'Mokisos'.
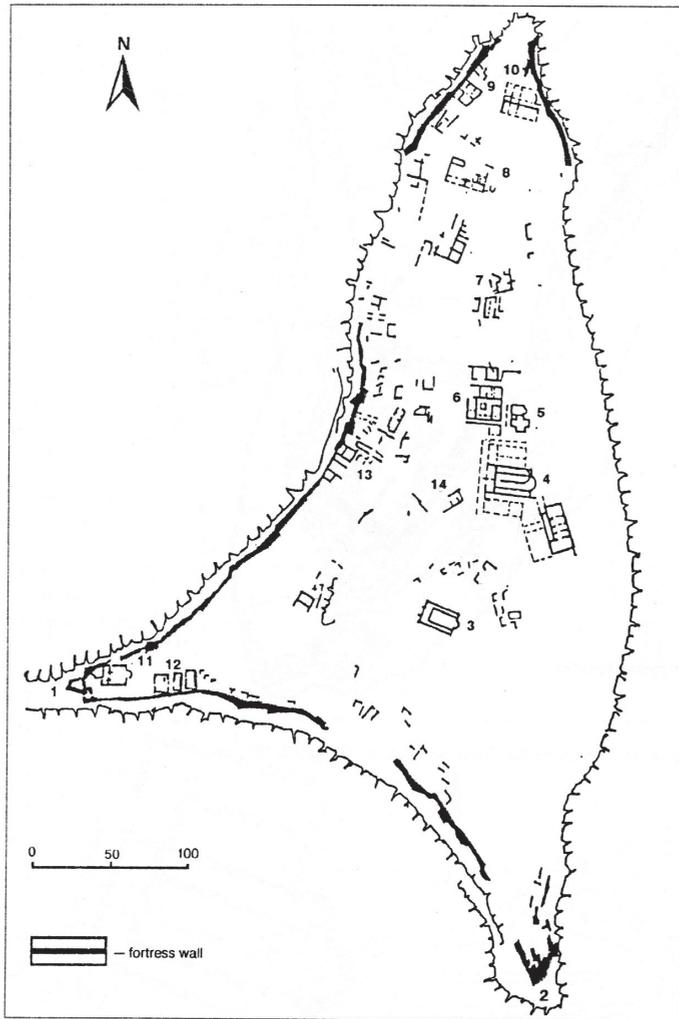
Figure 11.13. Zikideva (Dintchev, 'Zikideva', fig. 3).

other amenities in these towns, occupied the most prominent locations, reflecting the centrality of ecclesiastical institutions in civic life and the building of a collective identity marked by the Christian religion. We saw earlier that Theodosiopolis and Dara were built by bishops and military commanders. Similarly, Iustiniana Prima was founded as the seat of a new ecclesiastical administration for the Latin speaking north-west Balkans.[49] In the same period, in neighbouring Moesia Superior, an inscription commemorates the building of an entire city by a bishop.[50] The new cities of Anastasius

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[49] Procopius, *Buildings*, 4.1.17–27 (in Dewing and Downey, *Procopius*, 224–227); Novella Justiniani 11 (in Miller and Sarris, *The Novels*, 163–165); Sarantis, *Justinian's Balkan Wars*, 149–160.
[50] Feissel, 'Les édifices de Justinien', Cat. Nr. 15.

Figure 11.14. Mokisos (Berger, 'Viranşehir', fig. 1).

and Justinian were built by a Christian empire, defending its lands under the flag of Christianity and its saints: Saint Bartholomew the Apostle's relics were sent to Dara and his cult was also associated with Theodosiopolis;[51] Resapha was chosen because Saint Sergius rested there; the Persian Martyrs fuelled the growth of Martyropolis

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[51] John Diakrinomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, excerpts from Book 9. Text edition: Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes*, 157. On the tradition about Saint Bartholomew and Theodosiopolis, see the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (ed. Garrite), 65–73; Garsoïan, 'Date de la foundation', 194–196.

and Saint Theodore the Recruit was the first and most famous citizen of another Anastasian foundation, Euchaita-Anastasiopolis in Pontus.[52] These were now the invisible colonists and defenders of the empire's soil.

Conclusions

A new city is a reflection of the character and circumstances of the society which creates it and, accordingly, foundations of cities are reliable guides to the transformations of the Roman empire as a state and civilisation. The socio-political purposes of creating *coloniae* for Roman citizens quickly lost their importance in the Greek east, where the emperors experimented with non-colonial new cities already from the times of Augustus. The integration of the conquered provinces which culminated in the expansion of citizenship in AD 212 cancelled the special privileges of old *coloniae* and, from Diocletian onwards, the title was awarded no more. The insecurity and military needs of the incipient late antiquity gave rise to the highly militarised fortress town, a new type of urbanism in which defensive infrastructure was prioritised over the civilian aspects of traditional urban life and the settlement of landowners. The memory of early Roman urban design was preserved in the building of alleys and in the choice of flat lowland sites, but the use of orthogonal street grids seems to have been given up for good. Thus, at the threshold of late antiquity, the Roman empire, though investing in new cities, had practically abandoned the ideal of the early Roman orthogonally designed *colonia*. The new principles of urban planning were characterised by lower levels of orthogonality and monumentality. As the empire advanced towards the insecurity of the Middle Ages, the constantly growing needs of defence led to the adoption of forms of settlement even more remote from the early Roman tradition, with a preference for rough, defendable sites and even greater neglect for regular urban design. The poliad institutions and traditions of the civilian early Roman city of landowners declined opening the way for the rise of the heavily militarised fortress town and the dynamic rise of the Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. The new cities of late antiquity reflect the transformative impact of war and of the empire's reforms, offering a testimony to Rome's ability for adaptation and to the high price it often had to pay for its survival.

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[52]   Mango and Ševčenko, 'Three inscriptions'; Haldon *et al.*, 'Euchaïta'.

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Chapter 12

Foundational grids and urban communities in the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity and the Middle Ages

Javier Martínez Jiménez

Introduction

Traditional approaches to the study of urbanism have presented gridded settlements as an instrument of colonising powers: the imposition of a mode of living on a (usually fictionally) empty landscape, and the power of a centralised state.[1] Similarly, any deviation from the pristine grid can be presented as a decline and fall from a supposed golden standard.[2] While it is true that grid plans show a degree of collective effort and preliminary planning coordination that often comes hand in hand with a strong state, the grid is only a starting point for a new settlement. By this I mean that grids are not necessarily colonial impositions (the grid can appear 'locally') and that the abandonment of grids simply underlines the evolution of the city as a community and not necessarily a regression in civic values. The grid is a useful starting tool and can represent the infancy of a city, and while the deviation from the grid does not represent the maturity of the urban community, it is certainly an experimental teenage phase.

In this chapter, I will focus on the Iberian Peninsula (Fig. 12.1) in its first two millennia of urbanism from roughly 800 BC to AD 1200, analysing the role of the grid as an instrument to establish a new city. This does not always happen in 'colonial' contexts. For this I will be following Michael Smith's analysis of early town planning,[3] and anthropological theory on place-based identity;[4] I will show that the grid is a

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[1] Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*; Laurence, 'Modern ideology'; Stanislawski, 'The origin'. Cf. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism*, 13–31.
[2] Ward-Perkins, 'Continuists'.
[3] Smith, 'Form and meaning'.
[4] Lalli, 'Urban-related identity'; Rapoport, *Human Aspects*; Smith, 'Form and meaning'.

Figure 12.1. Map locating the sites mentioned in the text: triangles = Orientalising foundations; circles = early Iron Age; diamonds = late Iron Age; pentagons = Roman; dotted circles = early Medieval; squares = late Medieval (J. Martínez Jiménez).

response to foundational needs, to distribute plots and allow spaces for communal elements, all of which clearly respond to the needs and expectations of the settlers for a wide range of cultures, from Iberian to Roman to Visigothic to Islamic. I will also argue that city dwellers understood their urban environment in ways which went beyond the grid. From this perspective, the abandonment of foundational layouts can be better seen as the application of cognitive mapping and social *habitus* to the urban fabric rather than the disregard of civic ideals apparently coded in into an orthogonal plan.

Planning and understanding urban foundations

In his 2007 analytic study on the notions of planning in early cities, Michael Smith explains that there is a whole spectrum of ways in which to establish a new foundation that depend on the degree of involvement of the planners, local limitations and ideas of what urban communities need. This range can be analysed through two perpendicular axes that represent the opposed weights of two essential factors that determine the shape of the new city: the degree

of building coordination and the formality of urban standards and ideals.[5] Urban formality includes the range of elements (buildings, spaces, infrastructure) which are considered necessary parts of a city, but also the spatial patterns that derive from urban communal *habitus*. Urban formality is culture-specific and is the result of a number of converging elements which range from the type and seasonality of market systems (weekly markets that require an open space vs commercial streets) to the nature of the administration (*e.g.*, assemblies need open areas) and even the form of cult.[6] Meanwhile, layout coordination (of building, spaces, streets, *etc.*) can be determined by the role of and need for specific buildings, topographical limitations and vistas. In Roman contexts, for example, we find that urbanity was represented visually through cities with masonry walls, colonnaded buildings and streets, amphitheatres and other elements such as aqueducts,[7] while their administrative system and the statue-giving tradition made open spaces (fora) an essential part of cities.[8]

This analysis underlines the fact that newly founded cities, even those without a grid, also had a degree of preliminary planning. The use of the Hippodamian grid for new urban developments is only one way of establishing cities; one that combines a high degree of both building coordination and urban formality, and even within this city-planning model there is room for semi-orthogonal grids and loose grids that only follow two main axes.

But for grids to develop there are other necessary prerequisites. There has to be, first of all, a minimal mathematical base: the simplest grid can be established just with a length of string to set a main axis and a basic knowledge of geometry to draw perpendicular lines at regular intervals.[9] A second key element is also the individuality of the settler as a concept and the understanding that the settler is a citizen with a role within the community, which normally becomes associated with ownership of urban and rural allocated plots. In the Mesopotamian tradition, which had enough mathematical knowledge to do perfect right angles, the distribution of urban spaces in new foundations was done by granting sectors to groups based on kinship or other form of collective self-definition, and this did not result in street grids.[10]

The second part of Smith's analysis focuses more on the cultural meaning associated to urban forms, grids included.[11] He explains how cities can be understood at three

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[5]   Smith, 'Form and meaning', 5–25.
[6]   Rapoport, *Human Aspects*, 265–289; but far more variables can be included: type of domestic architecture and family system, concepts of private and public, ritualised behaviour, etc.
[7]   Especially when compared to non-Romans. Frontinus, *De aquis* (1.16), 'compare [the aqueducts], if you will, [to] the idle [*otiosas*] Pyramids or the useless-though-famous [*inertia sed fama*], works of the Greeks!', although Neo-Assyrian foundations also included aqueducts (Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 536). For the representation of *Romanitas* in depictions of cities, see, Bejarano Osorio, 'Una ampulla de vidrio' and Thill, 'Civilization under construction', or look at the Avezzano relief.
[8]   Stambaugh, *The Ancient Roman City*, 243–247.
[9]   Orfila Pons, 'La creación de infraestructuras', 68.
[10] Stone, 'Mesopotamian cities'.
[11] Smith, 'Form and meaning', 29–36; although much more detailed in Rapoport, *Human Aspects.*
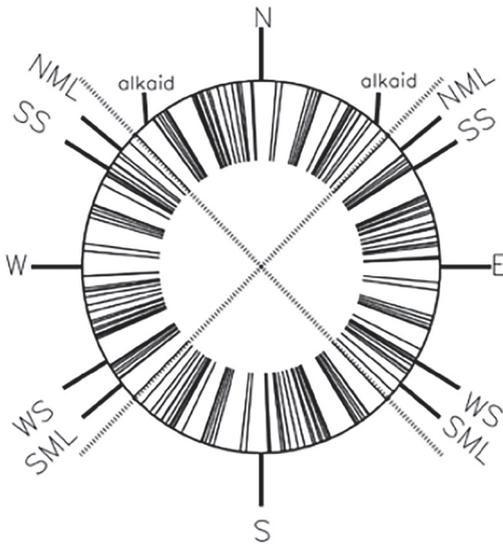
Figure 12.2. Graph indicating the alignments of main axes in Roman grids in Spain, indicating the winter and summer solstices and the northern and southern major lunistices (González García et al.*, 'The orientation of Roman towns', fig. 5).*

levels, in which the layout plays a major role, underlining the fact that the urban form at the foundation represents the cultural values of the founders and not necessarily those of their successors centuries after.

One level of understanding represents the cosmological perception of the city. In this sense, the establishing of a new city should reflect the ideal concept of urbanism, but a city could also represent the values and visions of the cosmos. Circular cities are a very clear example of cosmological ideas imposed on an urban plan, but rectangular grids can also represent the ideal worldview. Gridded city foundations in the Far East (like Kyoto) have been seen under this light,[12] but the scientific and modern rationale of the Victorian period (in Australia, Canada or Africa) can also be seen as a higher meaning for colonial grid foundations.[13] In the Hellenistic and Roman traditions, the grid allowed the distribution of plots to individual citizens and while the alignment of its axes normally responded to local geographical necessities,[14] it also could have religious and astrological significance: the quartering of the land mirrors the quartering of the sky, and axes could be oriented to certain sidereal ephemerides (Fig. 12.2).[15]

A second level of understanding is the way the urban community itself understands its city and how it affects the way town dwellers perceive and define themselves in relation to their city and as opposed to others.[16] By living together in one space and interacting as groupings within the built environment, the correlation between memories, feelings and places of a community forms a cognitive map, a mental

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[12] Stavros, *Kyoto.*
[13] Cf. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism*, 21–31, but read with caution.
[14] González García and Costa Ferrer, 'The diachronic study'; Orfila Pons, 'La creación de infraestructuras', 65–67.
[15] González García *et al.*, 'The orientation of Roman towns'; Magli 'On the orientation'; Orfila Pons *et al.*, 'Urbanizar en época romana'; Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1–5.
[16] Jenkins, *Social Identity*, 91–92; Kaymaz, 'Urban landscapes'; Lalli, 'Urban-related identity'; Lersch, *Der Aufbau der Charakter*, 220–224; Martínez Jiménez, 'Urban identity'; Rapoport, *Human Aspects*, 109–142.

image of the city. As a result, the more memories a place or monument accumulates socially, the more important it becomes in the cognitive map, which explains why those spaces that concentrate social gatherings (ceremonial spots, market areas, entertainment buildings, administrative offices) become defining landmarks for both the city and its inhabitants.[17]

It is common, especially in Hellenistic and Roman gridded foundations, to focus all the elements that can potentially become 'hot spots' in communal cognitive maps around the central open space, although central spaces in grids saved for focal landmarks appear elsewhere: from royal Assyrian foundations,[18] to the Spanish *Laws of Indies*,[19] and later medieval settlements.[20] These focal points, of course, derive partly from the expectations of the new settlers, because in a community without a past, the quickest way to develop shared memories and social cohesion is to provide them

Figure 12.3. Flatiron Building, New York City, at the crossing of Broadway (a diagonal to the grid) and Fifth Avenue (a north–south axis). In a gridded settlement, vistas are limited to the main axes, and only deviations from the grid allow individual monuments to be singled out (J. Martínez Jiménez).

with the elements that they think they need to form a (civic) community. This centralised focus is a characteristic element in gridded settlements because, due to their geometry (topography and heights notwithstanding), straight, criss-crossing streets do not favour vistas towards focal elements or buildings (Fig. 12.3). This contrasts sharply with the Mesopotamian model, where roads work as axes towards focal buildings,[21] or the nineteenth-century boulevards of many European cities. This

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17 Rapoport, *Human Aspects*, 282–284; Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 188–189.
18 Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 536.
19 *Laws of Indies* 7.8.9: 'And, the royal houses, the council [*concejo*] or chapter house [*cabildo*], the customs office [*aduana*], and the shipyard [*atarazana*] shall be built in between the main square and the temple [=cathedral]'.
20 As in Wales: Lilley *et al.*, 'Designs and designers'.
21 Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*; Stone, 'Mesopotamian cities'.

imposition of the grid structure over visual landmarks generates an understanding of the urban space completely different to that of sites where the development is axial – a change that would take place in Roman towns during late antiquity.

Grids in the Iberian Peninsula

Focusing now on the Iberian Peninsula, we will see that the grid (loosely defined and not necessarily perfectly orthogonal) has a long tradition, not always colonial (understanding the term as an 'outsider' foundation; grids also appear in 'local' contexts), but always associated with new establishments.

The first urban grids appear in the Iberian Peninsula during the turn from the Bronze to the Iron Ages (between the ninth and seventh centuries BC), when the first Phoenician settlements were established.[22] These were at first foundations intended for (permanent) residence, and not simple trading outposts. Sites like Morro de Mezquitilla (ninth century BC), Cerro del Villar (eight century BC) and Málaga (seventh century BC) have organised streets with a regular layout. These are not 'textbook' grids, nor are the streets perfectly straight, but they have a main axis from which a handful of perpendicular and (largely) parallel streets are drawn, similar to the grids that appear in other seemingly later Phoenician foundations like Carthage (eight century BC) or Motya (sixth century BC).[23]

During the early Iron Age, grids in organised 'local' settlements became more common.[24] Sites like Tejada la Vieja (sixth century BC), within the Phoenician area of influence, have standardised street widths, packed clays surfaces and a drainage system.[25] Further north along the Mediterranean coast and the Guadalquivir Valley, in the area associated with the Iberian culture, many sites develop incipient regular layouts, some of which had perpendicular streets (El Oral, La Hoya, Inestrillas, Puig de la Nao, Puente Tablas, *etc*.; Fig. 12.4).[26] Many of these settlements were new, green-field foundations, where the urbanism and the distribution of the plots must have been pre-designed, which explains the appearance of a regular grid and, possibly, the existence of paved streets with rain gutters. The construction of this infrastructure alongside singular buildings and walls further suggests that there was a civic community behind the organisation of these foundations, which appears to have gathered dispersed smaller settlements (synoecism).[27] This Iberian region was already bordering with the Greek colonies of Rhode and Emporion, established by the Phocaeans in the sixth

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[22] Aubet, 'El sistema colonial fenicio'; López Castro, 'The Iberian Peninsula'; López Castro and Mora Serrano, 'Malaka'.

[23] Docter, 'Residential architecture', 440; Fumadó Ortega, '¿Quién parte y reparte?'; Maraoui Telmini *et al.*, 'Defining Punic Carthage', 123; Herrmann and Sconzo, 'Planning Punic cities'.

[24] Urbanisation in the Iberian Peninsula, as a whole, cannot anymore be seen as a direct colonial imposition of Phoenicians, Carthaginians or Greeks, Houten, *Civitates Hispaniae*, 28–46.

[25] Blázquez Martínez, 'Últimas aportaciones', 36–37.

[26] Sáez Romero and García Fernández, 'Las Hispanias prerromanas', 55; Ruiz Rodríguez *et al.*, 'El palacio'.

[27] Gardes, 'Habitat, sociétés et territoires'.
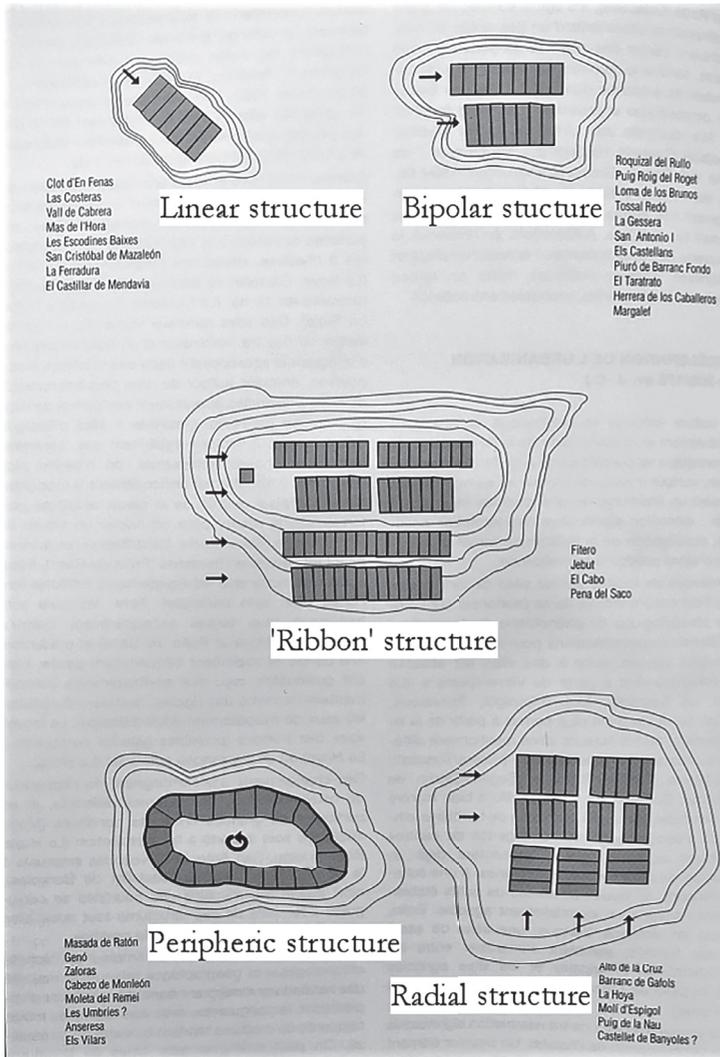
Figure 12.4. Typologies of late Iron Age sites, as in Gardes, 'Habitat, sociétés et territoires', fig. 3.

century BC. Emporion had two different foci (a *palaeopolis* and a *neapolis*), where the latter was an expansion of the original island settlement which had a rectangular arrangement.[28] The nearby settlement of Ullastret (traditionally interpreted as the 'local' response to the Greek presence) is a fortified settlement with a perimetral road that hugs the walls and a probable internal grid distribution as well.[29]

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[28] Aquilué, 'Topografía', 32–33.
[29] Martí Ortega, 'L'oppidum'. This settlement (like many others from the Iberian area) are called 'oppida' as opposed to cities, simply on the basis of the lack of a real orthogonal urbanism and their 'local'
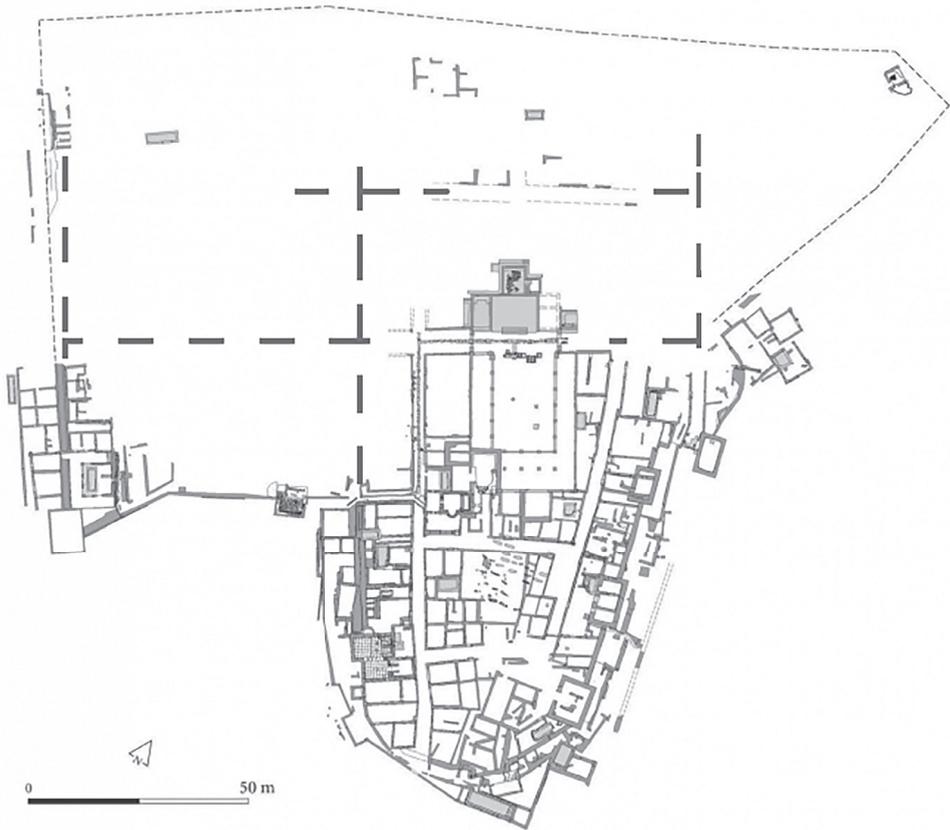
Figure 12.5. Plan of Lucentum, extrapolating rectilinear streets. Based on Mas Guilabert, Olcina Doménech and Tendero Porras, 'Lucentum', fig. 2.

The later Iron Age coincided, in many cases, with the foundation of new settlements or the reorganisation of previously existing ones on gridded street systems (as it is the case of Lucentum, Fig. 12.5).[30] By this period, 'local' settlements in the Iberian area (that is, the south-eastern half, as opposed to the 'celtic' north-west),[31] were also mostly gridded. But it was the arrival of the Romans that had a longer impact (and a wider expansion) of the street grid as a model for new urban foundations. More advanced mathematical knowledge and precise surveying equipment (like the *groma*, the *dioptra* or the *chorobates*),[32] enabled Roman surveyors to build straighter streets,

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nature, which already highlights the ideology behind the terminology.

[30]   Bendala Galán, 'De Iberia in Hispaniam', 26.

[31]   I use 'celtic' in this context with great care. Mostly because it was a term used by the Romans (like Pliny or Strabo) in their ethnographic descriptions. Cf. Sáez Romero and García Fernández, 'Las Hispanias prerromanas'.

[32]   Lewis, *Surveying Instruments*.

perfectly perpendicular crossings, and long-distance axes to divide the countryside, as it is known (and visible today) in the territories around Mérida, Elche, Zaragoza, Tarragona and Braga.[33]

By the second century AD, the Roman spree of city founding had ended and, with it, ended the first wave of gridded foundations in the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, from the late second century onwards, urban development and construction stalled, especially in secondary nuclei.[34] After the fourth century, it is clear that many of these secondary towns lost their central role and were, in many cases, abandoned in favour of other more suitable settlements.[35] During late antiquity there is a bracket during which the grid is only temporarily abandoned (further discussed below), emerging again later: in the Carolingian foundation of L'Esquerda (ninth century),[36] and the Asturian semi-urban foundation of Oviedo (ninth century),[37] but more clearly in the palatial Umayyad city Madinat al-Zahra and other new suburbs of the capital (mid-tenth century).[38] From then on, the grid becomes standard. The Almohad (thirteenth century) expansion of Seville over the silted-up river bed,[39] and the Christian foundations of Villarreal, Mondragón, Bilbao (thirteenth century) and Santa Fe (fifteenth century) present already orthogonal modular grids.[40] This tradition would be the one taken later to the Canary Islands and, from there, to the Indies.[41]

Deviations from the grid

It is clear that the idea of the grid was shared across the Iberian Peninsula through the ages, although it was the Roman input that promoted the idea and extended it to corners that had not been urbanised before. It is also clear that the grid, as a system to set out a new foundation, was a defining characteristic of newly-founded Iron Age and Roman settlements where the local topography allowed it. However, we should not forget that the foundational grids between the third century BC and the second century AD represented the cultural expectations and values of the founders. We are prone to see grids as immutable and capable of enduring the passage of time, perhaps because of modern parallels like most North American cities (even in places like San Francisco, where the local topography is not necessarily grid-friendly). But deviations and alterations of the grid do not need to be part of decline and fall narratives: they

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[33] Ariño Gil and Gurt Esparraguera, 'Catastros romanos'; Ariño Gil and Chávez Álvarez, 'La estructuración'.
[34] Arce Martínez, 'Conslusión'; Cepas Palanca, *Crisis y continuidad*.
[35] Martínez Jiménez and Tejerizo García, 'Central places'. This, of course, is a pattern common across the West, not only to the Hispanic provinces: Ward-Perkins, 'The cities'.
[36] Ollich Castanyer *et al.*, 'The Southern Carolingian frontier'.
[37] García de Castro and Ríos González, 'El origen de Oviedo'; again, with a caveat Moreno Martín, 'Circulación de modelos'.
[38] Acién Almansa, 'Madinat al-Zahra'; Toral-Niehoff and León Muñoz, 'Cordoba', 142–144.
[39] Valor Piechotta, *Sevilla almohade*.
[40] de Tomás Medina, 'El origen'; Ferrer, 'Una fundación'.
[41] Martínez Lemoine, 'The classical model'; Smith, 'Colonial towns'.

represent the evolution of civic communities and changes in their perception of their own urban environment.

In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages there was a number of changes that modified pre-existing urban configurations that altered the layout of local cognitive maps. These new developments and expectations had a direct impact on the evolution of the grid. War and insecurity made more manageable and defensible reduced wall enclosures a necessity in many sites. This prompted the relegation of previously intramural areas to new suburbs. The reduction of civic councils and the centralisation of power in designated bureaucrats rather than elected magistrates made fora as places of assembly redundant, facilitating their encroachment and the dismantling of its decorations. Christianity introduced a new cult that needed its own urban space, and because of their original circumstances, these places of cult emerged first in the old extramural necropoleis. Even the changes in burial patterns from cremation in roadside necropoleis to inhumation graveyards forced changes in the ways cities were understood and perceived.[42] All of these elements affected the way in which urban layouts evolved beyond the grid with encroachments, dismantling of old buildings and the development of new, off-alignment streets.

Encroachment

The occupation of public spaces with private buildings has usually been seen as one of the main causes for the end of wide and rectilinear streets, the end of the grid and the decline of the classical city. While this is generically termed 'encroachment', this is a phenomenon which covers many different actions: from temporary structures and stalls (for markets, shops or even games) to solid masonry constructions (Fig. 12.6a and b).[43]

Encroachment, in any case, is not necessarily unique to late antiquity. Neither is encroachment a necessary marker of civic decline, because it seems that in the most blatant examples of private constructions on public spaces, urban authorities must have been involved. The construction of churches and episcopal complexes blocking streets, reusing forum spaces or spectacle buildings (as is the case in Valencia, Barcelona, Córdoba, Tarragona and Mérida),[44] must have happened with the collaboration and willingness of urban councils. The construction of late antique civic buildings (as the palaces of Córdoba or Mérida)[45] or the use of other public structures

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[42]   Esmonde Cleary, *The Roman West*; Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain*; Martínez Jiménez *et al.*, *The Iberian Peninsula*, 153–168.

[43]   Ruiz Bueno, 'La ocupación de pórticos'. More generally described in Jacobs, 'Late antique encroachment'.

[44]   Bosch Puche *et al.*, 'La transformació'; Beltrán de Heredia, 'Continuity and change'; Löx, 'The urban centre'; Sastre de Diego, *Mérida*; Sastre de Diego and Alba Calzado, 'Bajo la protección'. As for Córdoba, the currently ongoing reassessment of unpublished excavations under and around the mosque is unearthing similar Visigothic Street occupations: Ruiz Bueno, *Topografía.*

[45]   Mateos Cruz and Sastre de Diego, 'Elementos arquitectónicos'; Murillo Redondo *et al.*, 'La transición'.

Figure 12.6. a) temporary encroachment on the streets of Arles; b) permanent occupation of street porticoes in sixth-century Mérida (J. Martínez Jiménez).

for fortifications (as the *castrum arenarum* of Nîmes or the circus of Valencia)[46] would also have received the local council's approval. Furthermore, it is possible that municipal authorities benefited from these usurpations through fees and fines.[47]

The degree of involvement and regulation of councils in domestic encroachments is more difficult to assess, especially in later centuries where the evidence is thinner and council power dwindled.[48] The occupation of the street porticoes by rich, wealthy domūs in fourth-century Mérida or fifth-century Seville (occupations which stuck very clearly to the edge of the portico and not extended beyond the eaves line)[49] were probably regulated and controlled. It is more difficult to judge if this was the case for the dwellings built in the sixth century in the imperial cult complex of Mérida, the circus of Valencia or the theatre of Cartagena.[50]

Encroachment, moreover, happens *within* the grid and, as a result, it respects pre-existing alignments (to an extent). Visigothic episcopal complexes and urban churches like those listed earlier, for instance, are all built respecting the orientation of pre-existing roads and buildings, even if they block roads or extend onto open areas. Although by the seventh century an eastern orientation towards the Roman equinox had become the liturgical norm for churches,[51] respecting alignments took precedence.[52] This might show underlining views of the grid as a defining element of the city or a degree of regard towards municipal statutes, but there are practical issues that prompt this respect. The occupation of streets, the extension of façades, and the construction of structures on open areas happened by abutting and adding to standing structures that followed the original orientation. In those places where Roman water works like aqueducts and sewers were still working (Valencia, Barcelona, Mérida, Tarragona, Córdoba, Seville, *etc.*), it also made sense to respect the streets under which these services ran (Fig. 12.7).[53]

In fact, until the eighth century there are no examples of Roman buildings completely levelled in order to build *purposefully* off the grid. The Great Mosque of Córdoba, first built in the 780s, allegedly on top of a pre-existing Christian structure,[54] is built following the original grid alignment (Fig. 12.8). Perhaps the fact that the lower

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[46]   Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae Regis* 18; Ribera Lacomba and Rosselló Mesquida, 'La ocupación'.

[47]   Martínez Jiménez, 'Municipal economies' and Jacobs, 'Late antique encroachment'.

[48]   On the end of councils, see Curchin, 'Curials', but this supposed end of councils did not imply an end of municipal administration: bishops and centrally-appointed figures like the count were involved in local government.

[49]   Alba Calzado, La vivienda en Emerita durante la antigüedad tardía: propuesta de un modelo para Hispania; García Vargas, 'La Sevilla tardoantigua'.

[50]   Mateos Cruz *et al.*, 'Un tesoro de tremises'; Ribera Lacomba and Rosselló Mesquida, 'La ocupación'; Vizcaíno Sánchez, 'Ad pristinum decus'.

[51]   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 15.4.7. Cf. González García and Belmonte, 'The orientation'.

[52]   This is comparable to other urban churches of late antique date in Gaul: Guyon and Heijmans, *L'Antiquité tardive*.

[53]   Even if by then access was probably quite complicated. Martínez Jiménez, *Aqueducts and Urbanism*; Ruiz Bueno, 'La desarticulación'.

[54]   This is, however, debatable: Arce Sainz, 'La supuesta basílica'.
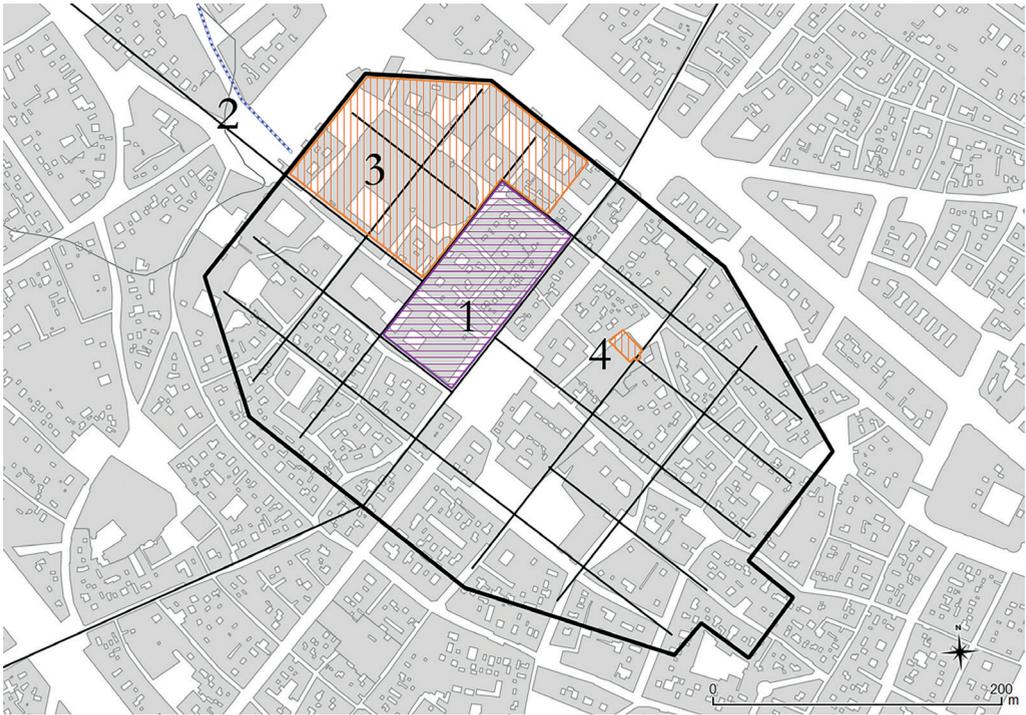
Figure 12.7. Plan of Barcelona with a superimposed Roman grid. 1) forum, 2) aqueduct, 3) episcopal complex, 4) Carolingian basilica of Saint Justus and Pastor.

city grid follows the slope towards the river on a north-west–south-east axis which is not far off the true qibla explains this respect for the surrounding environment.[55] This compares drastically with the mosque of Zaragoza, built slightly earlier on the old forum square (Fig. 12.9). It is unclear what (if any) post-Roman buildings existed there, but the mosque was built over part of the forum portico and off the main grid alignment to fit the right qibla.[56] In Valencia, which might have been largely levelled after the Berber revolts of the late-eighth century, the ninth-century settlement was built on top of the old Roman grid, respecting very roughly the original alignments, even if the mosque was erected oriented to the qibla (Fig. 12.10).[57] In Carmona, recent analysis of the evolution of the town plan have also shown that new axes connecting mosques with main roads developed in the Islamic period, but these were modifications of the Roman grid.[58]

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[55] It does not follow a supposed Damascene Umayyad alignment, as traditional Spanish scholarship has fabricated: King, 'The enigmatic orientation'.

[56] Hernández Vera, 'La mezquita aljama'.

[57] Cf. Coscollá Sanz, *La Valencia Musulmana*, 73–78; Ribera Lacomba, 'Origen i desevolupament'.

[58] Galera Navarro *et al.*, *Memoria*.
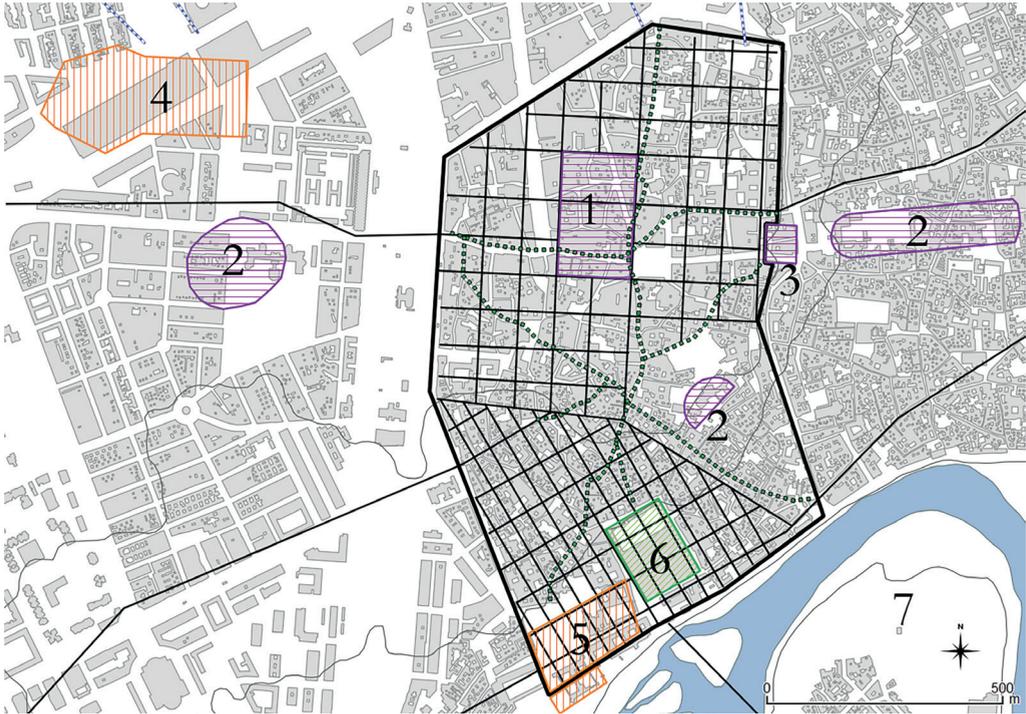
Figure 12.8. Plan of the Roman grids of Córdoba with later Umayyad modifications, based on (Murillo Redondo, León Muñoz and Castro, fig. 248). 1) Forum; 2) spectacle buildings; 3) temple; 4) Cercadillia complex (tetrarchic); 5) Visigothic civil palace (later Umayyad); 6) Great Mosque (over Visigothic episcopal complex?); 7) Šaqunda suburb (J. Martínez Jiménez).

The construction of new buildings on previously public space inevitably altered the aesthetics of the grid, in some places making it almost unrecognisable (as in Córdoba), but in most examples (Barcelona, Valencia, Mérida, Lugo, Zaragoza, *etc.*) the original street layout is still visible. The general rule had always been, in any case, to preserve the main roads because they were the main axes.[59] In fact, what distorts most original grids is not encroachment itself, but rather the introduction of new axes and new urban priorities.

New foci and new axes

Roman grids focused the main buildings in or around the central square. This centralised the 'hot spots' of the communal cognitive maps in one place, so that the city's activities largely revolved around these civic and religious centres. Of course,

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[59]   Ruiz Bueno, 'La ocupación de pórticos'.
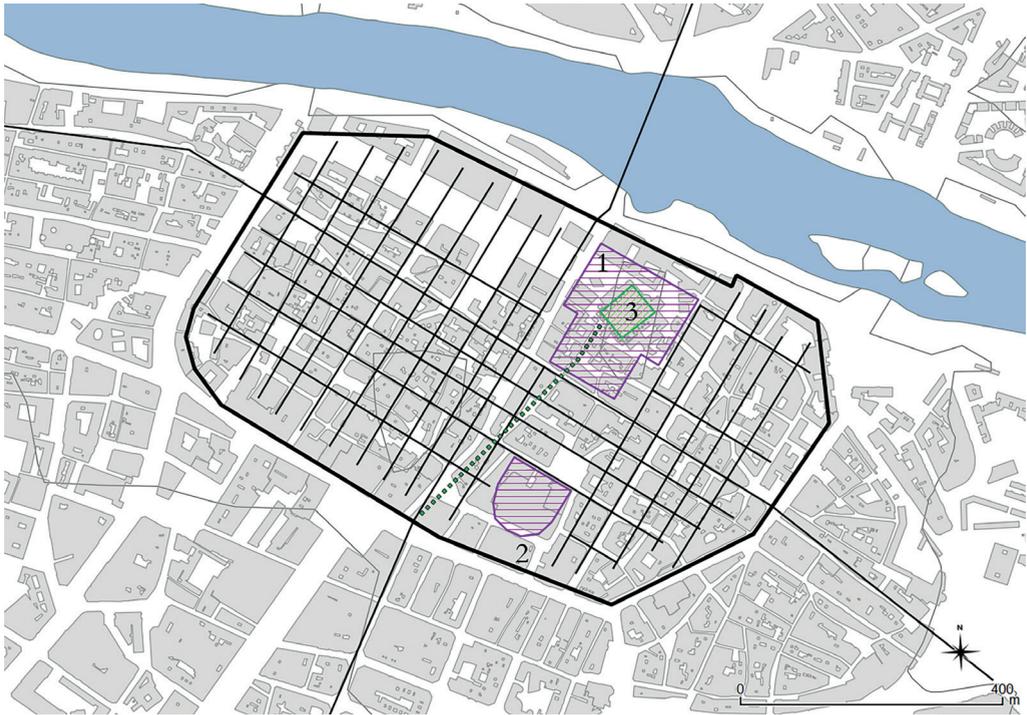
Figure 12.9. Plan of Zaragoza. 1) forum; 2) theatre; 3) mosque (J. Martínez Jiménez).

there were always outlying landmarks like spectacle buildings and roadside necropoleis (*grabenstraße*), but these were usually found along the main axes, making navigation and conceptualising the city easy. In late antiquity, as briefly introduced earlier, this focal emphasis was disrupted when new landmarks became more prominent, shifting the focus away from forum areas.

By the fifth century, the emergence of Christian martyrial shrines outside the city walls shifted the religious weight of the urban community to the suburb. These new 'hot spots' in the cognitive map became increasingly central, to the point that new suburban settlements began to cluster around them, most famously in Córdoba, Mérida and Tarragona. In some extreme cases, as happened with Complutum, the suburb around the martyrial shrine of Saints Justus and Pastor became the core of the modern city of Alcalá de Henares, while the old Roman settlement lies now in the outskirts.[60] These suburbs distorted the previous city and suburb settlement pattern, but these new suburbs also disrupted the urban grid, because the new buildings were

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[60]   Rascón Marqués and Sánchez Montes, 'Complutum tardoantiguo'.
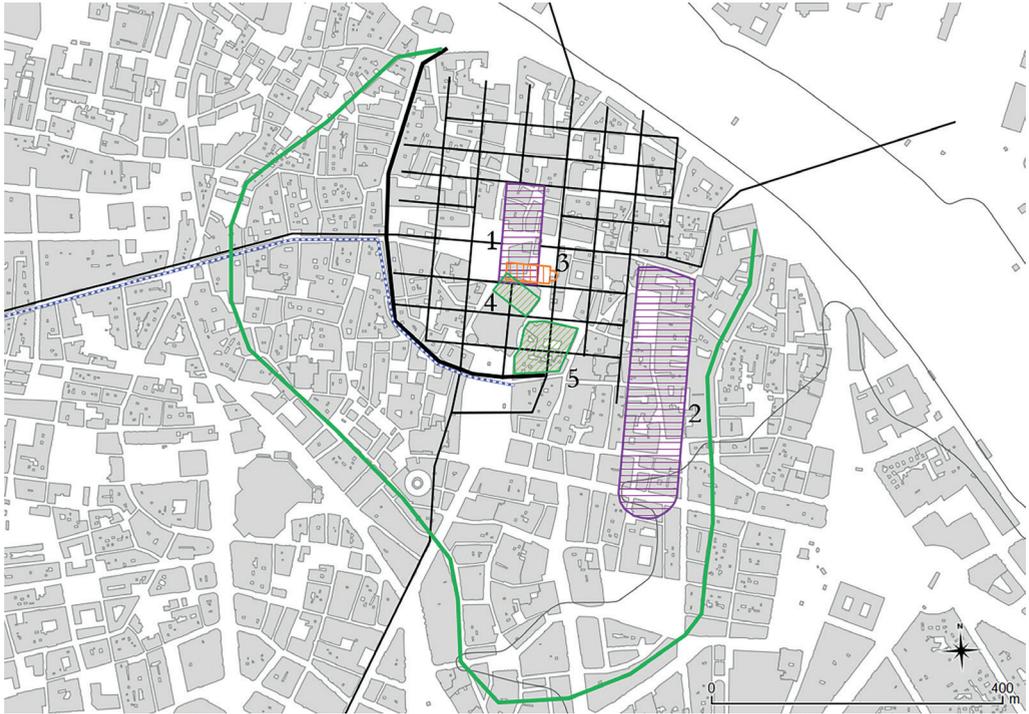
Figure 12.10. Plan of Valencia, based on Machancoses López, Topografía Urbana*, fig. 176. 1) forum; 2) circus; 3) cathedral; 4) mosque; 5) alcázar (J. Martínez Jiménez).*

more likely to coordinate their alignment with that of the shrine (which was focal for their settlement) than to the grid of the intramural city.[61] Archaeoastronomical surveys of late antique basilicas show that most of these churches were oriented towards key liturgical ephemerides (including, but not limited to, the Roman equinox), although other pre-existing features also predetermined the alignment of these new churches.[62]

In the sixth century, a number of churches were established inside the city walls (sometimes relocating the episcopal complex away from the suburb). This coincided with a moment when the Visigothic monarchy established new administrative buildings of its own. While these new buildings were sometimes on forum areas, this was not always the case. The importance of these buildings seems to be one of the reasons behind the clustering or intramural settlement around them.[63] In the case of

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[61]   Cf. Smith, 'Form and meaning'.

[62]   Spinazzè, 'The alignment', 457; this is clearly seen in Mérida and Tarragona: González García and Costa Ferrer, 'The diachronic study'; Dupré Raventós, *L'anfiteatre*. Cf. alignments in Britain: Hoare and Sweet, 'The orientation'; Sassin Allen, 'Church orientation'.

[63]   Although other elements, such as improved defences or access to water also explain this: Martínez Jiménez, *Aqueducts and Urbanism*, 74–83.

Braga, the settlement shifted away from the Roman civic centre to the hill where the cathedral was built.[64] A similar transformation happened in Córdoba and Tarragona (which was, furthermore, in a more defendable location).[65] In all cases, this affected the old grid layout.

In the gridded Roman city, communal 'hot spots' were centred around the forum, or connected to it with streets as part of the original design, but the late antique relocation of these main places prompted the reconfiguration of cognitive maps, prompting new ways of understanding the urban space.[66] Furthermore, in late antiquity these places were usually connected by civic parades (*adventus*) and religious processions.[67] Thus, these main streets became important performative spaces and essential in the understanding of the urban area. [68] The relocation of market activities away from fora to streets could be connected to this (as it is well-known in Munigua).[69]

In many cases, these mental connections between the new, de-centralised, 'hot spots' were turned in the early Middle Ages into new streets that underlined the importance of these axial understandings of the city.[70]

These new axes that disregard the grid are better seen in the Umayyad period. In Córdoba, for example (Fig. 12.8), the apparently random and uncoordinated abandonment of the Roman grid has a clear rationale behind it, with main axes connecting the key elements of the city,[71] which by then were the city gates and the palace-mosque complex.[72] Similar new axes appear in Mérida and Zaragoza, two cities that otherwise preserve the Roman grid remarkably well. In the latter (Fig. 12.9), a new diagonal street connects the aforementioned mosque with the southern gate (to Toledo and Córdoba). In the former, the new axes are more pronounced (Fig. 12.11). The construction of a new citadel to impose a strict military control over the rebellious Visigothic locals was accompanied by the development of two new diagonal roads that connected the *alcazaba* with the gates going north (to León and the Christian border) and north-east (to Toledo and the Middle March).[73]

But in Mérida there is a diagonal route that links the Saint Eulalia suburban complex with Saint Andrew's intramural church, going through one of the main city gates and the old forum and its Visigothic administrative buildings (Fig.

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[64] Fontes *et al.*, 'A cidade de Braga'.

[65] Bosch Puche *et al.*, 'La transformació'; Murillo Redondo *et al.*, 'La transición'; Ruiz Bueno, *Topografía.*

[66] Cepelewicz, 'Goals and rewards'.

[67] Dey, *The Afterlife*. For specific Iberian examples, we know of processions in sixth-century Zaragoza, Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5.4, and the seventh-century triumphal adventus of King Wamba, *Historia Wambae Regis* 30; Dey, *The Afterlife*, 156–157.

[68] Martínez Jiménez, 'Urban identity', 101.

[69] Ruiz Bueno, 'La ocupación de pórticos'.

[70] Cf. Rapoport, *Human Aspects*, 142–148.

[71] The currently ongoing reassessment of 1930s excavations is showing that there might have been a porticated road that linked, already in the seventh century, the Visigothic palace and the episcopal complex, Ruiz Bueno, 'Transformaciones en la topografia'.

[72] Murillo Redondo *et al.*, 'La transición', 525–527.

[73] Alba Calzado, 'Secuencias'; Sastre de Diego and Alba Calzado, 'Bajo la protección'.
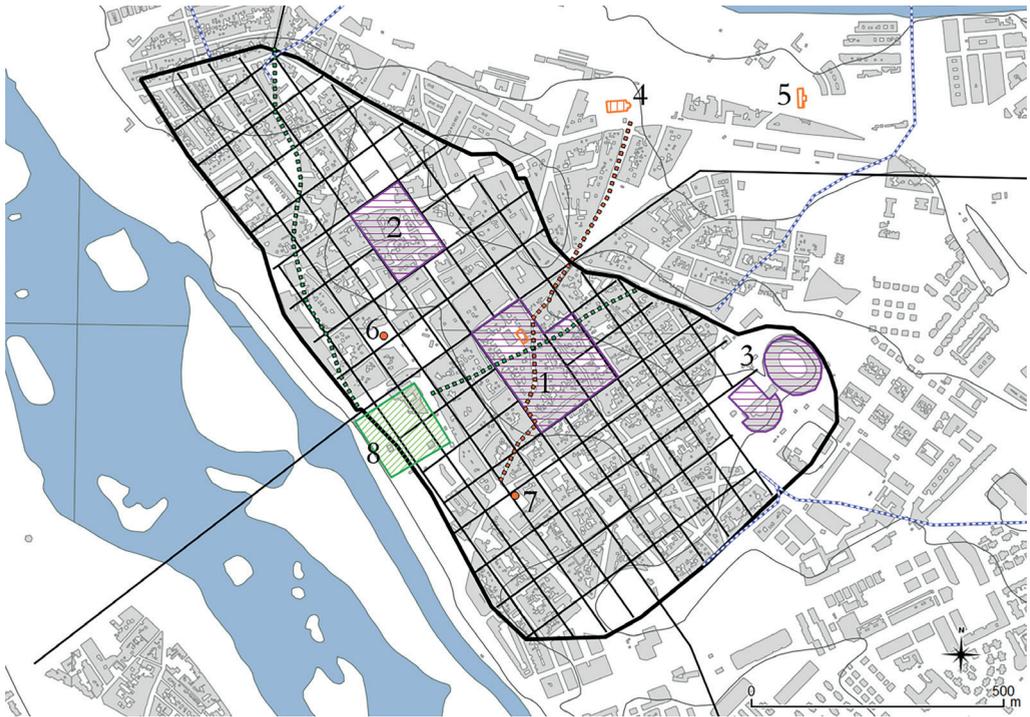
Figure 12.11. Plan of Mérida, including off-grid main axes, based on Alba Calzado, Secuencias en la transformación de Augusta Emerita, *fig. 8. 1) forum, incl. Visigothic administrative building; 2) imperial cult complex; 3) entertainment complex; 4) St. Eulalia; 5) 'xenodochium'; 6) Cathedral; 7) St. Andrew; 8) alcazaba.*

12.11). A similar route, but less clearly off the grid might have connected Saint Eulalia with the cathedral, while a Roman street connected the cathedral with Saint Andrew. These Christian axes are important because from seventh-century written sources we know of religious processions connecting the various shrines of the Visigothic city.[74] Archaeological evidence is limited, but it is likely that the diagonal street from Saint Eulalia to Saint Andrew is of Visigothic origin and part of the new conceptualising of the city.

New concept cities?

This importance of the axis development over the grid (which offered the chance to connect key elements of cities which were no longer clustered, and that offered

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[74]   *Vitae Sanctorum Patrum Emeritensium*, 5.3.12 and 5.11.2: 'when at Easter you have celebrated mass as usual in the Senior Church and after the mass, as is the custom, go in procession singing psalms with all the Catholic people to the basilica of Saint Eulalia'; cf. Dey, *The Afterlife*, 152–153.

the aesthetic advantage of providing vistas) is so characteristic of the late antique urban ideal that new urban foundations of this period adopted linear patterns. This is something that had already begun in the fourth century in the eastern empire,[75] which underlines the fact that the shift from grid to axis is a far more complex issue. Of the Visigothic new foundations, only two are known archaeologically to be really urban: Reccopolis and Eio (both dated to the late sixth century).[76]

The excavator of Reccopolis, Lauro Olmo, has already underlined how the city fits within ideas of emulation and imitation of Byzantine urban patterns and that, conceptually, Reccopolis mirrors the axial development of Constantinople. In both cases there is a main axis that leads from the gate, becoming the principal commercial street that leads through a monumental archway into the palace complex (Fig. 12.12). The buildings of this partially-excavated city, as can be reconstructed from the geophysical survey, come out at right angles from the main street, which follows the contour lines, giving a clear impression of a pre-arranged urbanism, even without a grid, but creating an intentional view of the palace along it.[77] The importance of this axial development in a royal foundation, named after the king's son, responds as much to the late antique importance of *adventus*-style ceremonies as a royal display of power, as it does to the relevance of commercial streets rather than market squares.[78]

The street grid might be absent, but most buildings seem to be coordinated to an overall plan (as part of the original design), with one very telling exception.[79] The basilica located in the palace complex is at a marked angle to the rest of the structures, which probably means that it is aligned to a specific astronomical ephemeris.[80] Perhaps the fact that it was established on a new foundation meant that the planners were willing to abide by religious demands without the constraining limitations of pre-existing structures. In Justiniana Prima, a comparable sixth-century foundation by Justinian in the Balkans, the churches also appear aligned off the main axis, even when other non-religious buildings follow said orientation.[81]

In Eio, it is possible that a similar axial development existed, linking the gate with the episcopal complex and the citadel. The axis similarly follows the contour lines, but too little is known about the site to discuss the layout of secondary streets.[82] A similar large-scale building coordination (rather than orthogonal planning) can be seen in the excavations of the royal suburb of Toledo: the *praetorium suburbanum* at

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[75] See Rizos, this volume.

[76] For Reccopolis see Henning *et al.*, 'Reccopolis revealed'; for Eio/El Tolmo, Abad Casal *et al.*, 'Una ciudad en el camino'. Although these two were not the only examples of Visigothic new cities: Martínez Jiménez *et al.*, *The Iberian Peninsula*, 173–178.

[77] Henning *et al.*, 'Reccopolis revealed'; Olmo Enciso, 'Recópolis'.

[78] Dey, *The Afterlife*, 60–61, 147–148.

[79] That is, ignoring the structure that appears off the grid in the north-west corner of the geophysical survey. Its preliminary interpretation as a mosque would need to be backed by excavation data.

[80] González García and Belmonte, 'The orientation'.

[81] Ivanišević, 'Main patterns'.

[82] Gutiérrez Lloret and Sarabia Bautista, 'The episcopal complex'.
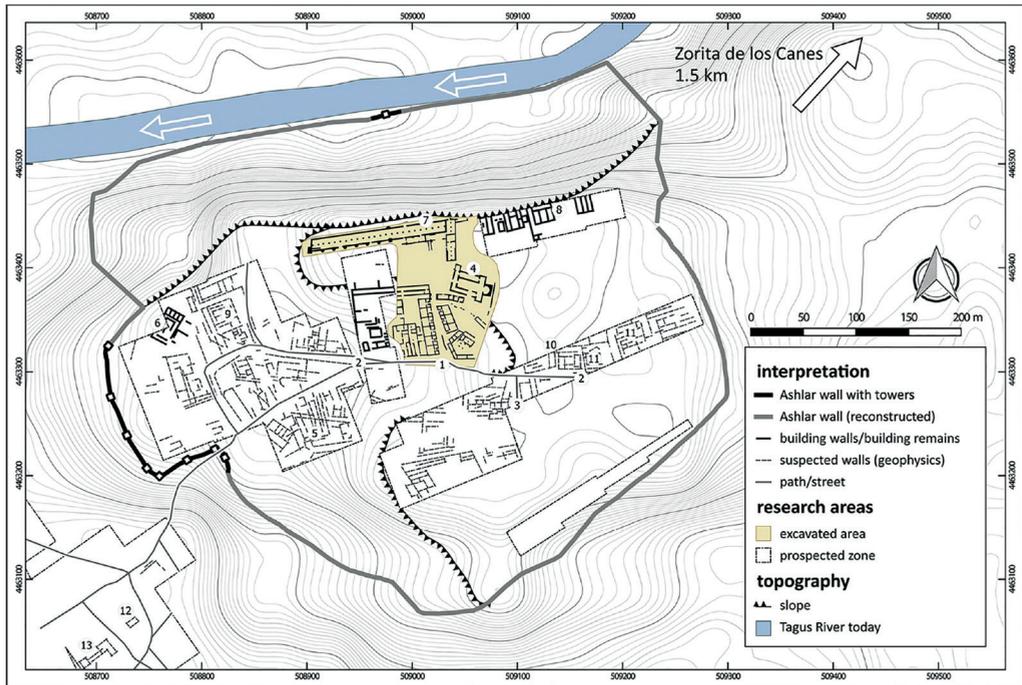
Figure 12.12. Plan of Reccopolis, including the preliminary interpretations of the geophysical surveys (Henning et al.*, 'Reccopolis revealed', fig. 3).*

the site of Vega Baja, where the excavations have unearthed various buildings orderly clustering around the supposed palace.[83]

In the case of new Umayyad foundations, the apparent chaotic street network is better understood when thinking, again, in terms of axes rather than expecting grids. While we can only assume that the Visigothic allocation of plots in the new foundations was done on an individual basis (as the coordination of the domestic plots suggests) the Umayyad settlements appear to have been populated tribally, assigning urban sectors to groups.[84] The ninth-century foundation of Murcia, for example, was built in order to re-settle the rebellious Visigothic inhabitants of Eio. Here, the focus of the settlement was on the street that connected the main gate to Córdoba with the citadel and the principal mosque. Because the urban plots were designed to contain gardens and pens (and because they were allotted to kin groups rather than individually), the settlement was originally not dense or evenly distributed. Because of this, there was less pressure to coordinate the alignment of buildings, so by the time the walled enclosure was fully built, all traces of a coordinated allotment had

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[83]   See Olmo Enciso, 'La Vega Baja', but with caveats: Moreno Martín, 'Circulación de modelos'.
[84]   The anthropotoponyms associated in the sources to the suburbs of Córdoba would suggest this: Murillo Redondo *et al.*, 'La transición'.
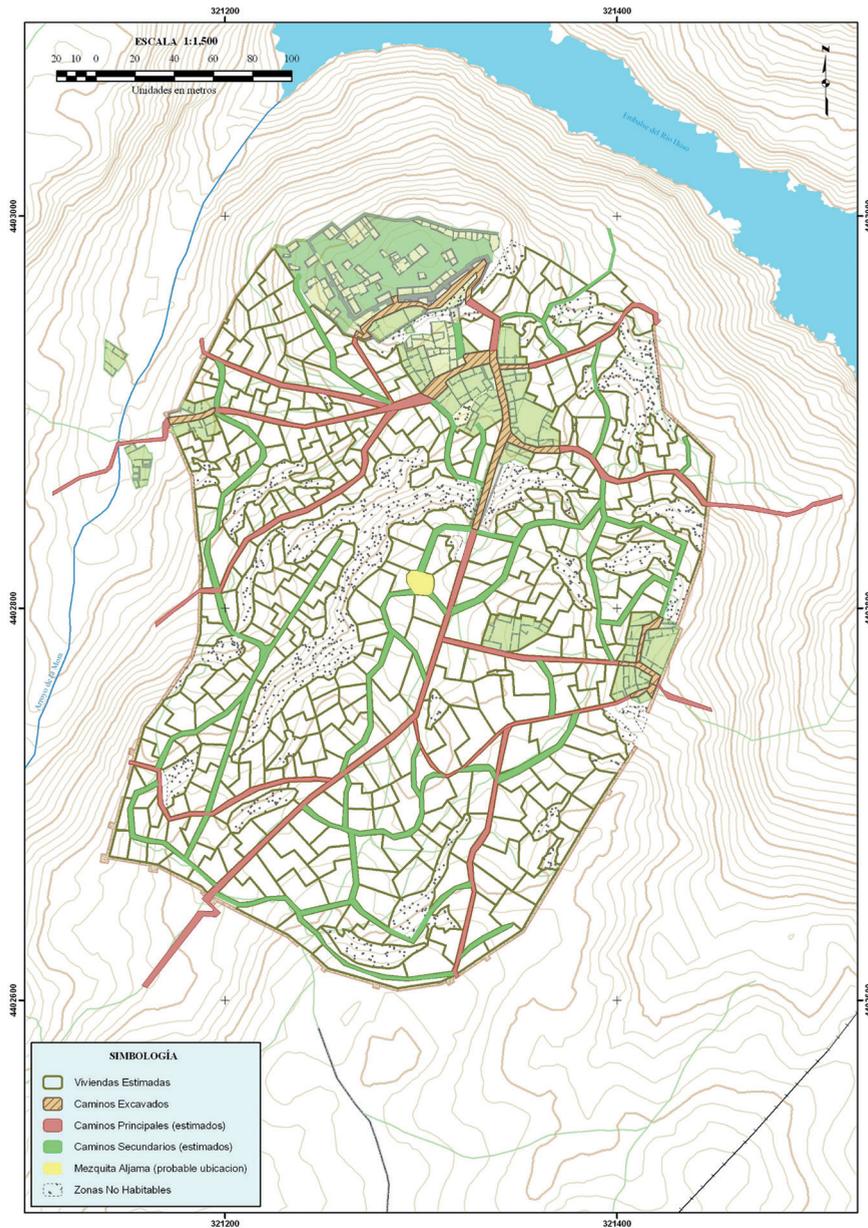
Figure 12.13. Reconstructed plan of Vascos; from Sánchez et al., 'Implementation of GIS', fig. 2.

disappeared.[85] This same pattern of axes connecting gates, mosques and citadel with a seemingly chaotic distribution of the space is seen in the tenth-century garrison

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85   Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, 'Murcia omeya'.

city of Vascos, where geophysics have revealed a dense settlement articulated along the main routes (Fig. 12.13).[86]

It could be argued that grid-less developments of this period were the result of organic growth or rapid settlement (as perhaps was the case of the new Umayyad suburb of Šaqunda, opposite Córdoba).[87] But in most cases we find that these were new foundations done directly by the central state. In the case of Eio, the masterplan for the city was chiselled down on the bedrock before the construction began – these cities were not done in a rush or without order (founding a new city without it is impossible). The choice to follow axial arrangements rather than a grid distribution shows that the ideals of the city in the early Middle Ages had changed from those of classical antiquity; both the settlers and the designers had different expectations of what a city should look like and what it should have. The grid was a cultural choice that did not fit the needs of this period.

Conclusions

To an extent, modern scholarship has moved on from equating gridded settlements with civilisation or urbanity (and diffusionism and colonialism),[88] but there are still two points where the weight of these visions of the Roman grid still loom large in Iberian studies. The first one is in the Iron Age, where local (non-Roman) settlements, regardless of the degree of internal organisation and civic bodies (and even the presence of grids), are seen as proto-urban *oppida*.[89] The other is in late antiquity, where the disregard shown towards foundational grids becomes the basis of the end of civilised urban life or worse: the imposition of an oriental, chaotic (inferior) system. Once we admit that the gridded city is not the only valid form of urbanising a settlement and that the grid was just a tool, we might be able to understand the clear difference between city (*urbs*) and city (*civitas*) that was so patently obvious for the ancients.[90]

As a tool (as a system of land distribution), the grid plays a main role in the early stages of a city. As such, the grid is closely linked to the cosmovision of the original founders. But these perceptions and associated meanings change, and we cannot expect them to be eternal.[91] In their two thousand years of history, Roman grids in the Iberian Peninsula have had time to change and to be changed according to the shifting priorities of the inhabitants. They were essential at first, normal later, only to become

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[86]   Izquierdo Benito, 'Una ciudad'; Sánchez *et al.*, 'Implementation of GIS'.
[87]   The name of the suburb is the Arabisation of *Corduba Secunda* or 'Second Córdoba'. Casal García, 'Características generales', cf. Navarro Palazón and Jiménez Castillo, 'Algunas reflexiones'.
[88]   Cf. Stanislawski, 'The origin', 108; King, *Urbanism, Colonialism*, 13–31.
[89]   Laurence, 'Modern ideology', 9.
[90]   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 15.2.1: *Nam urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores vocantur* = 'while the city [*urbs*] itself is the walls, but the inhabitants and not the stones are called the city [*civitas*]'.
[91]   Lilley *et al.*, 'Designs and designers'.

unnecessary and then relevant again. In the same way that the forceful removal of statues (so prominent at the time of writing of this paper, thinking in particular of Edward Colston's statue in Bristol) is modifying the way urban communities want their city to be understood today, the distortion of the grid is one of the ways in which cities changed in the past. This physical transformation was the reflection of changes in community priorities and values, the result of changes in the way cities were conceived and navigated. Urban communities have always lived (and still do so) in a dialectical relationship with their built environment, because the community defines itself based on it, but urban communities also modify the environment so it fits as group definitions evolve. Preserving, ignoring or venerating the grid is only a matter of cultural choice.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 13

Town planning from Falerii to Isurium: Understanding and enhancing the archaeological evidence

Martin Millett

This paper seeks to contribute to the Impact of the Ancient City project by offering some thoughts on the role of archaeology in the understanding of ancient town planning. Issues concerning the later reception of ideas of the classical town planning are entangled with perceived understandings of ancient planning, and these in turn are a product of the evidence itself and how it has been understood. As explored in other contributions, such perceptions are varied and have been influenced by scholars' presumptions as well as their reading of different strands of the ancient evidence. My contribution has little to add these already nuanced debates. Instead, it seeks to explore two related themes. First, how (sometimes rather simplistic) past perceptions have influenced the construction of the archaeological evidence on which historians, geographers and town planners have then relied. Second, how new methods can provide a better evidence base which might enable us to understand the principles of Roman town planning rather better. In considering some results from such work, I also want to argue for a more three-dimensional viewing of town plans. In this discussion, I will draw on evidence from both Italy and Britain, with particular reference to sites at which I have undertaken archaeological work: I hope that this does not appear too self-referential.

Presumption and evidence

In the context of archaeological research, it is important to appreciate the distinction between what has actually been found (by excavation or other means) and what those presenting that evidence have inferred about it. In an important paper in 1994 Ray Laurence explored the relationship between ancient town planning (the title of Frances Haverfield's book of 1913) and the idealisation of regular grids in the context of the
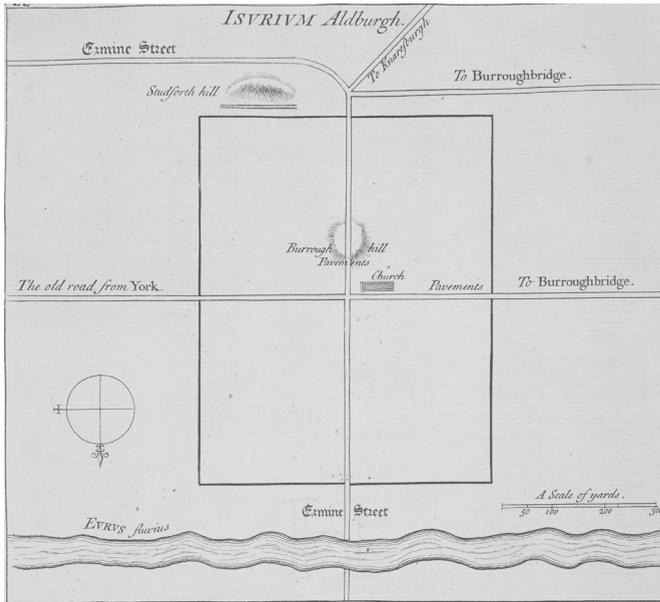
Figure 13.1. The plan of Isurium Brigantum (Aldborough, Yorkshire, UK) published in Drake, 1736.

early twentieth-century town planning movement.[1] This discussion brought into focus some of the ways that ideas of grid planning were then associated with ideas of civilisation and modernity, showing how these ideas impinged on pervading understandings of the Roman city. Laurence's particular focus on the influence of the planned street grid on archaeological thinking is certainly very helpful, but it perhaps results in some downplaying of the longer history of grid-based thinking which, as we shall see, continues to

this day. To take one early example, writing about the northern Romano-British town of Isurium Brigantum (Aldborough, North Yorkshire) in 1736 the antiquarian Francis Drake (1696–1771) reconstructed its plan as rectangular with a perfect grid cross-roads at its centre (Fig. 13.1).[2] His plan was based partly on empirical observation of the town walls, but otherwise on his presumptions about the proper planning of a Roman town. This illustrates very straightforwardly how deeply entrenched the idea of the grid plan was in early thinking about Roman towns, and may be paralleled with other examples of early antiquarian thinking during the Enlightenment. In Italy, for instance, the plans of the individual buildings excavated at Ocriculum and planned by Giuseppe Pannini between 1775 and 1783 seem to be accurate in detail, but when included in an overall plan were largely presented as within a formal grid (Fig. 13.2) despite the extremely uneven topography of the site.[3]

These presumptions about grid planning remain widespread and exercise continuing influence. This is partly a result of the nature of the archaeological evidence available for most Roman urban sites, very few of which have been very extensively excavated. In a majority of cases, the excavated archaeological evidence for them is highly fragmentary, usually resulting from piecemeal

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[1]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*; Laurence, 'Modern ideology'.
[2]   Drake, *Eboracum*, 22.
[3]   Guattani, *Monumenti antichi* Taf. III; Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*, 13–20.
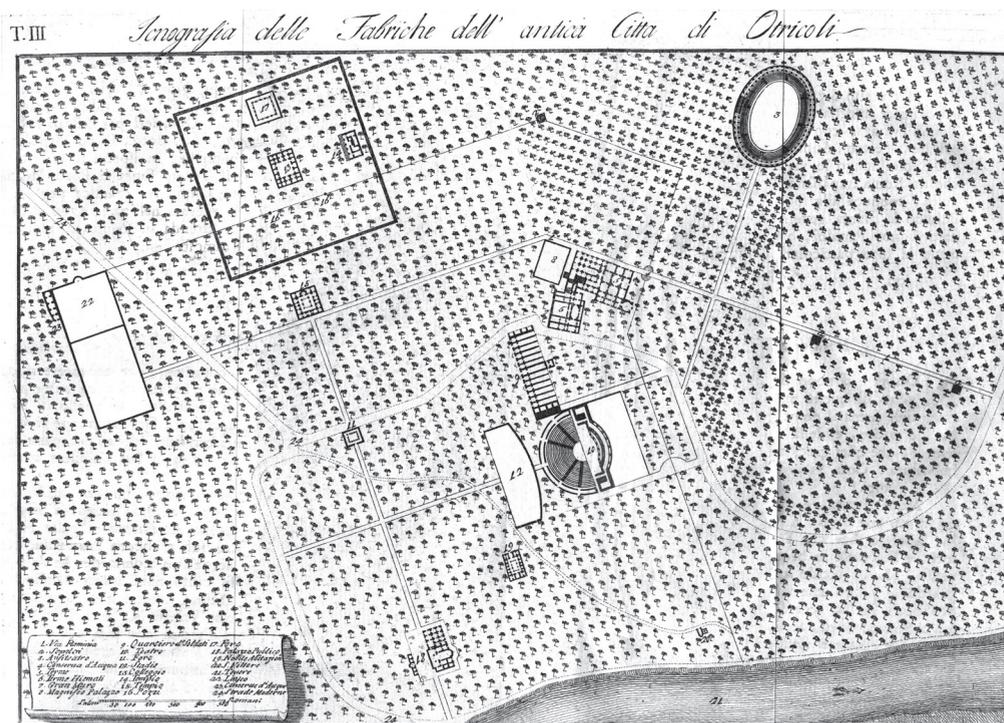
Figure 13.2 *The plan of Ocriculum (Otricoli, Umbria, Italy) by Giuseppe Pannini, published in Guattani, 1784.*

excavation of small areas, often over very long periods of time. This can be exacerbated by the difficulties in accurately surveying excavated remains in a restricted urban context, which means that putting together composite plans is challenging and can often rely on assumptions about the regularity of plans. Comparatively complete urban plans like those of Pompeii in Italy or Silchester in Britain are very unusual, although these scarce examples naturally figure very prominently in the more general literature. Faced with a fragmentary record, archaeologists inevitably try to reconstruct the overall picture, placing the known bits of buildings and streets into a rational framework – which is based on their general understandings and presumptions. In seeking to create some order out of the apparent chaos of such evidence, I suspect that pragmatic considerations are generally more important than the ideology that Ray Laurence discussed, especially as excavators often project out from the evidence that they have of streets and building set at right angles to each other, following the assumption that grid planning was the norm.

A brief examination of the evidence of one of the more extensively explored Romano-British town illustrates this process. Verulamium (St Albans) in Hertfordshire

has been the subject of a series of major campaigns of excavation over the last century.[4] The first major campaign led by Mortimer and Tessa Verney Wheeler in 1930–1933 was characteristic in its ambition and scope, opening a number of trenches to explore the parkland area in the southern part of the Roman town on the basis of which they provided a bold and coherent historical narrative.[5] The Wheelers' account included a reconstruction of the town plan, largely as a grid, based on their trenches, with the streets boldly projected (Fig. 13.3a). Twenty or so years later S. S. Frere led a further series of excavations in the town (1955–1961), exploring more central areas largely in connection with a road construction scheme, which thus provided something of a transect through the Roman town.[6] Frere's archaeological approach was more systematic than the Wheelers' but his focus was also upon historical narrative, and he also thus produced a synthetic town plan in which known streets were projected to complete a coherent grid system (Fig. 13.3b). It is notable too how Frere also provided some chronological depth, with a careful attempt to develop a phased plan, in a discussion that also critiqued the Wheelers' methods and results.[7] Following Frere's work, there was little large-scale excavation within the Roman town although a number of smaller scale interventions resulted from development work. However, the main focus of these lay on the margins of the town itself, outside the area of the street grid reconstructed by Frere. More recently, as part of a national project to map historic towns in order to better protect their archaeology, a comprehensive re-evaluation of Verulamium was completed in 2005.[8] In this study, all past archaeological investigations were carefully re-mapped and re-evaluated to provide a reliable modern plan. This revealed both the full extent of knowledge based on past excavations and also the extent to which previous reconstructions of the town plan had 'ironed-out' irregularities – thereby making the Roman plan appear more regular than it was and effectively idealising the gridded elements.[9] Niblett's careful analysis of the evidence also allowed her to provide a new phased plan of the town's development (Fig. 13.4) which not only suggests a more piecemeal and gradual development of the plan, but also reveals planning principles that complement the more obvious street grid. John Creighton has developed a new reading of this evidence, relating the early development to a system of processional routes that linked the urban centre with an invasion-period princely burial and later temple (at Folly Lane).[10] His account of the town plan places its development within a more complex understanding of the landscape and its historical evolution. It does not remove the street grid altogether, but it does show how it formed part of an ideological evolution of the urban community

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[4]   As well as significant earlier work – see Niblett and Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns*, 44–47.
[5]   Wheeler and Wheeler, *Verulamium*.
[6]   Frere, *Verulamium Excavations*, I–III.
[7]   Frere, *Verulamium Excavations*, II, 1.
[8]   Niblett and Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns*.
[9]   Niblett and Thompson, *Alban's Buried Towns*, fig. 4.6.
[10] Creighton, *Britannia*, 124–130.
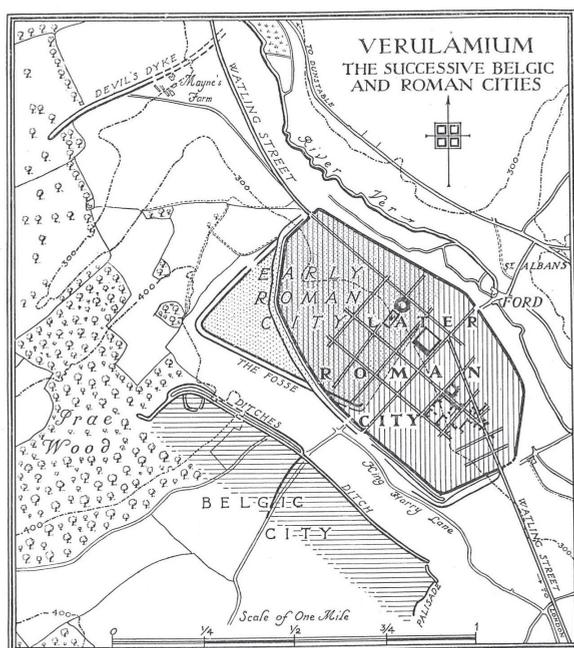
Figure 13.3a. The plan of Verulamium (St Albans, Hertfordshire, UK) published in Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936 (reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London).
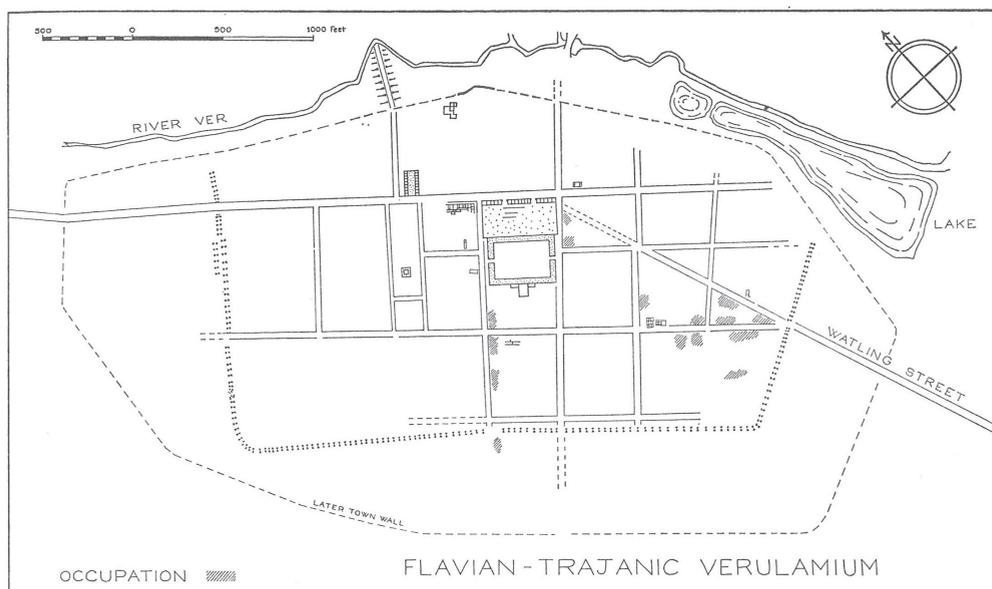
Figure 13.3b. The plan of Verulamium (St Albans, Hertfordshire, UK) published in Frere, 1983 (reproduced by kind permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London).

Figure 13.4. The plan of Verulamium (St Albans, Hertfordshire, UK) published in Niblett and Thompson, 2005, showing the extent of excavation in relation to the reconstructed town plan (reproduced by kind permission of the authors and Historic England).

which owed as much to local tradition as to imperial imposition. Most recently Kris
Lockyear has returned to the area excavated by the Wheelers to conduct large-scale
geophysical surveys.[11] The preliminary publication of this work suggests that when
fully analysed it will add further to the detail of our understanding of this part of
the town.

This brief account of the ways in which presumption and evidence have altered
our reading of one particular site should not be taken simply as an historical lesson,
with the reader looking back at the perceived inadequacies of previous generations
or regretting the limitations of their evidence. The same issues of interpretation
continue to be important, especially in the wish to create regularly gridded plans,
and this is not just in areas where the evidence remains slight. For instance, London
(Londinium) is amongst the most extensively excavated of Roman cities as a result
of developer-funded work since the 1970s.[12] In terms of the early development of
Roman provincial urban planning, the site is of especial interest because not long
after its foundation in the late 40s AD, the settlement was largely destroyed by
fire in the Boudican revolt of AD 60/61. The ability to distinguish deposits of this
date makes it possible to understand the early development of a town in unusual
detail. The opportunity to do this has been taken up by Lacey Wallace, who carefully
analysed the excavated data to produce a plan of the city in AD 60/61 based on the
excavated evidence which is very careful to distinguish between direct evidence
and hypothesis.[13] What this seems to show (Fig. 13.5) is that the earliest settlement
combined an element of rectilinear planning with pragmatic integration of the
varied approach routes. It is difficult to distinguish in this between the functional
consequences of building rectangular timber buildings which tend to fit best into
a grid system, and any ideological underpinning which led to the use of a grid.[14] In
the case of early London, the balance would seem to be towards the latter, at least in
the context of the area around the bridgehead where the Thames crossing not only
intersects orthogonally with the main east–west street (Cornhill Road 1), but this
intersection also provides the site for a public building.[15] Wallace's careful analysis
of the excavated evidence may be compared with another recent reconstruction
of the city's plan at this date.[16] Perring's approach is based on the assumption
(carefully deconstructed by Wallace in 2013),[17] that the early city followed on from
the establishment of an invasion-period fort which determined its topography. This
led him to reconstruct a full and regular grid plan established by *c.* AD 55 with a

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[11] Lockyear and Shlasko, 'Under the park'.
[12] Hingley, *Londinium*, 1–2.
[13] Wallace, *Origin of Roman London*, fig. 37.
[14] Cf. Rijkwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 72ff.
[15] Wallace, *Origin of Roman London*, 88–91
[16] Perring, 'Two studies on Roman London'; Perring, 'Recent advances in the understanding of Roman
London'.
[17] Wallace, 'The foundation of Roman London'.
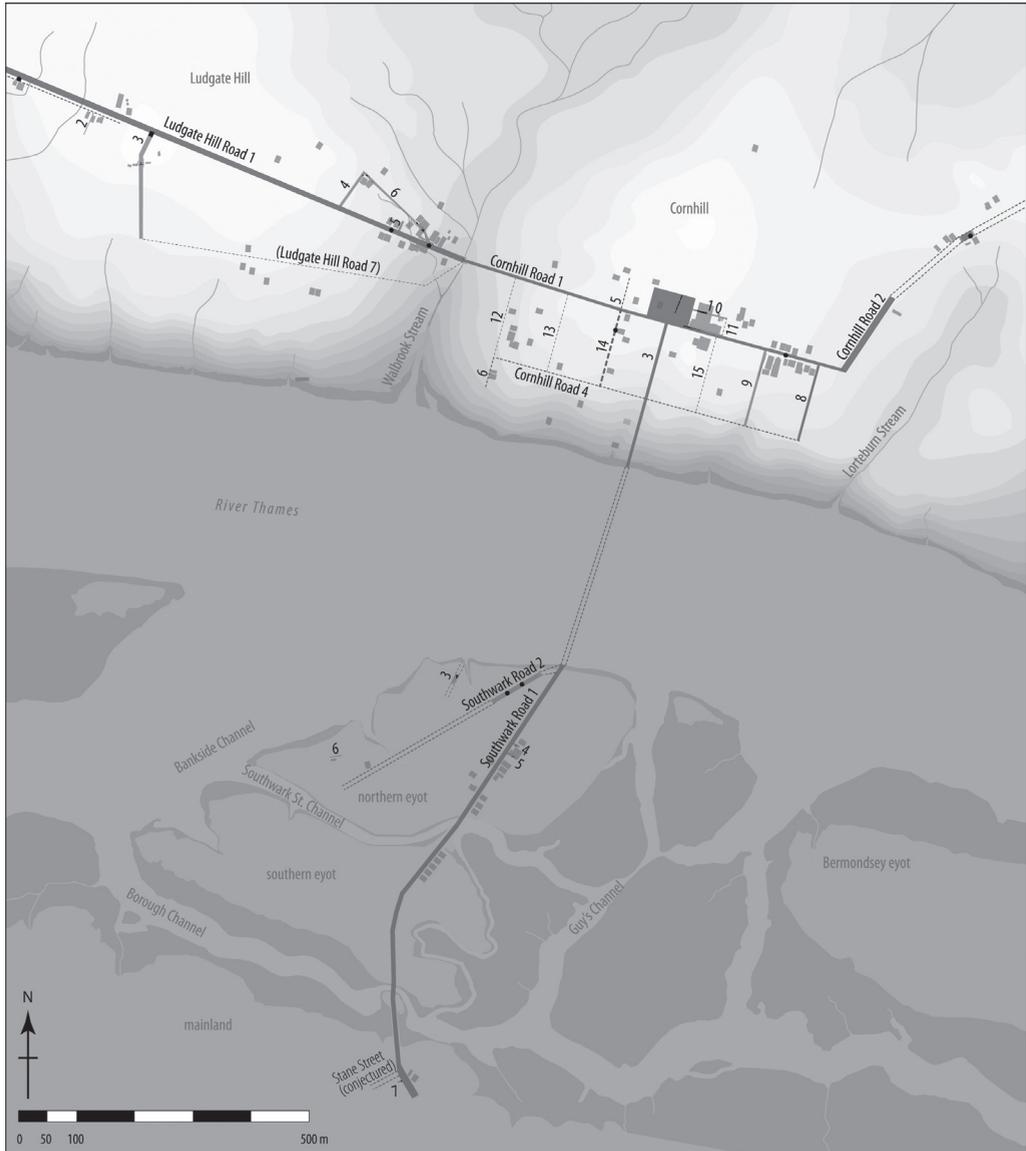
Figure 13.5. The plan of Londinium (London, UK) c. AD 60 published in Wallace, 2014, showing the extent of excavation in relation to the reconstructed town plan (reproduced by kind permission of Lacey Wallace and the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge).

series of entirely regular streets within a grid that is largely hypothetical (Fig. 13.6). This approach, which is apparently resistant to Wallace's evidence-base critique,[18] illustrates how the approach discussed by Ray Laurence is not simply part of the

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18   Perring, 'Recent advances in the understanding of Roman London', 22–23.
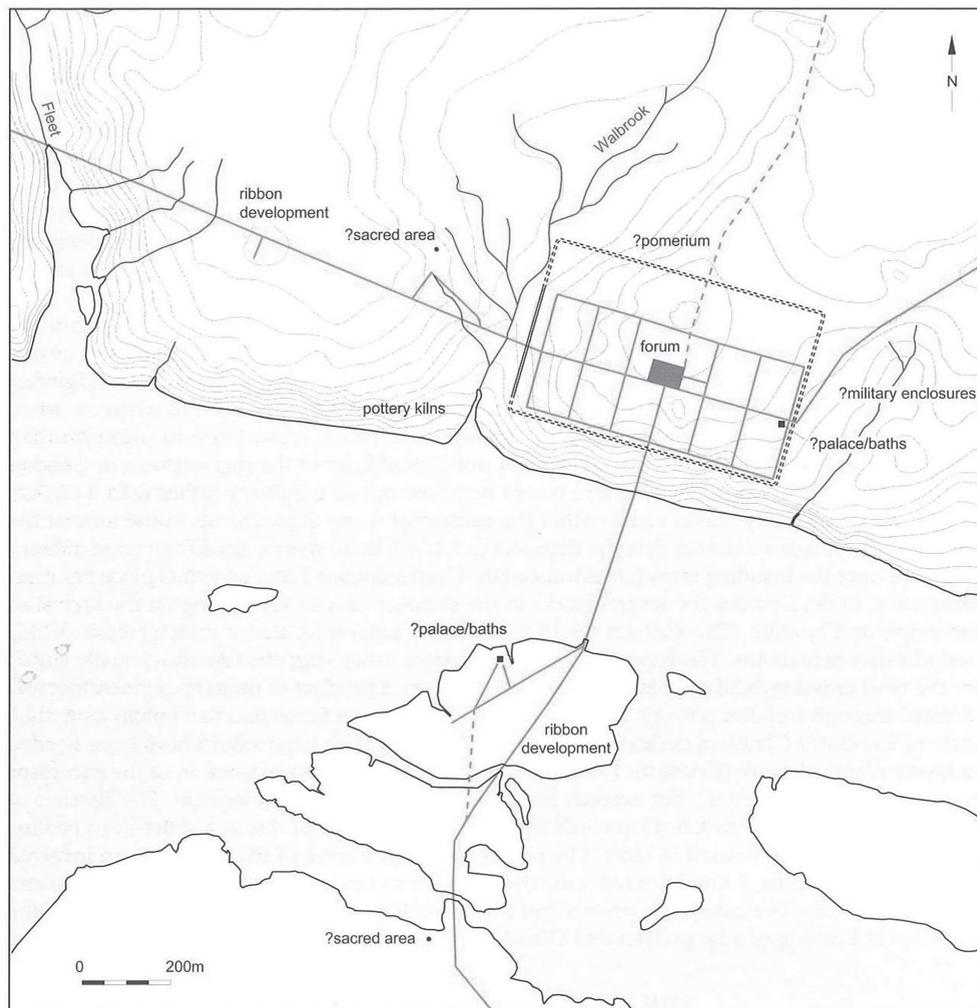
Figure 13.6. The plan of Londinium 55 (London, UK) c. *AD published by Perring 2015 (reproduced by kind permission of the author and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies).*

history of the discipline, but still pervades some contemporary analyses.[19] One could certainly cite other examples, especially in areas where the archaeological evidence of plans is less good and hence presumption is arguably more important and even necessary.

Improving the evidence

Although, as the London example shows, approaching a better understanding of Roman town planning does not entirely rely on the quality of the evidence, there

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[19] Cf. Hingley, *Londinium*, 25–35.

is equally little doubt that by improving our evidence we have a better chance of arriving at sound conclusions. A fundamental issue with archaeology remains that excavated evidence is almost entirely fragmentary and can only generally reveal a very small sample of very large sites like towns, albeit at high resolution. Although there are a few sites where large-scale clearance may perhaps provide wider coverage, usually at the cost of lower resolution, excavation is arguably always going to provide evidence on a constrained scale, and hence significant scope for the influence of presumption. As I have long argued, geophysical survey provides a solution to gaps in our evidence, as long as we recognise that it provides lower resolution information than excavation that is also different in character.[20] That is emphatically not to say that it is either less reliable or less useful than excavated evidence, simply that it has different strengths and weaknesses. Its greatest strength undoubtedly lies in the ability to survey complete towns as shown in the context of the Tiber valley and Potenza valley surveys,[21] and this is particularly significant in the context of the present discussion. Although such surveys do not in themselves provide direct evidence for the chronology of a site's planning, current projects are showing how sound chronological models can be developed through the careful analysis of the results integrating a range of other evidence, as illustrated by Alessandro Launaro's analysis of Interamna Lirenas.[22]

For more than 20 years, the principal geophysical survey method used for the study of whole towns has been magnetometry (generally using fluxgate gradiometers), largely because of the speed and reliability of the method.[23] Occasionally, electrical resistance survey has also been used successfully on a large scale although it is slower and requires particular ground conditions if it is to work well.[24] More recently, Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) has been further developed for use on a large scale, allowing whole towns to be examined.[25] The value of GPR, in contrast with magnetometry, is that it provides evidence differentiated by depth, so that it is possible to map the remains of structures with something approximating to three-dimensional imagery. Of particular significance in this context, the recent development of very high resolution GPR, collecting data at 6.25 centimetre intervals across whole cities is producing spectacular images of whole urban sites. This work has been pioneered by Lieven Verdonck at Falerii Novi and Interamna Lirenas (Fig. 13.7).[26] Such survey work potentially provides a new foundation for the examination of Roman urban planning, drawing on a much broader range of complete town plans than is currently available. Although it is too soon to provide details of the results from the current GPR surveys,

[20]   Millett, 'Understanding Roman towns in Italy'.
[21]   Keay and Millett, 'Republican and early Imperial towns'; Vermeulen *et al.*, *The Potenza Valley Survey*.
[22]   Launaro and Millett, *Interamna Lirenas.*
[23]   Gaffney *et al.*, *Geophysical Survey Techniques.*
[24]   Rodríguez Hidalgo *et al.*, 'La Itálica de Adriano'.
[25]   Neubauer *et al.*, 'Long-term integrated archaeological prospection'.
[26]   Verdonck *et al.*, 'Ground-penetrating radar survey'; Verdonck in Launaro and Millett, *Interamna Lirenas.*
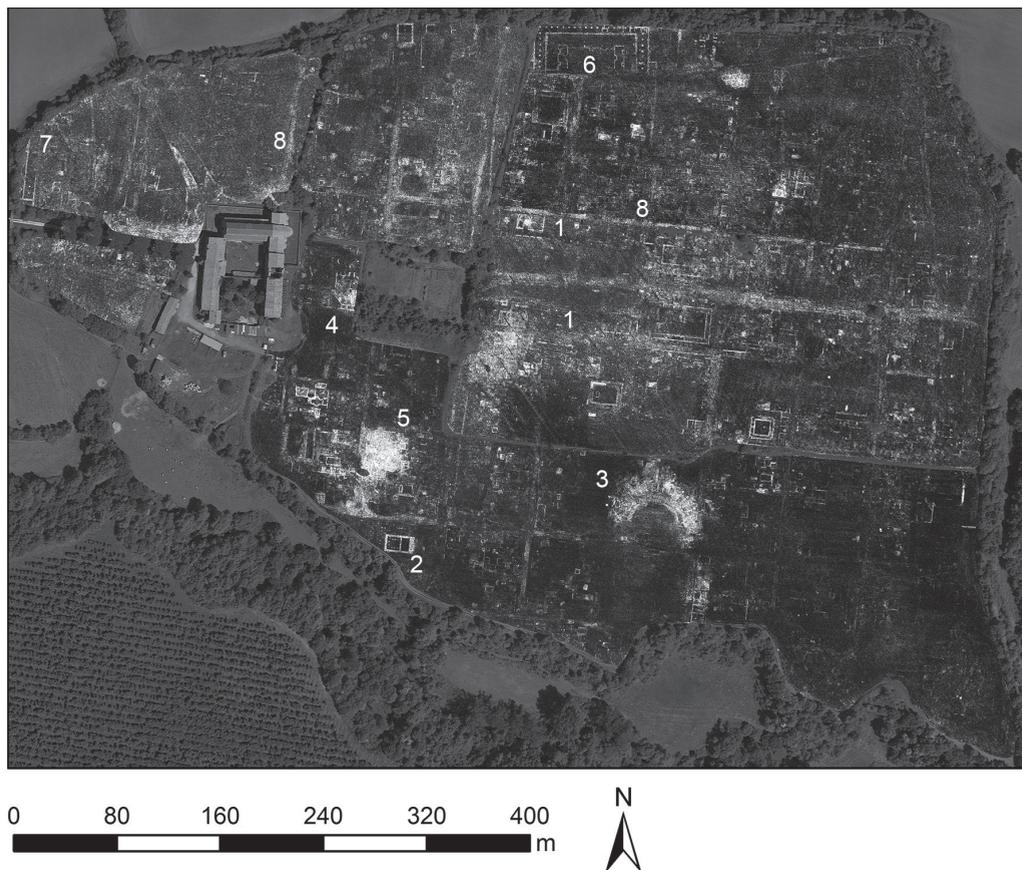
Figure 13.7. Overall plan of Falerii Novi (Lazio, Italy) showing the results of the GPR survey at an estimated depth of 0.80–0.85m (Google Earth, image by Lieven Verdonck).

some aspects of the broader potential of geophysical survey data in relation to issues of Roman town planning can be illustrated through three examples.

Falerii Novi

The city of Falerii Novi, founded by Rome after the suppression of the Faliscan revolt in 241 BC, was the subject of a large scale magnetometry survey in 1997–1998, with further work examining its northern extra-mural area between 2002 and 2008.[27] It has subsequently been the subject of a complete high resolution GPR survey. Analysis of the results of this work are still in progress but a preliminary report together with an online time-slice presentation of the overall results has been published.[28] An analysis of

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[27]   Keay *et al.*, '*Falerii Novi*: A new survey'; Hay *et al.*, '*Falerii Novi*: Further survey'.
[28]   Verdonck *et al.*, 'Ground-penetrating radar survey'.
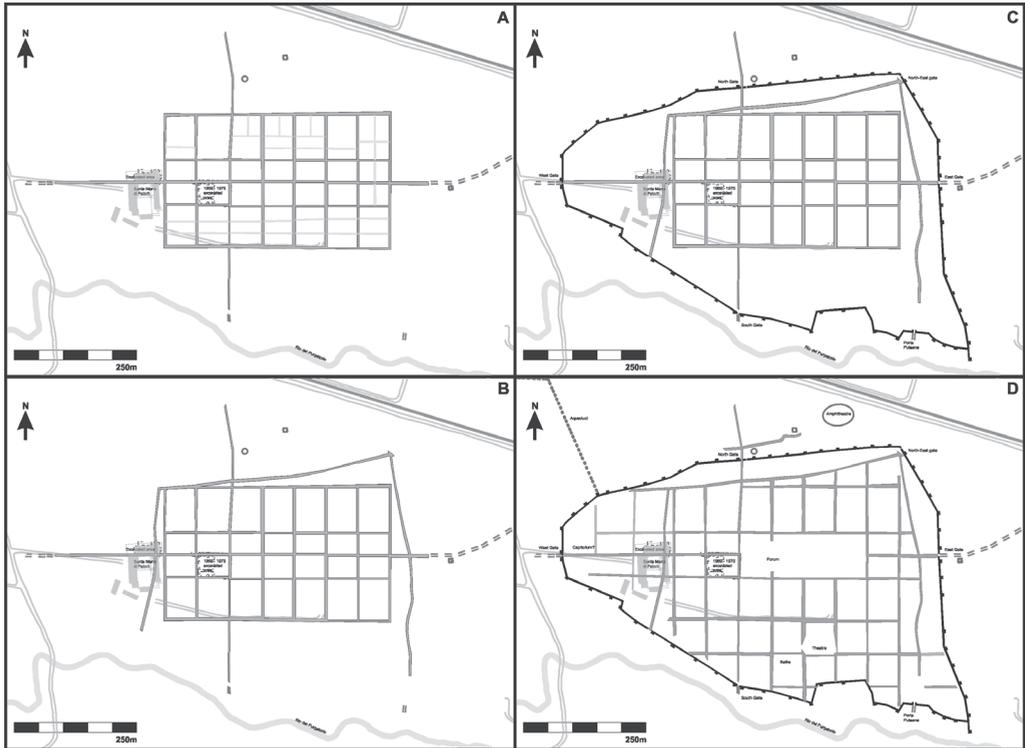
Figure 13.8. Proposed phasing of the plan of Falerii Novi (Lazio, Italy) (image by Paul Johnson).

the results of the magnetometry survey led to a suggested model for the development of the town plan.[29] This sequence is summarised in Fig. 13.8, although we may note that Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has offered an alternative sequence (see below).[30]

This sequence, proposed in the original report on the magnetometry and developed by Millett, suggests that the town was originally laid out on a grid plan focused on the intersection of the Amerina originating in Rome with an east–west road.[31] Despite the general view that Falerii was not a colonial foundation, there is evidence that the primary grid was laid divided between property units of two sizes, *c.* 60 metres × 20 metres and *c.* 30 metres × 40 metres comparable to the scheme seen at Cosa.[32] It may also be noted that although the grid is oriented cardinally, the main axis of its layout is the east–west street, not that coming from Rome to the south. At the highest point on the site, just north of the west gate (the 'Porta di Giove') there is evidence for the

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[29]   Millett, 'Urban topography and social identity'.
[30]   Wallace-Hadrill, 'Planning the Roman city'.
[31]   Millett, 'Urban topography and social identity'.
[32]   Millett, 'Urban topography and social identity', 73–74; Fentress, *Cosa V*, 13–62.

construction of a major south-facing temple, arguably a Capitolium, although this lay *c.* 200 metres to the west of the limit of the primary street grid.

In the following phase it is suggested that a town wall was constructed to surround the gridded area and to include the potential Capitolium within what is effectively a sub-triangular circuit. The wall also enclosed a street that ran around three sides of the primary grid, connecting down into the valley of the Purgatorio stream that runs in a ravine along the southern flank of the town. As access to the stream, via two small north–south valleys, was maintained through the provision of gates through the walls, it must be concluded that this street existed before the walls were built or, less likely, contemporaneously. A topographic survey of the town shows that the position of the walls was enhanced, either at the time of their construction, or a little later, by the quarrying of rock right up to the external face of the wall. On the northern side of the town, the ground was cut back to be roughly level, creating the illusion of a raised citadel, whilst along the southern side, the natural cliff of the stream valley also seems locally to have been enhanced. At a later stage, the street grid was extended to the south and west within the walls.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's alternative interpretation of the sequence is based on the idea that the *pomerium* of the town would have been defined at its foundation, before the laying out of the grid.[33] Assuming that the town wall follows the line of the *pomerium*, he therefore argues that the wall predates the grid, suggesting principles on which the layout of the walls was derived.

Whatever the sequence of grid and walls, the other feature of the plan that deserves comment is the distribution of temples within the town. It has already been noted that a possible Capitolium lies on the highest point of the site, outside the primary street grid. The gradiometry survey located a series of four further temples, each also facing south, sited around the course of irregular street that surrounds the primary grid. To these may be added a fifth temple on the same street which lies beneath the medieval church, whilst the GPR results have revealed what may be a further religious building facing this street just to the east of the north gate.[34] Aside from one at the east end of the forum, the only other temple, also identified in the GPR survey, lies immediately to the west of the south gate (this one facing east).[35]

As well as illustrating the potential of geophysics survey for elucidating a town plan, the evidence from Falerii also prompts a series of thoughts about the place of the street grid in the context of this particular urban landscape. First, it is notable that the grid itself (which is well evidenced), is arguably culturally symbolic, representing a Roman (or at least Mediterranean) tradition of *de novo* urban foundation. However, it is counterbalanced by two other significant features, partly religious, but also cultural and political. The street that runs around three sides of the primary grid must surely

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[33] Wallace-Hadrill, 'Planning the Roman city'; cf. Rijkwert, *The Idea of a Town.*
[34] Verdonck *et al.*, 'Ground-penetrating radar survey', fig. 4, no. 6.
[35] Verdonck *et al.*, 'Ground-penetrating radar survey', fig. 4, no. 2.

have been a processional route, which connects Falerii Novi directly to sanctuaries at the Falerii Veteres, its predecessor of settlement via the Purgatorio stream. This valley floor route seems to that described by Ovid,[36] and if this is correct, it would suggest that this was an overt expression of a continuing Faliscan identity.[37] The idea that Falerii Novi was deliberately recreating aspects of its Faliscan predecessor is reinforced both by the plan of the walled town, and also the way that the rock was cut back by quarrying to emphasise the cliffs and set the town physically above its surroundings, since both features appear to emulate the situation at Falerii Veteres. If this reading of the evidence is correct, then the town's planning in its early stages was not simply about a grid, whether functional or symbolic, but rather about how this cultural feature was interpreted and integrated with other important cultural symbols and practices.

Finally, in the context of Falerii, it is important to reflect upon the nature of the landscape topography more generally. Even allowing for its modification by quarrying, the urban planners' use of its siting was clearly of great importance. The east–west axis of the town was laid out along a ridge, with the forum on a slight saddle, and the highest points beside the town's west and east gates. The land fell away gently to a plateau to the north, and similarly to the south up to the cliff edge of the deeply incised valley of the Rio Purgatorio. These cliffs were used for the construction of tombs cut into the rock face. The approach to the town from Rome to the south along the via Amerina followed a straight route across the plateau with a series of bridges built to cross the various streams that cut deeply across the landscape.[38] On the immediate approach to Falerii, the road gradually ramps down in a rock cutting that provides an even gradient as the road approaches the bridge which is set partway down in the deep valley.[39] As a result, travellers would gradually have had the landscape hidden from them as they moved into the cutting, and would then have passed through an opening in the cliff face as they passed onto the bridge. Looking forward and upwards, they would have seen the walls and south gate towering above them, whilst glancing to either side they would have been confronted with the façades of the rock cut tombs of great Faliscan families. Only as they climbed on, up through the south gate would they have been able to see the town set on the ridge with its regular layout, and only as they reached ridge top and the central cross-roads would they have been able to see into the forum or to appreciate the regular form of the town's grid plan.

Viewed in this way the first impression would surely have been of Faliscan tradition and the skill of the road and wall engineers, not the monotonous regularity of the grid planner. I leave it to the reader to place a value on the significance of the street grid in this context.

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[36] Ovid, *Amores* 3.13.5–6.
[37] Millett, 'Urban topography and social identity', 78–81.
[38] Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, 'Ancient road systems', 97–104.
[39] Frederiksen and Ward-Perkins, 'Ancient road systems', 102.

Ocriculum

Not far from Falerii, at kilometre 69 on the via Flaminia, lies Ocriculum, one of the other sites where we first experimented with the use of magnetometry to map the Roman town. If the results from the geophysical survey of Falerii were spectacularly good, those from Ocriculum were initially profoundly disappointing, especially considering both the spectacular monuments recorded in the eighteenth century and the impressive collection of sculpture from the site in museums, notably in the Vatican.[40] Furthermore, the topography of the site, which lies on and around a spur overlooking the Tiber below the modern village of Otricoli, is exceedingly confusing to the present-day visitor. Nevertheless, a sustained surveying program on the site which combined geophysical survey with careful topographic recording, including a detailed contour survey, provides key new insights into the process of urban planning.[41]

Ocriculum occupies a key strategic location on the via Flaminia, and hence played a significant role at various stages in the history of Rome.[42] It was also an important river harbour, forming an important economic node connecting the inland areas of Umbria with Rome and the Mediterranean.[43] The traditional account of the site's history identifies hilltop *enceinte* under the hilltop village at Otricoli as the local Umbrian centre occupied at the time of the alliance between Rome and the Umbrians in 308 BC, with the settlement transferring to its new location beside the Tiber in the late Republic.[44] Whatever the history of the hilltop settlement, our survey clearly showed that the spur overlooking the Tiber beneath the Roman town was occupied by a significant settlement from the eighth century BC onwards, probably with an earthwork defence of slightly later date.[45] It was this settlement that was linked to Rome by the via Flaminia when it was constructed at the end of the third century BC, with the Roman town subsequently developing here and expanding to cover the whole of the ridge, with structures eventually extending beyond the edges of the ridge on artificial platforms supported by huge concrete vaults. The evidence available shows that this town was rather irregularly laid out along the ridge, with an organic plan that followed the constraints of the natural topography. There were two stages of subsequent replanning. The first, probably in the later first century BC or early first century AD, involved some regularisation of building on part of the ridge, arguably with the imposition of a small, gridded area around the forum, theatre and a large temple (the terrace of which is represented by the 'Grandi Sostruzioni') (Fig. 13.9). If this did encompass a grid, as seems likely, it covered only a limited area to one side of the via Flaminia and may be best understood as an extended forum complex. Later, in the second decade of the second century AD, the stream valley

[40] See Guattani, *Monumenti antichi*, fig. 2; Pietrangeli, *Otricoli*, 105–155.

[41] Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*,

[42] Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*, 1–11.

[43] Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*, 10.

[44] Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*, 5–10.

[45] Hay *et al.*, *Ocriculum*, 141–143.

Figure 13.10. Plan of Ocriculum (Otricoli, Umbria, Italy) in the mid- to late-Imperial period based on survey, published by Hay et al., 2013 (image by Lacey Wallace, reproduced by kind permission of the British School at Rome).

Figure 13.9. Plan of Ocriculum (Otricoli, Umbria, Italy) in the early Imperial period based on survey, published in Hay et al., 2013 (image by Lacey Wallace, reproduced by kind permission of the British School at Rome).

to the south of the ridge was blocked with a revetment wall, and the whole of the valley to the east infilled to create a bath complex, and presumably to provide an adjacent public square (Fig. 13.10). This massive engineering project (which included underground cisterns, fed by the buried canalised stream) completely changed the urban topography, although there is no evidence to suggest that the structures placed on it were orthogonally planned.

Clearly, this small urban community, although evidently prosperous, was little concerned with formal urban planning of the sort present in the early phase at Falerii Novi. It is tempting to dismiss this as a lack of planning, but it is again worth thinking about how the city would have appeared to those approaching such a well-established urban centre from Rome, whether by road or river. Approaching along the via Flaminia, travellers would have climbed the slope from the Tiber floodplain onto the river terrace where a flat and straight stretch of the road was flanked by large funerary monuments that commemorated the town's ancestors, although from this perspective the urban centre would have remained largely hidden. The road then curved down and to the left into a valley where the town's amphitheatre was tucked below the terrace edge on the left. As they descended and the road curved further round to the left, the façade of the amphitheatre would have towered high above them, dominating the approach. At this point, the valley in front opened out to reveal the flank of the ridge on which the town centre lay. In the earlier Imperial period, the view would have been of the whole slope with the temple podium, theatre and other major structures looking down on the visitor. After the infilling of the valley, the view would have been less awe inspiring, but with a grand bath-house façade in the foreground to the left of the road. Finally, travellers would have climbed the slope onto the ridge which was later partially cut through to ease the gradient, with terraced structures rising up the ridge top to their right and the forum and temple precinct opening off to their left, whilst in front they would have had a view down onto the Tiber where we assume the wharves were located.

For the visitor travelling up the Tiber, the position of the town on a spur overlooking the river meant that it would have been visible from a much greater distance. The crowded ridge edge with buildings set on artificial platforms would have gradually become clearer, but it would only have been as they passed the mouth of the stream valley to the south of the ridge that they would have gained a full view of the major monuments and theatre, and in the later Roman period, the massive retaining wall blocking that valley. The boat would then have followed the river around the tip of the spur to pass close below the towering structures on the north side of the ridge as they approached the quays.

As in the case of Falerii, the dominant theme of this urban planning provided a theatricality of views, both those exposed and those initially hidden. This involved a clever manipulation of landscape and townscape, which in this case had little to do with orthogonal relationships between buildings and much more to do with the individual buildings and their siting – much in the same way as was the case in Rome itself.

Isurium Brigantum

Far away in northern Britain, a not dissimilar pattern can be discerned in the town founded as the *civitas* capital of the Brigantes soon after the conquest of this part of Britain around AD 70. Here we have completed a restudy of the site, combining large-scale magnetometry and selective GPR survey with a thorough re-evaluation of the plentiful antiquarian sources, producing a new understanding of the town's history.[46]

There is no evidence for any indigenous centre of power having been located here before the arrival of Rome, with the evidence suggesting that the site was first occupied soon after the conquest, probably developing as a trading centre linked to the provisioning of the army. In the last decades of the first century, this grew to a substantial size, probably a result of its position at the point where the Roman road from York lay close to the highest navigable point on the river Ure. This location seems also to have become the loading point for lead and silver mined in the Pennine hills nearby.[47] This settlement was radically replanned around about AD 120, probably at some stage after a decision had been taken to use Isurium as the administrative centre for the *civitas* that covered much of northern Britain in the hinterland of the Roman frontier. The replanning, which resulted in the development of an urban centre covering 21 hectares, was closely linked with the development of the Roman road system linking York to Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 13.11). The road was realigned away from a crossing point just to the west of Aldborough, with the construction of a new bridge to the north of the town. This was linked to the planning of the town, with the intersection between the new road to the north and the earlier route from York being placed centrally in front of the forum which was constructed at the same time. The northern half of the planned town was laid out on a street grid on the more or less level ground, whilst the forum was built on a terrace cut into the north-facing slope on which the southern half of the town was constructed. Three further terraces seem to have been cut into the slope above, allowing the orthogonal layout of the town to continue up the slope, although details of the Roman street layout in this part of the town are less clear. The town subsequently developed with the construction of later second century urban defences (which were symmetrically placed with respect to the forum) and the growth of substantial extra-mural settlement especially along the routes to York and towards Hadrian's Wall.

In terms of town planning, the first impression might be of the straightforward imposition of a standard Roman urban model based on the street grid, but as with the sites already discussed in Italy this is only part of the story which is somewhat more subtle. It is first worth noting how the urban plan both used and manipulated the natural landscape. In this first place, the design took advantage of the distinction between the level ground towards the river at the north, and the contrasting hill to the south, with the original route from York passing along the foot of this slope.

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[46]   Ferraby and Millett, *Isurium Brigantum*.
[47]   Ferraby and Millett, *Isurium Brigantum*, 99–100.
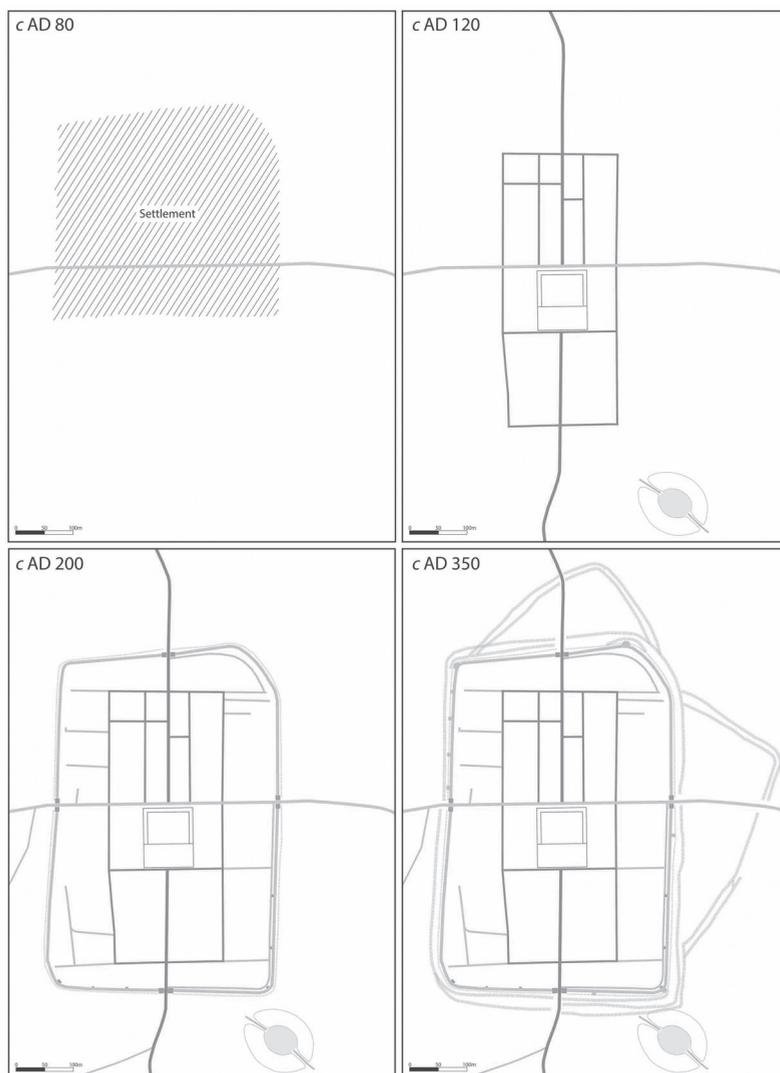
Figure 13.11. Phase plans of Isurium Brigantum (Aldborough, Yorkshire, UK) based on survey (image by Rose Ferraby).

As the town developed the terracing in the southern part of the town came to be occupied by a series of substantial townhouses, some of which were certainly designed to take advantage of the view and visibility from a distance created by the terracing. Similar architectural considerations seem to have applied to the forum and basilica, especially if we are correct in our conclusion that the latter was set on a terrace above and behind the forum. This contrasts with the array of more modest and lower profile buildings that seem to have occupied the northern half of the town. This

arrangement would have meant that the town would have had an impressive aspect to the visitor travelling southwards from Hadrian's Wall, visible across the river as they approached the bridge, then looming up on them as they approached further. This impression would have been enhanced by the use of bright, light-coloured limestone and contrasting red tile in the construction of the forum.

This architectural panorama was surely deliberate, and this makes the contrast with other approaches to the town all the more striking, for the town was hidden from view to those approaching either from the south or from the east. In the former case, the buildings and the town wall were both set below the ridge top and would have been entirely hidden on approach until the traveller had reached the hilltop when they would have looked down onto the town (or on to the town wall after the mid-second century). Although surprising, this approach to the town appears comparatively insignificant, and so may not be important. The same cannot be said of the approach from the east, along the principal route from York and the south of the province. Here, as at Ocriculum, the traveller would have encountered a major series of funerary monuments which lined the road as they approached the town. Looking north-westwards towards the river Ure the low profile of the northern part of the town would gradually have come into view, but looking to the south-west a natural ridge would have obscured the view of the town until they were within half a kilometre or so of the east gate when the town wall and larger buildings rising above it would have come into view. This surely indicates careful architectural planning which would have been obvious to the viewer. This conclusion is reinforced by the contrasting location of the amphitheatre which was placed on the highest point in the locality, just outside the south-east corner of the town. As such it would have stood out as a visible beacon to those approaching from the north, east or south. (It may be noted in passing, that such high visibility, which contrasts markedly with that of Ocriculum, can be paralleled in Britain by the siting of the Richborough amphitheatre).[48]

Concluding thoughts

I trust that these examples illustrate a series of points. First, although archaeologists are limited in what they can say about the overall planning of urban sites, it is important to remain aware of the problems of balancing presumptions about what 'must have been' with what the evidence actually shows. Even where a master plan did exist, it would rarely have been executed as anticipated, so we should be extremely wary of reconstructed and idealised grid plans of sites. Where we have good evidence, the details of town plans are commonly untidy and it is rarely possible to be certain about the underlying ideals. It is equally important to note that the rectangularity of most Roman buildings meant that it was often easiest to fit them into an orthogonal layout even if that did not form part of any urban

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[48] Wilmott, *The Roman Amphitheatre in Britain*, 121.

ideal. Hence, when we witness the replanning of parts of existing centres (as on the ridge at Ocriculum) we need to be careful not to assume that we are seeing the imposition of a grand design.

Second, where we do see the imposition of a gridded plan (as at both Falerii and Isurium), it is important both to look at this in three dimensions, not just as a two-dimensional plan, and also to see the grid plan in its broader context. When we try to understand how an urban centre would have appeared we can begin to contextualise the grid and see that although functional, it was often not the principal architectural feature of the townscape. Furthermore, as first demonstrated in John Creighton's analysis of Verulamium, there is increasing evidence that processional use was of great significance in structuring urban spaces.[49] In instances where we have good evidence (which can be increasingly provided by large scale geophysical survey) the identification of such routes can add significantly to our appreciation of Roman urban landscapes.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that although geophysical survey has the potential to provide important new large-scale and high-resolution information about Roman town plans, the data collected still requires interpretation – like any other form of evidence. It is thus shaped by our preconceptions as much as any other archaeological information. In that sense, as with excavated sites, we need to develop and maintain a critical self-awareness in approaching its interpretation and use.

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49   Creighton, *Britannia*, 124–130.

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Part 3

The impact of the Roman urban model

Chapter 14

From Potentia to Porto Recanati: The Roman coastal colony and its modern legacy

Frank Vermeulen

Introduction

Ancient Rome understood how to combine urbanisation and its imperialistic objectives, and this is most obvious in the way it organised colonisation and built colonial settlements of the urban kind. The Roman state had gradually made urban self-administration a cornerstone of its system of government and the expansion of its city culture created an extraordinary unity that manifested itself visually in many aspects of its spatial planning and building program, in homeland Italy as well as in the provinces.[1] Although Roman cities often display careful modulated organisation, they were as much influenced by the diversity of their climate, geology, landscape, relief and pre-existing settlement systems, as by the differences between the ethnicities and cultures that Rome integrated in the course of its expansion. The apparent core similarities of monumental Roman cityscapes and the accompanying conformities of the urban lifestyle was thus accompanied by an extraordinary diversity of town plans. Even in the way the Romans created colonial landscapes in Italy from mid-Republican times onwards there is diversity, notwithstanding the crucial role of the orthogonal street grid and the often quite regular shape of town limits and civic centres that are so much part of the Roman imprint in many confiscated or conquered territories. A traditional characterisation of a colony has been as that of a 'mini-Rome', as defined from the perspective of Rome and the Romans.[2] However, it is now becoming clear that no two colonies are fully alike, and a blueprint for such a Roman foundation can hardly be defined with precision.[3]

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[1]   Panzram, 'Urban history on the Iberian Peninsula', 1.
[2]   Brown, *Cosa, the Making of a Roman Town*, 53.
[3]   Sweetman, *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation*.

Between the mid-fourth century BC and the reign of Augustus a great number of colonies were created all over the peninsula. During the main phase of territorial expansion in Italy, between the fourth and second centuries BC, these were essentially two types: 'Latin colonies' (until 181 BC), or very large and independent communities with their own administration often inhabiting the site of a former settlement centre, and colonies of Roman citizens ('Roman colonies'), which are often regarded as smaller new towns or maritime garrisons whose inhabitants were legally more integrated into the Roman state as they were full Roman citizens. From the later second century BC onwards colonies founded within the scheme of land reforms and colonies for army veterans complemented the ever denser spread of new foundations, gradually replacing many high order settlements of the traditional Italic type that dominated the peninsula before the advent of Rome. While many of the earlier Latin colonies transformed, expanded and reorganised the existing central settlements of defeated peoples, most of the Roman citizen colonies were newly planned, gridded towns demonstrating the rationale of the new Roman urban wonder. The large majority of these were situated along the strategic coastlines of the Italian peninsula, and in this paper I would like to focus on these coastal colonies. I will also provide some argumentation for the lasting impact of this coastal model of the gridded city in post-Roman Adriatic Italy where, up until the present day, certain modern town centres are a good reminder of similar choices in city planning and landscape siting made more than two millennia ago. This will trigger the question of whether the later grids were conscious imitations of earlier Roman patterns, and whether they were trying to achieve the same type of urban organisation and control.

Roman colonial cityscapes in maritime Italy

The first of Rome's colonies that were inhabited exclusively by their own citizens were tiny places estimated to have covered less than 3 hectares, like Ostia and Minturnae. They were enclosed by rectilinear fortifications and probably already had an orthogonal street system with the same orientation as the walls, but not yet a large forum and political structures like later towns. A strategic location near the mouth of rivers was typical, while their function is believed to have been to defend the entrance to the river and a stretch of coastline against superpower Carthage and seaborne raiders. Ancient literary sources indicate that Rome founded more than twenty such coastal colonies of Roman citizens down to around 180 BC, and the archaeological sites of all but two of them have been found with relative certainty.[4] Although they differ in size, most of them are characterised by straight fortifications with right angled corners as a response to building on level terrain, and many of these centres were located on coastal plains. To a certain degree, the colonies can be

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[4]   For a good overview with further references, see Sewell, *The Formation of Roman Urbanism 338–200 B.C.*

considered as permanently manned forts[5] founded as completely new settlements, with the remainder being set up within or very close to pre-existing centres. Like the colony of Pyrgi, which is believed to have replaced the port-town of the great Etruscan centre of Caere, most of these coastal settlements have a topography linked to the orientation and proximity of the coastline, and many probably held a strong logistic relationship with a coastal road.[6] Those *coloniae civium romanorum* of the early second century (created after 184 BC) were, it seems, increasingly provided with public amenities around a central plaza.[7]

While the first group of ten colonies for Roman citizens, located essentially on the central-Tyrrhenian coast, near Rome, were mostly smaller fortress-like maritime strongholds, soon the colonial foundation was assimilated to the full-scale urbanisation effort of Rome in Italy. My own research in recent years has focused on the central-Adriatic urbanisation and here, in an Italic region that knew no fully developed cities before the coming of Rome in the early third century, the colonies were at the forefront of regional urbanism.[8] The extensive foundation in this region between 290 and 247 BC of the Latin colonies Hatria (*c*. 290 BC), Ariminum (268 BC) and Firmum (264 BC), and the Roman colonies Castrum Novum (*c*. 290 BC), Sena Gallica (*c*. 290–283 BC) and maybe Aesis (247 BC ?) generated a strategically well-distributed urban strip along and near the coast, forming a coordinated system of control of the central Adriatic and the now-expanded eastern section of the *ager Romanus* (Fig. 14.1).[9] At the same time, a gateway was created for the later conquest of the very important Po Plain, and possible expansion towards the eastern Adriatic and ultimately Greece. It is likely that the locations chosen for the embedding of the six central Adriatic colonies and their subsequent urbanisation was in part, if not totally, marked by some form of preceding occupation.[10] Their locations, on a stable terrace dominating a strategic river mouth (Ariminum, Sena Gallica) or on an elevated site near the coast controlling the lower valleys of some river corridors (Firmum, Hatria, Castrum Novum, Aesis) had been beneficial in pre-Roman times. Archaeological research is procuring more and more evidence of these older occupation phases, and it becomes all the more clear that the Romans did not much take into account the pre-existing infrastructures and houses of the Italic and Gallic peoples settled there. This archaeological research into the foundation of the third century colonies is however hindered by topographic continuity into modern cities, despite good efforts by our Italian colleagues in the two neatly gridded cities on relatively flat terrain:

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[5]   The most important literary source on the Roman army of this period are *The Histories* of the Greek historian Polybius, published in c. 160 BC. The surviving chapters cover the First and Second Punic Wars and contain details about the organisation of Roman camps in the mid-Republican period.

[6]   Enei, 'Pyrgi e le sue mura poligonali: recenti scoperte nel castrum e nell'area portuale'.

[7]   Gros and Torelli, *Storia dell'Urbanistica*, 130.

[8]   Vermeulen, *From the Mountains to the Sea.*

[9]   Laffi, *Colonie e Municipi nello Stato Romano.*

[10] Vermeulen, *From the Mountains to the Sea*, 62.
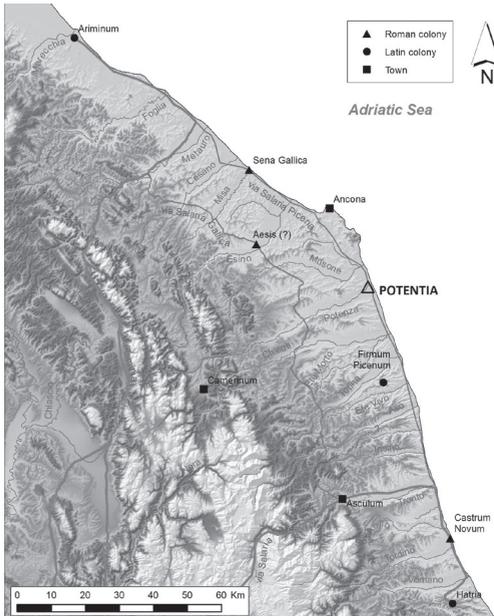
Figure 14.1. Location of the Roman colony of Potentia founded in 184 BC on the Adriatic coast, set against the landscape of early Roman roads and already existing Roman and Latin colonies and larger pre-Roman towns in the region (F. Vermeulen).

Ariminum (Rimini) and especially Sena Gallica (Senigallia).[11]

We are archaeologically better informed of the Roman expansion and further colonisation in this region from the second century BC onwards. Shortly after the departure of the Carthaginian army from Italy in 203 BC, concluding the second Punic war with Rome, things returned swiftly to normal and economic activity and the ongoing processes of Roman political growth and expansion of the Italian territory dominated by Rome restarted.[12] Certain operations were necessary for the reconquest of Gallia Cisalpina, lost during the passage of Hannibal, and the reconstruction and fortification of the colonial borderland system occurred soon after the war, with a whole series of town foundations and reinforcements between 190 and 174 BC across practically the whole of Italy.[13] In that period the central Adriatic sector saw the foundation of three new colonies for Roman citizens: of Pisaurum and Potentia in 184 BC, and of Auximum probably around 174 BC.[14] The locations of these three new fortified towns were well chosen. Pisaurum and Potentia – both lying directly on the coast – fill the still existing wide gaps in the coastal defences of respectively the central part of the *ager Gallicus* and the northern part of Picenum. Their foundations are most likely connected with the needs of the navy, also shown by the creation in 181 BC of *duumviri navales*, and by the problems with Istrian piracy in the Adriatic. The colonial levels of Pisaurum, modern day Pesaro, are again obstructed by the modern city built on top. The site of Potentia, however, today a greenfield site south of the town of Porto Recanati, and the playground for field operations since 2003 of my Ghent University team, has allowed us to better comprehend the birth of a gridded coastal city.

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[11]   Lepore and Silani, 'The Roman colony of Sena Gallica'.
[12]   Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic*.
[13]   Laffi, *Colonie e Municipi nello Stato Romano*, 22.
[14]   Paci, 'La politica coloniaria di Roma nell'agro Gallico e nel Piceno'.

Potentia: A Republican colony on the Adriatic coastline

The place in Picenum chosen by the Romans in the early second century to found the colony of Roman citizens at Potentia was probably not virgin land. Here, on the left bank of the ancient course of the river Flosis,[15] and situated on a somewhat higher beach ridge allowing permanent settlement directly on the coast, surface survey and small scale excavations located the presence of an Iron Age settlement occupied in the fifth to fourth centuries BC (Percossi 2012; Vermeulen 2017). This habitation core near the river mouth was probably rather small and may have functioned just as a satellite of the *c.* 6 hectare large defended Picene village of Montarice,[16] lying 2 kilometres northwards on a hilly river terrace. The Iron Age habitation layer is situated under a clay deck, about 1 metre thick, on which the Roman colony was ultimately laid out – according to Livy in the year 184 BC[17] – suggesting that there was no direct link between this Picene occupation and the later Roman developments. Like the contemporary northern Italian colonies of Roman right Mutina, Parma and Luna the new Roman settlement on the Adriatic shore probably consisted of some 2000 colonists.[18]

The recent field investigations in Potentia gave us the opportunity for a full evaluation of its extent, character and evolution. As this site near the mouth of the Potenza river was abandoned in early medieval times for safer locations on nearby hilltops, and was gradually transformed to its present state of agricultural land, it offers good opportunities for archaeological research. Sporadic rescue excavations since the 1960s, many years of systematic excavations by the Soprintendenza of Marche on the central site of a late Republican sanctuary and its Imperial successors and most of all the intensive non-invasive surveys and some focussed excavations on and around the wider town site by my Ghent University team, have delivered a really detailed plan and some insight into the phasing of urban development (Fig. 14.2).[19]

It is evident that the geomorphology of the site greatly dictated the choices of the town builders. The selected area, the narrow beach ridge north of the Roman Potenza

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[15] During the Middle Ages the ancient name was converted into Potenza, a reference to the ancient town at its mouth.

[16] Archaeological evidence from the hill of Montarice, where archaeological research by my team is still ongoing, indicates that this settlement was progressively abandoned from the mid-second century BC, a process that culminated in the first century BC. Vermeulen, 'Settlement dynamics from the 4th to the 2nd century BC.'

[17] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 39, 44, 10.

[18] For a good discussion of the numbers of colonists see Pina Polo, 'Deportation, kolonisation, migration'. This number of 2000 is much higher than the 300 men normally sent in third or early secnd century colonies. In fact, the now archaeologically known size of *Potentia* (see below) compares well with, for instance, the town area of the well-studied colony of *Luna*.

[19] For the Soprintendenza, Percossi Serenelli, *Potentia. Quando poi Scese il Silenzio*; Percossi 'Le fasi repubblicane di Potentia'. For the most recent overview of the research operations and results obtained by the Ghent University archaeologists at *Potentia*, see Vermeulen *et al.*, *The Potenza Valley Survey* and Vermeulen, *From the Mountains to the Sea*.
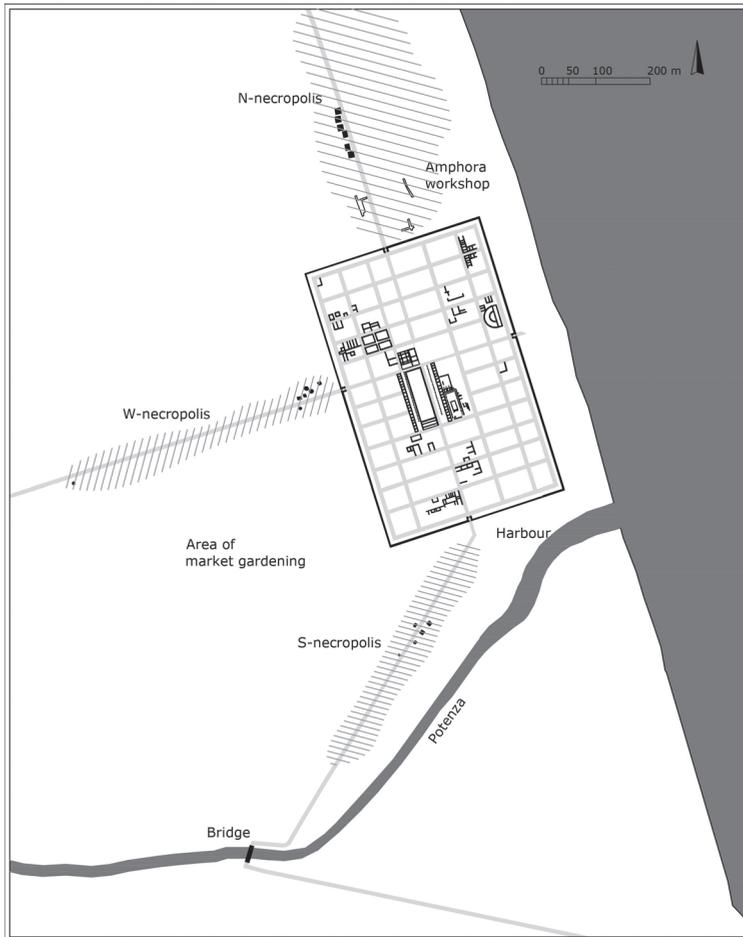
Figure 14.2. Simplified plan of early imperial Potentia and its immediate suburbium, as known from current archaeological survey and excavation data (F. Vermeulen).

river mouth, was the best location for the realisation of a quite slim rectangular town, bordered on three sides by natural impediments: the sea to the east, the river to the south and the alluvial wetland to the west. Continuous silting has gradually reduced the relative height of the beach ridge, but during the second century BC we can envisage a town on an elevation that stood out several metres above its surroundings, close to a ford where the river communicated with the sea, and partly surrounded by a lowland, mostly marshy, environment. The specific topographic position on this higher and dryer beach ridge, aerated by sea breezes and visually well positioned versus the coast, with a direct link to the presumed river harbour directly south of its walls, nicely combined the Aristotelian concern with defence with the Vitruvian

Figure 14.3. Visualisation by M. Klein of the townscape of early Imperial Potentia.

considerations of health.[20] The north-north-west–south-south-east orientation of the plan and its rather elongated shape are perfectly parallel to the nearby coastline and must have originally consisted of a defended space of approximately 16 hectares. The original defences of the initial period, when the settlement must have looked more like a camp than a town, are still poorly known. Excavations near the western entrance have shown that the site was probably surrounded by a V-shaped ditch, delimiting the *pomerium*, which was probably flanked by a small *agger* with palisade. Thanks to central intervention from Rome the settlement was soon transformed into a real town. The financial support in 174 BC from censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus[21] must have been impressive, and after a decade of existence the settlement must have received: a temple for Jupiter, a circuit wall with three arched gates, a regular street network with sewers, an aqueduct and a portico with shops bordering the forum square.[22] Apart from the aqueduct, almost all these historically attested features have now been defined in the field.

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[20] Vitruvius wrote his *de Architectura* almost two centuries after the foundation of *Potentia*, but he passed on traditional ideas.

[21] Q. Fulvius Flaccus had been governor of *Hispania Citerior*, where he captured and plundered the *oppidum* of *Urbicana* and fended off attacks from the Celtiberians in 182 BC (Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 42.4.3–4). As consul a few years later in 179 BC, he ordered the building of a temple of Fortuna Equestris in Rome to fulfil a vow connected with this campaign, using money collected in Spain for this purpose (Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 40.44.8–12).

[22] Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 41, 27, 1 and 10–13.

The spatial expansion of town and suburban area from the end of the Republic onwards can also be reconstructed on the basis of a combination of historical and archaeological data. At the latest during the reign of Augustus, the town grid of the original second century BC colony was probably extended towards the coastline, with one row of additional *insulae*, enlarging the town's surface area to almost 18 hectares. Potentia was, according to Cicero,[23] hit by an earthquake in the year 54 BC and serious repairs were needed, while additional veteran colonists joining its territory during the second Triumvirate[24] probably had to be housed in the urban centre, an action that might have helped to revive the town. It was well attested during excavations that the city wall was rebuilt in this later phase and that the forum area was monumentalised, while the aerial and extensive geophysical surveys suggested that the town was spatially extended some 50 metres towards the sea on its eastern side, creating not only more space for housing, but also possibly for a small theatre. This all fits very well with the national Augustan programme of urban renewal and the emperor's principles of monumentality and scenography, which involved a re-presentation of Hellenistic ideas in the service of Roman political strategies (Fig. 14.3).

A town like Potentia, founded *ex novo* on the coast, was obviously part of a broader program designed to structure a large territory based on the creation of a new urban centre. The inland towns in its valley, such as Trea, Septempeda and Ricina display obvious differences with the hard colonial model of Potentia: they have irregular polygonal enclosures and a less strictly orthogonal street system, based on their origin as *praefecturae* with an organic topographic development as street villages. These new towns developed in areas where the population may have created nucleated settlements, but had not had experience of, or seen the cause to reproduce, the aesthetics of Roman urbanism, as seen in Potentia. In the course of the second half of the first century BC and during the first two centuries AD the latter can be seen in the development of a more regular street grid parallel to the main road axis and the adoption of architectural types like the strictly organised fora, temples, theatres and amphitheatres. These features of urbanism were not adopted uniformly, and variation in the adoption of the architecture of Roman urbanism in time and space clearly demonstrates the variation in the city phenomenon within Italy, spurred by inter-city competition and comparison, the active role of elites and factors of financial resources and sustainability.[25]

An important characteristic of this urban centre, apart from its specific administrative status, assumed number of inhabitants and surface area, is its physicality. This is most clearly expressed through the urban layout dominated by an expected pattern of buildings, streets, squares, passages and gates that help locals and visitors to navigate the city, and by the presence of certain (public) buildings and monuments that offered a range of public amenities and characterised the conformity of life as experienced in Roman townscapes all over the empire. The relationship of the forum to the rest of its urban environment might usefully be thought of as analogous to that of the town to

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[23]   Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 28, 62.

[24]   *Gromatici Veteres*, 259 L.; *CIL* IX, 5654.

[25]   Laurence *et al.*, *The City in the Roman West*.

its surrounding countryside, as an island where most of public life was played out and within which the expression and experience of 'being Roman' was intensified.[26]

Much more than the inland urban centres, coastal towns in Italy held a vision and local embedding that was much more directed by the central state. Like many other similar maritime towns with colonial roots, it appears that the basic purpose of the coastal centre of Potentia was to fortify the coast and control the valley entrance, located as it was on the very edge of the Adriatic Sea, near the main inland corridor and river mouths, and on the developing coastal road. Its strategic value was emphasised by the influence of the military upon its establishment. The imposing walled enclosure suggests that it had a very strategic role, but another function would have been to structure the territory, in which were settled not only Roman citizens, but also the indigenous population and probably also other settlers coming from Tyrrhenian areas. The objective would have been to organise a political community that would embrace an extensive territory and its inhabitants.

The specific town model of Potentia has not been invented for this site only, as it is derived from earlier examples of Roman town planning. It is likely that third century BC central-Adriatic colonies, like Castrum Novum and Sena Gallica, which might both have been conceived as experiments among the early Roman citizen colonies that tried to combine the military function of coastal control with the more populated and larger forms of the contemporary colonies of Latin right, were influential on Potentia's city plan. The emulation of earlier Latin colonial planning is expressed here by being a larger population centre, and by such urbanistic features as an elongated forum, long narrow *insulae* with *tabernae* flanking the sides of the forum, and possibly a *capitolium-curia* complex dominating the plaza. The colony was no longer a small military stronghold, but must have soon appeared as a fully-fledged town aiming at self-government and at full self-sufficiency by way of extensive economic exploitation of the land and the nearby maritime world. But it is also evident that the position of the town demonstrates a close connection between its *forma urbis* and physical geography. Urban planning was adapted to the shape and contours of the land to take advantage of the elevated features of the narrow beach ridge, using its natural slopes as an additional defence against enemies, but mostly water. Not surprisingly, the detailed planning of the strategically placed town followed basic rules connected with the presence and orientation of crucial road connections, easy river crossing and possibly newly constructed river mouth landings as embryonic sea port.

Examples of coastal Adriatic foundations between the Middle Ages and modern times: A Roman legacy?

Certain urbanistic developments in the *longue durée* of post-Roman Italy, before the unambiguous revival of the Roman colonial model by the Italian Fascists, seem to have some direct or indirect link with the success of ancient Roman urbanism. The general

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[26] Dickenson, 'Making space for commerce in Roman Britain'.

decline of city life in most parts of the central and western Mediterranean during the early Middle Ages could not prevent many urban settlements with continuous habitation until modern times from retaining the imprint of the ancient urban fabric for a long time. In many Italian towns with continuity of life since Roman imperial times, crucial morphological aspects of the street system (whether gridded or more loosely organised), the ancient city defences and certain monumental complexes can easily be detected without (difficult) archaeological research. By looking primarily at city layouts using techniques such as planimetry and the graphical and strictly morphological analysis of town structures one can quite easily perceive the crucial impact of ancient urbanism on later generations, even if the study of modern morphological survival in the current cities, and uncritical use of cadastral and other maps for the reconstruction of town grids and modules, has sometimes proven to be quite conjectural.[27]

In those parts of Italy where town continuity has generally prevailed, however, the transformation of the classical city in the early medieval period was quite serious. It went hand in hand with the redesign or the creation of new defensive systems (*e.g.* by the Lombards and Byzantines), new centres of power in the town (away from the old forum), networks of churches (depending on the bishops) and new suburban areas focussing on martyr or funerary sanctuaries.[28] As a result, in most ancient cities the urban landscape became less coherent and more disordered, often included abandoned and ruralised areas and integrated a scattered funerary landscape no longer separated from the town of the living.[29]

Until the later Middle Ages the creation in Italy of well-ordered new cities is highly exceptional. The morphologies of new or renewed cities created between the fifth and tenth centuries by the strong leaders of that time, such as Justinian, the barbaric kings, the pope and Charlemagne, differed in accordance with crucial variables such as propaganda, security and economic necessity. Coastal examples of such towns founded from scratch in Adriatic Italy are Grado, Comacchio and Venice, all implanted in its northern lagune landscapes.[30] These new Byzantine centres arose due to the necessity of reorganising coastal possessions after the Lombard conquest of most of northern Italy and the requirement to guarantee the long-term continuity of commercial activity in this part of the Mediterranean. Although these new towns differed greatly from one another, they shared a series of common features: city walls, a basic street network, a system of cisterns for water provisioning, a number of churches, a commercial/port quarter and an administrative/fiscal/military power base. Gone from the urban landscape so typical of the classical city are the rich *domus* of the urban elite, the central forum-type square, the baths and the majestic buildings for spectacles and display.

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27 Vermeulen, *From the Mountains to the Sea*, 20.
28 Brogiolo, *Le Origini della Città Medievale*, 88.
29 Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages.*
30 Brogiolo, *Le Origini della Città Medievale*, 123.

After the decline and transformation of city life during the early Middle Ages we see in the peninsula a renewed rise of towns, on many old and some new sites, in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the establishment of these medieval towns and of Italian city-states and maritime republics, the patriciate, as a formally defined class of governing wealthy families, played a crucial role.[31] They were found in the well-known and thoroughly studied Italian city states and maritime republics, such as Venice, Pisa, Genoa and Amalfi, but were also at the base of many other local developments and smaller centres spread organically over the peninsula. Especially from the Renaissance onwards and into modern times the urban architecture and planning of public space in the towns of Italy absorbed many ideas and forms which can be traced back to the townscapes of antiquity. It is not my intention here to discuss this very broad and interesting subject. I would like to focus succinctly, and no doubt in an anecdotic way, on a specific form of survival in Adriatic Italy of the gridded maritime colonial model discussed above.

It is my opinion that this model can be discerned in two very different examples of medieval and post-medieval urban planning and development along this coastline. Both examples are taken from the interesting notion that many Roman cities in Italy were gradually and completely abandoned in late antiquity or the early medieval period, even if sites in their immediate vicinity, such as on higher and safer locations, often inherited some form of population continuity.[32] For the whole of Italy there is general agreement that the late and immediate post-Roman period saw a widespread and marked decline in town-dwelling, with various Roman centres progressively abandoned and those that survived were less populous and certainly less monumental than before. Indeed, it can be claimed that one third of the 372 cities listed by Pliny in the eleven Augustan regions in Italy were no longer occupied in the post-Roman period.[33] However, we must bear in mind that the abandonment of cities was probably a gradual phenomenon, very rarely with wholly abrupt ends.[34] But in coastal environments, where urban development was for many centuries much hindered by factors such as geomorphological dynamics, health problems (*e.g.* malaria) and most of all security issues, town renewal was often problematic and new town foundations were for a long time especially rare.

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[31] Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*.

[32] Part of the archeological and historical discussion on the transformation of settlement patterns and the move and reorganisation of the population to higher parts of the topography towards the end of the early Medieval period has been centred on the 'incastellamento' phenomenon. See mostly: Wickham, *Il Problema dell'Incastellamento nell'Italia Centrale* and Francovich and Milanese, 'Lo scavo archeologico di Montarrenti'.

[33] In central-Adriatic Italy about one out of three Roman towns were abandoned; of the thirty-eight Roman cities in Le Marche, once cited by Pliny, only twenty-three became episcopal seats, six were reduced to simple villages and nine others were never heard of again; as we know from *Potentia*, even some of the bishop seats eventually vanished. Vermeulen, 'Potentia: A Lost New Town' and Cirelli, 'La ridefinizione degli spazi urbani'.

[34] Delogu, 'Longobardi e Romani: altre congetture'.

Nevertheless, as some cases in Adriatic Italy show, even in late- and especially post-medieval times the phenomenon of moving populations and expanding or creating more planned towns has not fully disappeared from the maritime context. This can be well illustrated by the following two examples from central/north Adriatic Italy, which indeed are cases where a previous high order settlement for the area is now abandoned and reduced to a greenfield area, and new interesting town models developed on nearby coastal sites. It is likely that these two examples stand for the two main development types of new cities in post-medieval Adriatic Italy. They are the coastal towns of Porto Recanati – indirect successor of Roman Potentia – and the more northerly situated town of Cervia. The first is an example of a town with a grid plan that gradually developed out of a discrete medieval military core, while the second is a very intentionally planned small gridded town of strictly post-Medieval signature.

Porto Recanati

The origin of Porto Recanati can only partly be traced back to the human 'diaspora' from the Roman town near the ancient the Potenza river mouth, located some 2 kilometres further southwards and abandoned in the early middle ages to different locations on hilltops in the hinterland (*e.g.* the hilltops of present-day towns like Potenza Picena, Loreto and Recanati). At the end of the twelfth century, when the marshy and under-exploited coastal strip moved from the hands of the more rural based Conti delle Marina to the flourishing inland urban community of Recanati, things changed in this part of maritime Marche. In this same period that large tracts of land in various Marchean coastal plains were being reclaimed.[35] In 1240, Pope Gregory IX wrote a letter addressed to the inhabitants of Recanati ordering them to arrange a confluence between the Potenza, Musone and Aspio rivers, and to plan a port there.[36] The core of the new settlement of Porto Recanati, which was ultimately to replace the city of Potentia as coastal centre, is actually a castle founded directly on the coast by the inhabitants of the town of Recanati, lying 12 kilometres inland.[37] This *Castrum Maris*, of which today the so-called Swabian Castle (Castello Svevo) remains, was a stronghold built in 1225, in defence of the newly projected port, and granted by Federico II the Holy Roman emperor to the inhabitants of Recanati.[38]

It is clear that the initial non-urban settlement of Porto Recanati had a defensive objective; it possessed a signalling tower and was the first barrier to resist invaders or raiders from the sea. At the same time this stronghold was a kind of symbolic outpost and a demonstration of power of inland Recanati, at a time when in Italy many cities

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[35] Cencini and Varani, 'Per una storia ambientale'.
[36] Buli and Ortolani, *Le Spiagge Marchigiane*.
[37] Moroni, 'Le campagne lauretane dal XII al XV secolo'.
[38] Foschi, *Federico II di Svevia*. Combined research on historical documents and geomorphological observations have allowed the Ghent team to understand better the early development of the port of this is town, see Corsi *et al.*, 'River bed changing in the lower Potenza Valley'.
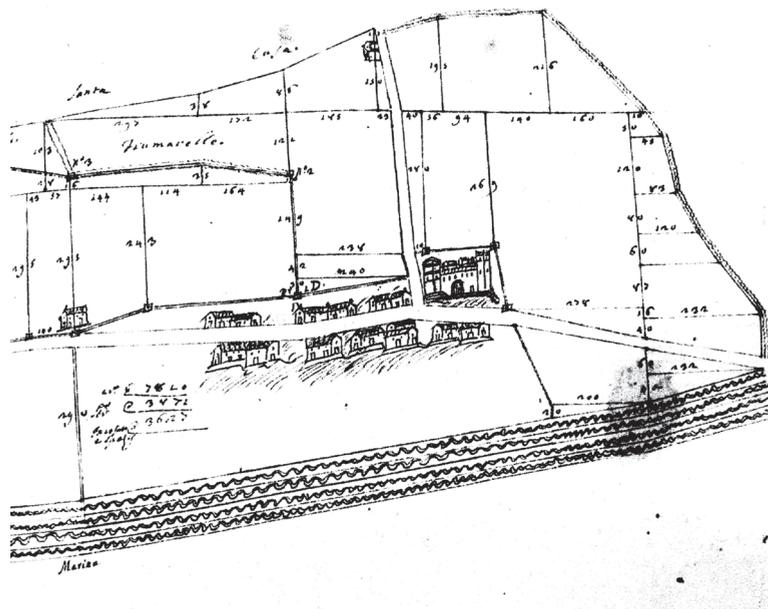
Figure 14.4. Detail from the Gonfaloni cadastre recording the goods of the town of Recanati in 1761. The castle of Porto Recanati ('Castrum Maris'), the village expanding along the coastal road (later called 'corso') and the road inland towards the town of its founders are well visible (Ortolani and Alfieri, 1947).

competed for power and success. Soon the economic aspirations of the urban elites of Recanati, who towered topographically over the coastline from their regional market centre on the inland hilltop, also saw the economic advantage of developing this coastal settlement around their castle and especially its port. However, many attempts at constructing a durable port in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries failed and an ambitious project for the construction of a significant harbor at the confluence of the river Potenza was abandoned in 1474.

Until the fifteenth century, documents attest that all inhabitants of the small settlement lived within the castle walls.[39] In post-medieval times, a somewhat larger village of fishermen and people connected itself to the limited port functions, which had developed here along the coastal road immediately to the south of the castle, and ran neatly parallel with the coastline. Both a perpendicular road, which departed from the castle, and this main axis, which pointed inland towards Recanati, created the second orientation of streets in the growing village, thus forming the basis of a grid-shaped plan (Fig. 14.4). This grid plan was only fully materialised in the first half of the nineteenth century, and was finalised at the end of that century when

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[39]   Alessandrini, *Disegno per una Storia di Porto Recanati*, 23.

Figure 14.5. Present-day aerial view of the oldest gridded part of Porto Recanati, squeezed between the railroad and the coastline. The grid is centrally dominated by the almost north–south oriented corso and by the square in front of the Swabian castle, once the location of the harbour installations built by the inhabitants of inland Recanati (Google Earth, 18 August 2020).

the railroad and station were accomplished and a much larger population centre had developed (Fig. 14.5).[40] As with its predecessor Potentia, the main long distance coastal road remained the principal axis of the grid. It is interesting that the open area between castle and coastline, where the monumental port was projected to be built, was used much later to create a plaza (today Piazza Brancondi), comparable to the Roman forum square: neatly located in the centre of the town, along its north–south oriented *corso* and in front of its main building, the medieval castle. In this way the town plan looks more than a bit like an orthogonal Roman colonial settlement and its location near the river mouth, which in the course of time was artificially moved northwards from its original Roman site, is precisely the same as that of its ancient predecessor. The similarity in orientation and its oblong form, partly shaped by the same geological context as the nearby site of Potentia, namely the location parallel with and nearby the coastline on a higher and dryer beach ridge, also strengthens this comparison.[41]

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[40]   The title of 'City of Porto Recanati' has been recognised since 24 April 2013 by Presidential Decree.
[41]   For a good discussion on the relation between local geology/geomorphology and the foundation of cities see Gisotti, *La Fondazione delle Città*.

The most important buildings of the town: the post office, the church and the main shops, were located along the main road axis (originally called *via larga* or *primo Stradone*), like in many an ancient Roman city. The simple one-storey houses of fishermen lined the perpendicular and parallel streets of the regular grid, which were also called *Stradoni* and numbered according to the distance from the main street. The full autonomy of this settlement, which during most of its long history could be considered a small colony of the nearby autonomous city Recanati, and even the central power of the Papal State in Rome, was only achieved after the end of the nineteenth century. In 1893 the municipality of Porto Recanati was born when by virtue of a Royal Decree, signed by the King of Italy Umberto I, the coastal village was detached from Recanati. The town's autonomy was completed when a few years later a civic aqueduct was inaugurated to provide the inhabitants with drinkable water, and the train station was built, allowing full connection with the rest of Adriatic Italy and beyond. The comparison with many ancient Republican colonies and towns becoming fully independent *municipia* after the Social War of the early first century BC, and investing in their water provisioning and communication system is certainly not so far-fetched.

Cervia

The second example of a remarkable gridded post-medieval maritime urbanism along the northern sector of the Adriatic coast is Cervia. Here, in the southern part of the Po plain and in the shadow of Ravenna, higher order settlements of antiquity are less well known. A possible Greek or Etruscan presence – connected with the name *Ficocle* – and a Roman roadside settlement along the coastal via Popilia can be directly linked to the long history of salt exploitation in these coastal wetlands.[42] This important economic asset spurred on urban development, giving rise to a flourishing medieval town amid the 'saline' with a city wall, a castle and seven churches. Cervia ultimately became part of the Papal States and was even mentioned in Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[43] However, by the end of the seventeenth century the landscape had changed and gradually turned the salt ponds into a marshland, greatly diminishing the malaria-stricken population. Pope Innocent XII ordered the town to be rebuilt in a safer and healthier location closer to the coastline and its higher beach ridges (Fig. 14.6).

The new city built for the salt-digging population of Cervia, which remains perfectly preserved today, received a plan that can be best compared to some of the typical Roman Republican maritime colonies discussed above (Fig. 14.7).[44] The city was organised as a fortress: it was entirely enclosed by defensive walls, with only two

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[42] As suggested in an eighteenth century poem by Pietro Antonio Zanoni, "*De salinis Cerviensibus*", Pilandri, 'La leggenda delle saline'.

[43] Dante, Inferno, Canto XXVII, 40–42: 'Ravenna sta come stata è molt'anni: l'aguglia da Polenta la si cova, sì che Cervia ricuopre co' suoi vanni'; translation: 'Ravenna remains as it has been for years. The eagle of Polenta broods over it such that he covers Cervia with his wings' (The Online Library of Liberty).

[44] For a detailed discussion of the planning process and architecture of Nuova Cervia see Benincampi, 'Architects and institutions' and Foschi, *La Costruzione di Cervia Nuova.*
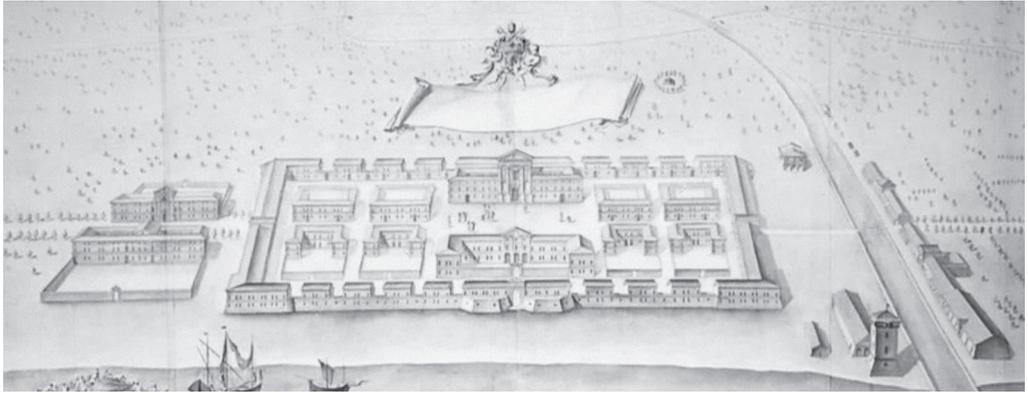
Figure 14.6. Detail of an aquarelle by Francesco Fontana (1701) with a bird's eye view of Cervia Nuova.
Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, RL 10331. From Braham, A. and Hager, H., 1977. Carlo Fontana:
The Drawings at Windsor Castle, London – B&H 705.

access gates which were closed every evening. The quadrangular shape of the city, which was laid out on a grid plan oriented parallel to the coastline and fully linked to the coastal road, is exactly the same as what we see in Potentia and in some other Roman Adriatic colonies. The central square was organised on the main street as one would expect an ancient forum plaza to be. The foundation document indicated exactly the number of houses to be built, namely forty multi-family houses for the salt diggers and their families, with larger houses for the magistrates and important families lining the main longitudinal street. The location of the cathedral, the bishop's palace and prisons on the central plaza seems a direct reference to the concentration of public buildings around ancient Roman forum models. Also interesting is that the planning incorporated the construction of a small market square and a public building for storage of grain, which might remind us of the *macellum* and *horrea* so typical of many Roman towns. An imposing tower controlled the well-structured port along the now canalised river mouth and the crucial and monumental storehouse for the all-important salt supplies. We should also mention that during the building process the inhabitants were allowed to demolish the old town in the 'saline' and to reuse its building materials for erecting the new houses.

It is not known whether the alleged 'rediscovery' of Vitruvius' books after the Renaissance served directly to create this new model of city planning applied in Cervia.[45] The developments of these ideas within the post-medieval Italian cultural context surely had an indirect influence on the choices made by the Roman architects in the service of pope Innocent XII.[46] Formally the architects of Cervia based their project on functional criteria in order to promote an image of modernity and to

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[45] See Wallace-Hadrill, this volume.
[46] Architects such as Girolamo Caccia (*c.* 1650–1728), Francesco Fontana (1668–1708) and Abram Paris (*c.* 1641–1716) played a key role in the definition of the new city grid and of the design of its principal buildings. Benincampi, 'Architects and institutions'.

Figure 14.7. Present-day aerial view of the well-preserved gridded small town of Cervia Nuova (Google Earth, 18 August 2020).

create a constant dialogue between both central and local institutions. The result was an agreement of utilitarian and very symbolic concepts. The new town was a demonstration of urban vitality in its own time, even in such a peripheral area of the state. There was a dynamic dialogue between central institutional decisions and the requests of the local administration and population, even if that dialogue was not always easy.

We might ask whether this is not precisely what often happened with the Roman city planners in antiquity? The decision to embrace the ancient 'grid-and-forum idea' for this small new town of salt diggers surely depended upon some sort of economic-egalitarian ideology, and indirectly the model of ancient Rome's tax-based imperialism was applied here to the full. The town model also imposed reflections on the cohabitation between diverse social classes, as no doubt had happened exactly with the ancient Roman colonial settlements of the urban kind. It is interesting to compare this post-medieval urban intervention to the Roman colonies we see on the Adriatic coast, which in ancient Republican times were also implanted quite far away from the central power. Although not many new inhabitants were brought to Nuova Cervia, the planning of town and port was clearly part of a policy to rationally exploit the salt pans of the area and to export the white gold. Surely the Roman 'maritime' colonies of the Potentia-type also sought to economically exploit the (agrarian)

hinterland and to facilitate the export of produce overseas. These Republican colonies were also often the result of direct elite intervention from Rome, with forthright economic policies as main objective, in their case especially for the promotion of the international wine business. [47] Likewise, elites active in the Papal States, such as cardinals and other influential clergy, played an active role in economically promoting an important centre for the collection and sale of salt from its hinterland.

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[47]   Patterson, 'The relationship of the Italian ruling classes with Rome'.

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Chapter 15

New towns of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and the grid plan[1]

Wim Boerefijn

New town creation in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries

The collapse of the western Roman empire led to a long period of urban decline in western Europe. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, though, there appears to have been general improvements in the climate and political stability. This made it possible for agricultural produce to increase, for the population to expand, for trade and craft to prosper and for urban culture to revive. Initially, this urban culture revived particularly in existing settlements – often in remnants of Roman cities, towns and fortresses – that grew and were gradually promoted to towns and cities by the granting of specific privileges.[2] But towns were also created anew, almost from scratch, in short periods of time. This became more and more usual as more and more landlords sought to profit from the urban boom. Unfortunately, little is known of how this was done. In the following chapter, various aspects of these new urban creations will be outlined in the perspective of the heritage of the ancient colonial city, beginning with a short introduction of the phenomenon and subsequently focusing on spatial planning and the grid plan in particular.

New towns were founded in various parts of Europe from about the ninth century onwards, but most of them were created from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, with a peak period at the end of the thirteenth century (Fig. 15.1). This was a period of intense 'urban experimentation', although it probably was not felt as such back then. All kinds of landlords tried to create new towns, lay as well as ecclesiastical and from the full spectrum of statuses, in order to gain economic, political or military power. In turn, the settlers of these new towns

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[1] This chapter is based on elements of the PhD thesis of Boerefijn, 'The Foundation, Planning and Building of New Towns', which is accessible via dare.uva.nl/en/record/336940.

[2] See Postan, *Cambridge Economic History of Europe Vol. I*; Gutkind, *International History of City Development*; Verhulst, *Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*.
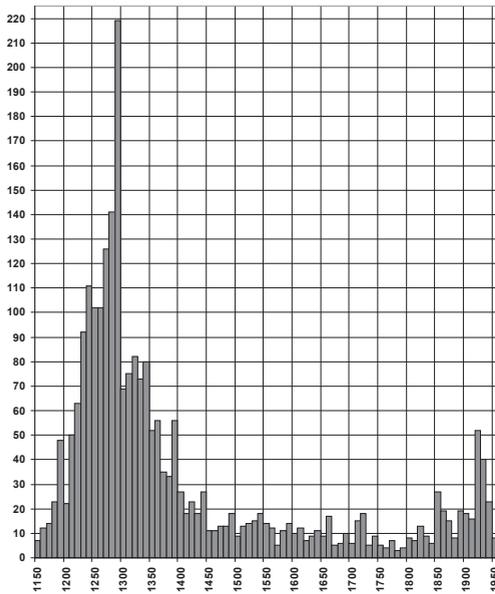
Figure 15.1. Diagram showing the number of newly formed towns (newly built or promoted) per decade in central Europe from 1150 to 1950. The total number of towns taken up in this diagram is about 2000 (after Stoob, Forschungen zum Städtewesen in Europa*, p. 21, Abb. 2).*

were attracted by fiscal, economic and juridical advantages that were granted by the founding lords.[3]

In the historiography of town building, the motives for the foundation of new towns in the Middle Ages have mostly been described as being primarily (or at least strongly) military in character. This is commonly illustrated with images of imposing urban fortresses and strong city walls. I believe, however, that this is only partly justified. Certainly, there were various regions where towns were mainly planted in order to control disputed territory. In the late thirteenth century, for instance, King Edward I of England founded eleven new towns in support of his efforts to conquer and rule northern Wales. But there were also many other reasons for founding new towns, such as guarding trade routes, creating administrative centres, facilitating agricultural exploitation, stimulating trade, attracting craft-production, just making money or even prestige.[4] Economic policy was part of the politics of dominion over territories and subjects in the period, and it played an important role in settlement policies. Although it is quite impossible to objectively set off one motive against the other, it is my opinion that, for town plantation in general, economic exploitation was more important a motive than military strategy.

The newly created towns of this period are not a very well-known phenomenon. Relatively little research has been conducted on them compared to the new towns and cities that the Romans built or to those founded in the early modern period. Nevertheless, these new towns have played a very important role in the shaping of Europe's modern geographical structure. Cities like Cardiff in Wales, Newcastle-upon-Tyne in England, Montauban in France, Bilbao in Spain, 's-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands, Munich in Germany, Warsaw in Poland, Bern in Switzerland (Fig. 15.2) and Alessandria in Italy were all newly created in this period. These examples became

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[3]   See Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*; Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*; Casamento, *Fondazioni Urbane*; Gutkind, *International History of City Development*; Guidoni, *Storia dell'urbanistica*; Lavedan and Hugueney, *L'Urbanisme au Moyen Age*.

[4]   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 336–345.

Figure 15.2. Aerial photograph of Bern in Switzerland. Bern was founded in 1191 by Duke Berchtold V of Zähringen. On the eastern end of the peninsula was built the castle Nydegg. Higher up the plateau, the main settlement was built along the wide market street and its parallels. The upper town was enlarged to the west in the third quarter of the thirteenth century (to the left edge of the photograph), and still further in the 1340s (Google Earth © 2020; accessed 21 August 2020).

successful and went on to grow much larger than they were initially intended to. But most of the new towns remained relatively small: the great majority of them counted no more than 2000 souls.

There are many examples of newly founded towns with just two rows of house lots along both sides of one street, with a total number of, say, fifty lots (Fig. 15.3). Others were, however, planned with high ambitions for considerable numbers of households. Manfredonia in southern Italy and Grenade-sur-Garonne in south-west France, for instance, were both planned for 3000 households (Fig. 15.4).[5] There were many town foundations, though, that failed completely, either for lack of settlers or lack of economic development (Fig. 15.7). Others may have been successful initially, but became urban failures later on, due to changing conditions.[6]

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[5]   On Grenade-sur-Garonne, see Boerefijn, 'Designing the medieval new town'; on Manfredonia, see Valente, *Manfredonia*, 20.

[6]   Town foundations that failed completely were, for instance, Bere in Wales, Giglio Fiorentino in Tuscany, Baa in south-west France and Bunschoten in the Netherlands. The town of New Winchelsea, which is discussed by Lilley elsewhere in this volume, is an example of an initially successful urban creation that collapsed later on.

Figure 15.3. View of Bassoues in south-west France, seen from the donjon of the castle at the east end of the town. The bastide-town was founded by the archbishop of Auch in 1295. Clearly visible are the central street along the hillcrest, with house lots to both sides and the market hall built over the street in the market place (Wim Boerefijn, 2004).
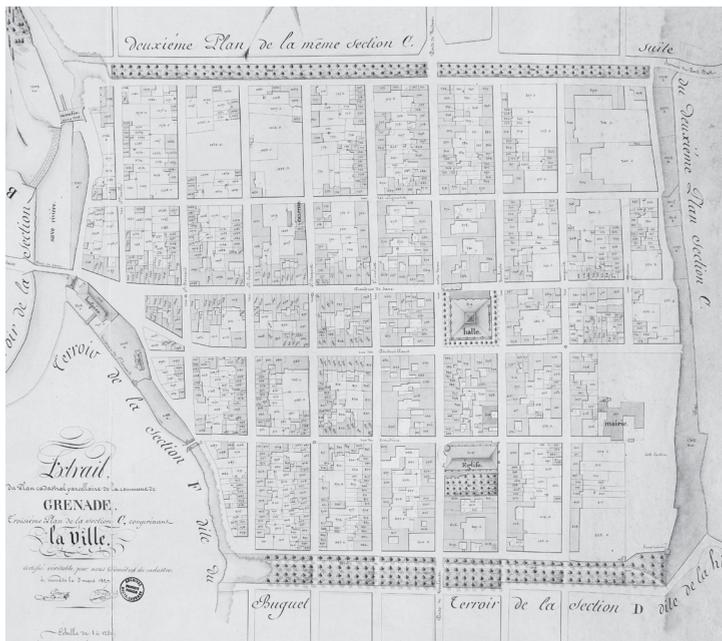
Figure 15.4. Cadastral plan of Grenade-sur-Garonne in south-west France, 1827. The plan is oriented north-north-west. Grenade was founded in 1290 by Eustache the Beaumarchais as sénéchal of the French king and the abbey of Grand-selve (Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, 3 P 2512).
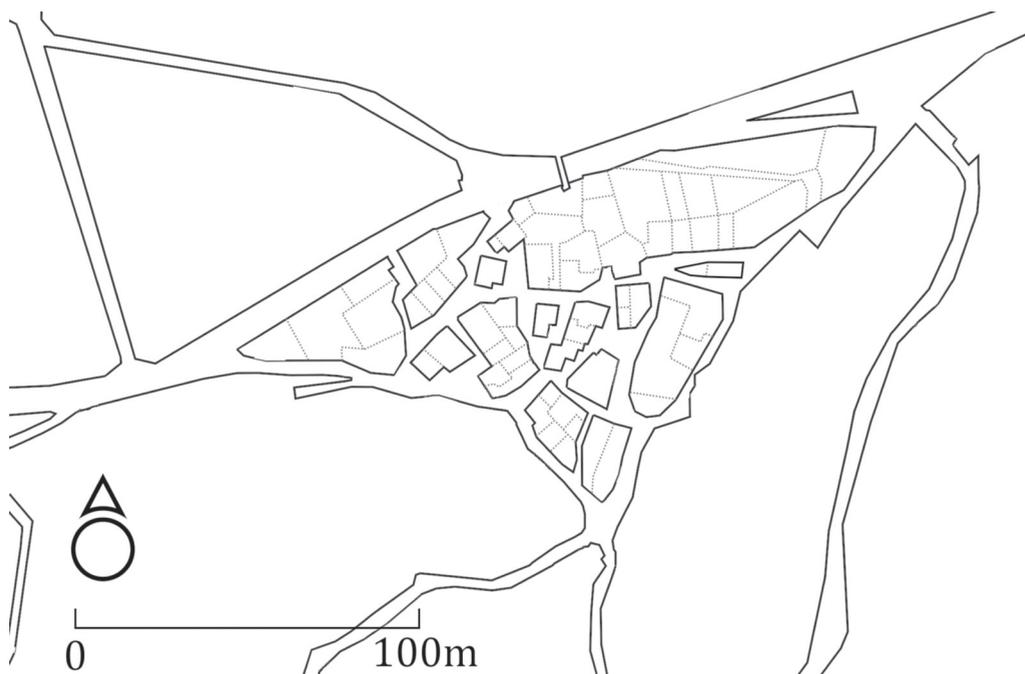
Figure 15.5. Plan of Labastide-du-Vert in south-west France, according to a cadastral plan of 1832. The small town was founded before 1258, when it is first mentioned in a document as a possession of the bishop of Cahors. The plan is probably the most irregular of any bastide-town and its form is strongly influenced by the steep relief of the natural terrain (drawing by Javier Martínez Jiménez, after Cadastre Napoléonien, Labastide-du-Vert 1832, Développement du village, 3 P 2617).

Urban form

Many hundreds of new towns were built in Europe in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Their number is not known even approximately but it amounts to at least 1500. Unfortunately, we still know relatively little of how these towns were actually planned and built, or who did it. This is mainly due to the fact that there are few original written sources that inform us on the subject.

Regarding the spatial structure, there is a wide variety of plans, from very irregular to very regular in structure (Figs 15.5 and 15.6). In some cases the regime of spatial order appears to have been more or less free, while in others it must have been very much regulated. The ground plans generally tend towards orthogonal regularity, often even griddedness, and in most cases it is obvious that there was some sort of spatial planning.[7]

Considerable works may have been executed before house lots were issued – such as raising or levelling of the ground surface or constructing defences. The founders

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[7]   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 353–358.

Figure 15.6. Aerial photograph of Terranuova Bracciolini in Tuscany. Terranuova was founded in 1337, as one of the terre nuove *that were created by the city-state of Florence as a means to take control of the countryside, more specifically the trade-routes passing through. The house lots were progressively shorter, the further away from the central main street they were located (in a south-west–north-east direction) (Google Earth © 2020; accessed 21 August 2020).*

often took the responsibility of building a number of edifices for communal or public use, such as a church or chapel, a house for the administrative officials, a market hall, a well, a mill, a bridge, a quay or a monastic house of some sort.[8] At Marchegg in Austria, King Premysl Ottokar II of Bohemia even had such facilities built while settlers were not yet recruited. Eventually, the town remained largely empty for lack of economic development, despite all the facilities that were there (Fig. 15.7).[9]

The house lot was the basic unit around which the urban plan was constructed. House lots would commonly be held from the landlord in hereditary tenure, in which the tenants were personally free. The lots are, with few exceptions, of an oblong rectangular form, with the house standing on the short side that faces the street. In general, lots were about 6 to 15 metres wide and 12 to 40 metres long. There were clear differences in general lot sizes according to region. But for most regions the originally planned lots generally appear to have become smaller over the course of time.[10]

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8   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 359–361, 381–392.
9   Oppl, *Österreichischer Städteatlas*, s.v. Marchegg.
10 Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 366–373, 475–480; Hammel, 'Hereditas, area und domus'; Strahm, 'Die Area in den Städten'.
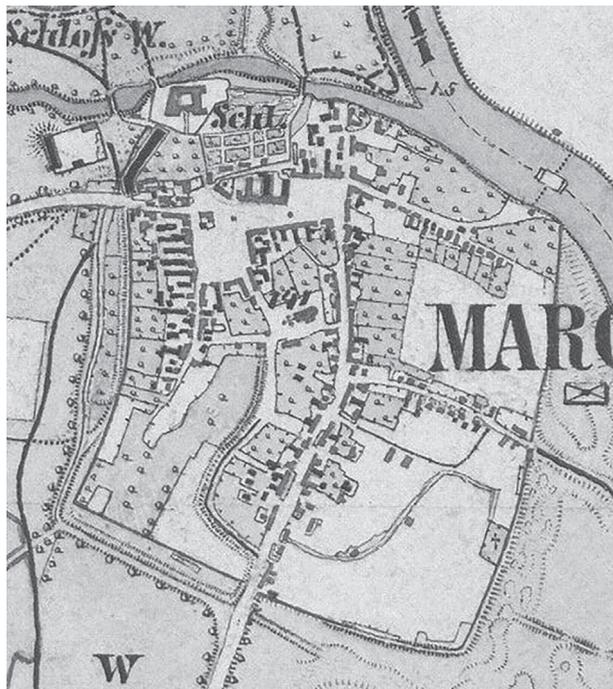
Figure 15.7. Marchegg in Lower Austria, plan from the Franziszeische Landesaufnahme *2nd Military Survey c. 1835. Marchegg was founded by King Přemysl Otokar II of Bohemia in 1268, in order to protect the border with Hungary. The town is relatively large but remained mostly unpopulated until the twentieth century because the site was not very well-suited to support the economy of a large town. In the first few years after the foundation a more or less complete infrastructure was built, even before a substantial number of settlers were recruited. This infrastructure consisted of,* inter alia, *stone town walls, a castle, a church, an abbey, roads and a marketplace (from Wikimedia Commons; accessed 10 August 2020).*

Egalitarian or not?

It is a recurring theme in the present conference whether or not the Roman grid plan should be regarded as an expression of an egalitarian ideal. This matter is also relevant for the new towns of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, as they were often created on gridded plans. The house lots, which were almost without exception of rectangular elongated form with the short side facing the street, often seem to have been planned initially in one standard size. For several towns, such standard lot sizes are known from original documents. At first thought, this might seem like the embodiment of an egalitarian ideal. But, of course, it is more complicated than that.[11]

It is known from various cases that standard lots were also issued in parts or in multiples. It is possible in such cases, that the 'standard' size was just meant to attract

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[11] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 319–324.

settlers and for an orderly distribution of house lots and the calculation of rents. In fact, the charter of New Salisbury in England stated that the standard plot was to measure 7 by 3 perches (115.5 × 49.5 feet), for which a rent of 12 denier was due per year. But it was also stipulated that tenants who held lots of other sizes were to pay more or less according to the area, from which it is evident that the tenements were to vary in size from the very outset.[12]

Ideas concerning equality among citizens can be found in theoretical writings from the thirteenth century and later, in which equality in the juridical sense is presented as flowing forth from the Christian ideals of love, charity and equality and unity before God. And it is clear that most new towns were actually created as 'egalitarian' in judicial sense: the original settlers generally all received the same rights.[13] It is possible that the principle of equality was also the basic idea behind the spatial division of the house lots. But if equality of the lots was really a principal ideal, it would at least seem likely that regulations would have been instituted to keep the plots to their original uniform size. I am not aware of any such regulations.

There certainly was an aspect of egalitarianism in many new town foundations. But the notion of the medieval town as an anti-feudal or even proto-communist society, which was common among scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, appears to be a romantic fantasy. The landlords who founded the towns certainly did not strive for egalitarianism. Hence, it seems that the egalitarian uniformity of plots and rights at the outset of town creation was pragmatic rather than idealistic. Not only did it make planning, issuing plots and calculating rents easier, but it also made new towns generally more attractive for potential settlers. It was (and still is) essential when attracting people to new settlements to offer the possibility of improving both individual and collective existence. Starting from an essential equality most probably looked attractive to ambitious people as it signified equal chances, and probably also helped the relatively rapid creation of a sense of community in the new towns.[14]

But there are also some rare cases of which we know that house lots were explicitly planned in various classes of different sizes. The town charter of Bartoszyce (Poland, founded 1332) stipulates that the plots on the market place were planned somewhat shorter than the rest, whereas in Mrągowo (Poland, founded *c*. 1405), it was the other way around.[15] In a group of six new towns that were founded in the first half of the fourteenth century by the government of the city-state of Florence, there even is a systematic variation in lot sizes. The lots all had the same width, but their length diminished as they were located further away from the central main streets. This

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[12]   *Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury*, xxxii.
[13]   Frenz, *Gleichheitsdenken in deutschen Städten*, 72–77, 134, 214–233.
[14]   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 319
[15]   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 369–370; Schich, 'Zur grösse der 'Area' in den Gründungsstädten', 97.

systematic variation of house lots is unique for the period. It appears that the variation did not meet the demand, however, as the size of the plots was swiftly modified after settlers flocked in. Particularly, larger plots were created by amalgamation (Figs. 15.6 and 15.8).[16]

The reason for the systematic variation of plot sizes in these Florentine towns is not known. I believe that this aspect of the spatial structures of these new towns might represent the societal and aesthetic ideal principles of order, harmony, hierarchy and completeness.[17] It is also likely that the variation in the length of the lots in these towns was generated by complex design geometry.[18]

Regularity, the grid and its origin

These Florentine new towns are also remarkable for the relatively high regularity of their plan-forms. It is obvious that much effort was put into making these towns appear highly ordered in a spatial sense. Considering new town creation in general, it is clear that order and regularity were usually deemed desirable. There were various practical reasons to strive for order and regularity, but moreover, they were experienced as beautiful and formed an aesthetic ideal that was related up to some extent to the symbolism of moral righteousness and philosophical ideas concerning order in urban society and the structure of the Godly creation. In fact, in the field of urban planning ideas of spatial, societal and cosmic order seem to have been linked to each other to a certain extent. This resulted in public streets that were preferably straight, wide and with regular facades, and urban structures that were preferably regular and orthogonal, and thereby easily comprehensible and surveyable. More or less implicitly, this resulted in regular grid plans. While,
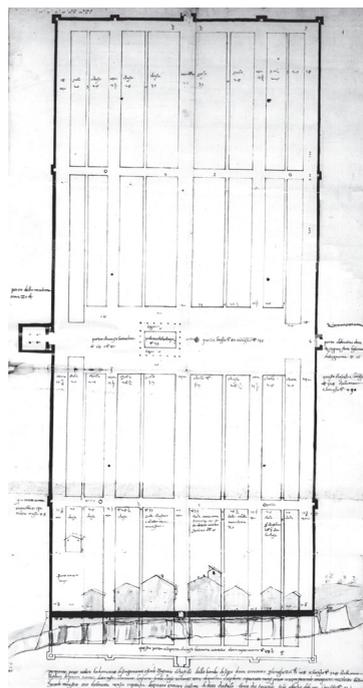
Figure 15.8. San Giovanni Valdarno. Plan by Piero della Zucca, 1553. San Giovanni was founded by the city-state of Florence in 1299, as one of the terre nuove *(cf. Figure 15.6). This plan was drawn in addition to a report on the damage caused by a flood (depicted in the part below). It is clearly visible that the house blocks along the central main street were the widest (with the longest house lots), diminishing the further they were from the main street. In the lower part of the plan the sections of the houses are depicted (Archivio di Stato Firenze, Cinque Conservatori del Contado, 258, carta 602 bis).*

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[16] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 206, 448–450, 472 table XII. On the Florentine new towns in general, see Friedman, *Florentine New Towns*; Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 161–214.

[17] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 321–324; cf. Friedman, *Florentine New Towns*, 201–204, 219.

[18] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 250–280.

in general, the use of the regular grid plan was probably motivated by its inherent practical advantages, its symbolic significance must not be overlooked.[19]

In the context of this conference, an especially relevant question is, what was the relation of these towns with the Roman colonial city? Roman ideas about urbanity and civility certainly had survived, partially in direct connection with Christian religious ideas and clerical organisation. In juridical and administrative respects there were aspects of new town creations that were clearly inherited from the Roman past. But as far as I know the link is indirect, and unfortunately it generally is not discernible whether founders or planners were consciously inspired by the Roman heritage.[20]

In Italy, many new towns were actually founded by city-states that were built on the remnants of Roman (colonial) cities, such as Florence, Bologna, Milan and Turin. One might have expected explicit propaganda in their town foundations, referring to ancient Rome. However, even in the relatively extensive documentation of the foundation of the Florentine new towns, one does not find such explicit reference to Roman urban creations.[21] Hence, it seems that new town foundations were only rarely directly inspired by ancient examples.

Famous among these rarities are the towns that were founded or re-founded in Italy by Emperor Frederick II in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, with the illustrative names Augusta, Caesarea and Aquila. Frederick, who was keen to imitate the Roman emperor Augustus, also founded the 'siege-town' of Victoria, just outside Parma, in 1247. It is said that ancient Roman ritual was used for its foundation, with the emperor demarcating the outline of the town with a plough at an auspicious moment that was astrologically determined.[22] Unfortunately, we do not know what Victoria looked like. But we do know that this ritual was also performed in other town foundations in northern Italy. Here we thus find explicit reference to the Roman legacy.

With regard to the spatial aspect of the new towns, many scholars have tried to identify a common source of the grid plan scheme. It has often been suggested that Roman colonial cities or forts were taken as models. Up to about the thirteenth century, the plans of the new towns were mostly rather different from Roman colonial towns, although there certainly was a tendency towards regular orthogonality (see Fig. 15.2). But particularly in the thirteenth century the rectangular orthogonal plan with two main streets crossing in the centre, like in Roman colonial plans, became more widespread (Figs. 15.6, 15.8 and 15.9).

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[19] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 324–334, 353–354; Boerefijn, 'Ideal layout'. See also Lilley in this volume, on the symbolism of spatial rule in relation to political rule.

[20] Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 399–401.

[21] See documents in Richter, 'Terra Murata' and Friedman, *Florentine New Towns*.

[22] After book five of the *Chronica Rolandini Patavini*. Wipfler, 'Die Städtegründungen Friedrichs II', esp. 200–202.
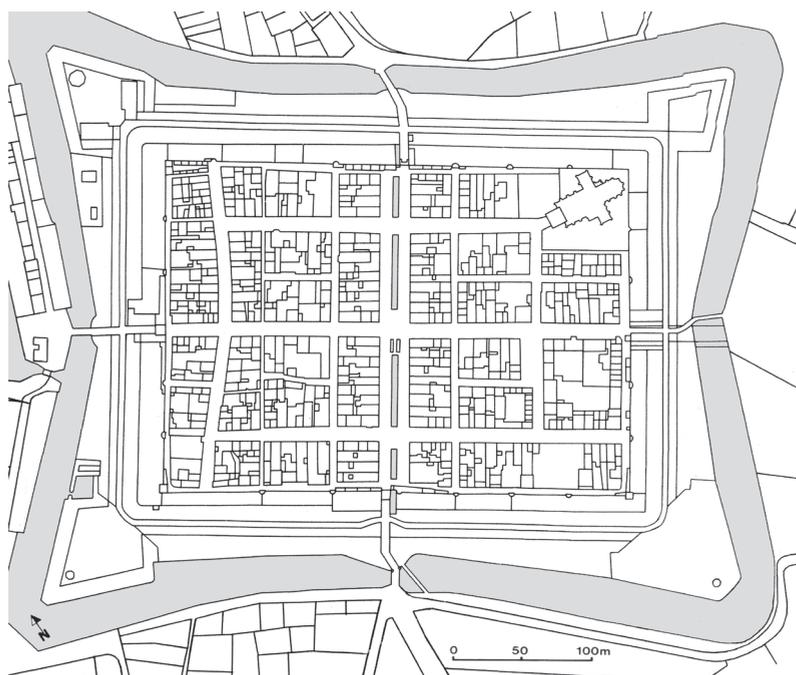
Figure 15.9. Elburg in The Netherlands. Plan based on the cadastral plan of 1830. Elburg was founded in 1392 by Arent toe Boecop, steward of the duke of Gelre. Arent seems to have acted as a private entrepreneur. He had bought a piece of land next to the existing town, and he obtained permission from his lord to extend and to rebuild the town. The highly symmetrical layout is based on a canalised river and a crossing street. The symmetry is disturbed, however, by the church in the eastern corner and by the pre-existing street, the only curved one in the whole town, on the north-west side. The corner bastions and the wide outer ditch were added in the sixteenth century (re-drawing by author).

Most scholars that tried to identify the origin of this plan form have posited ancient Roman sources.[23] Some of them suggested that actual remnants of Roman towns and military forts may have inspired town founders. But there is no concrete evidence for such imitation. According to others, urban grid structures were inspired by the preserved ancient educational literature on land measuring, architecture and military tactics, such as the *Corpus agrimensorum* and treatises by Vitruvius[24] and

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[23] In the past 150 years or so many researchers have assumed that the model of Roman colonial towns or military forts was imitated, whether or not consciously, in the new towns of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (see Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 397 n. 31). In some cases, towns that were built on a regular orthogonal plan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have even been held for Roman foundations since about the eighteenth century, as it was thought that this urban structure was typically Roman and thus atypical for the Middle Ages. This was the case for instance with regard to Bala in Wales and the bastides of Carcassonne and Saint-Denis in south-west France. See Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 401, n. 54.

[24] With regard to the misinterpretation on Vitruvius' prescription for the urban plan, see Wallace-Hadrill in this volume.

Vegetius. These texts were actually preserved in monastic libraries. But as far as I know they do not provide direct inspiration for plan forms like we find in the new towns, and there are no concrete indications that the knowledge from these sources was actually used in new town planning. It is clear that such ancient texts were held in high esteem, as they were being copied in the scriptoria of monasteries, and parts of their contents provoked reflection in new theoretical literature, but it seems that this was not intended for the purpose of actual practical use.[25]

Moreover, there is no evidence that the town founders and planners of the period actually knew what the typical plan form of the Roman colonial city was, whether from physical or written sources. The clearest reference to regular, symmetrical, orthogonal town planning in the written sources of the period, is to be found in the entry, 'Which form should the beautiful and well-built city have', in the encyclopaedic work *Lo Crestià* by Francesc Eiximenis from the late fourteenth century.[26] This work is extensively discussed by Sam Ottewill-Soulsby in another chapter in this book. What is remarkable is that, although Eiximenis certainly knew his classics, the example for the symmetrical grid-plan city that he described as his ideal, was not the Roman colonial city, but rather the heavenly Jerusalem.[27]

In the past hundred years or so, scholars have been trying to find a single original 'source' for the orthogonal plans of the town foundations in Europe. There were claims that it could be found in town foundations in eighth-century England, in twelfth-century Italy or in eleventh-century Flanders.[28]

In my opinion, however, there is no one and only source of the orthogonal town plan. Much as, on a world scale, the orthogonal plan was 'invented' independently in the ancient near east, China and central America[29], it seems to have been 'invented'

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[25]   Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 400–401.

[26]   *El Crestià*, book xii, ch. 110: 'Quina forma deu haver ciutat bella e ben edificada', re-edited in: Puig i Cadafalch, 'Idees teòriques'.

[27]   It should be noted that the urban form that Eiximenis describes also has a strong likeness to Chinese imperial capitals. It is not impossible that Eiximenis had heard of these cities, since contacts between Europe and China had been relatively intense in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For instance, the rather vague description of Beijing (Dadu) by Marco Polo may have influenced Eiximenis. It should be considered that the Heavenly Jerusalem as well as ancient Chinese capitals were both based on cosmological models (see Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 332–334).

[28]   For instance, according to Schwineköper, the origins of the regular orthogonal plans that were created in Germany by the late twelfth century, may be found in Flanders (new towns founded in the coastal regions founded by the counts of Flanders, such as Nieuwpoort) or England (the *burh*-settlements founded by the kings of Wessex) – Schwineköper, 'Zur Problematik', 104–106, 145–146, 169–171, n. 153. According to Keller the main source of the regular orthogonal plan in eastern Europe were new towns of northern Italy of the twelfth century, where it was inspired by the forms of existing towns of Roman origin – Keller, 'Die Ostdeutsche Kolonialstadt', 116, 125–127, 135, 142. He adds, however, that in the same period there were also other areas where similar forms were created (86). Hall holds that the Italian orthogonal plans of the second half of the thirteenth century were inspired by the *bastides* of south-west France – Hall, *Mittelalterliche Stadtgrundrisse*, 126. See also Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 395–404.

[29]   See Rose-Redwood and Brigon, *Gridded Worlds*.

on different occasions in post-Roman Europe as well. This is not so strange, if we consider that when the human mind seeks to impose order on a two-dimensional plane, the orthogonal grid is just the most obvious solution.

And imposing spatial order is, of course, what it is all about. Spatial order has always been an important instrument in forcing culture and control upon 'wild' nature and otherwise hostile territory, thus facilitating dominance by authorities and strengthening societal and cosmological order.[30] The orthogonal grid has been used as a system of spatial organisation by man to control nature, and by colonial or otherwise oppressive regimes to control the inhabitants of the land by erasing irregular and differentiated space, removing elements of personal or local identification and replacing them with absolute and 'universal' order. In this way, surveillance is facilitated and space and its inhabitants are effectively incorporated within the larger structure of the kingdom, state or empire.[31]

Historiography: The 'problem' of medieval town planning

In most regions of Europe, the great surge of town foundations ended about halfway through the fourteenth century. This began a period of economic and demographic crisis, partially the result of the Black Death. Subsequent efforts to create new towns now mostly resulted in failure. From that time on, relatively few new towns were founded in Europe until the nineteenth century.

In an irony of history, however, we are much better informed on actual projects from about the fifteenth century onwards, as well as on contemporary theories of foundation. These theoretical works were mostly treatises that were initially inspired by the Roman example of Vitruvius.[32] There is thus a contrast between the twelfth to fourteenth centuries and the following span of the the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. In the first period many new towns were created in Europe but we barely know anything about town building theory, presumably because there wasn't much explicit theorisation going on. In the second period it was the other way around. So, from the first period we mainly know practice, and from the second we mainly know theory.

In fact, it is not very well known that hundreds of towns were deliberately planned in the period before the fifteenth century. It is still often thought that the Renaissance was the period in which town planning was 're-invented', after it had died together with the western Roman empire. Somehow, the idea of a deliberate town-planning in the Middle Ages appears strange to many people, as they believe that medieval towns typically grew 'spontaneously' or 'organically' into picturesque urban ensembles, of which cities like Siena, Toledo or Prague are commonly taken to be the representative

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[30] See Grant, 'Dark Side'.
[31] See also the contribution by Lilley in this volume onthe measurement and ordering of land under the rule of King Edward I.
[32] See Wallace-Hadrill on Vitruvius in this volume.

examples. However, as I hope to have demonstrated in the previous paragraphs, they are not representative at all.[33]

   Later on, in the early modern period, many new towns were built under European rule. But this happened mainly outside of Europe, in the overseas colonies. These new settlements were mostly laid out on orthogonal grid plans. Various scholars have claimed that the planners of the new colonial towns, particularly the Spanish, were explicitly inspired in this by Roman examples and by Roman theory, and that these new settlements thus formed a genuine product of 'renaissance thought'. This is only partially correct, however. Spanish and Portuguese colonists could directly draw from a tradition at least four centuries old of urban creation on the Iberian Peninsula in the context of the external colonisation that followed the *reconquista* on the Muslims (see Chapter 6 by Martínez Jiménez and Ottewill-Soulsby).[34] Subsequently, this tradition was to be continued in the overseas colonies where it was transformed and developed inspired by 'Renaissance thought' amongst other sources.

   So, here was an ongoing tradition of urban planning. But looking at the regular orthogonal grid in spatial design from a wider perspective, one should be aware that it was used over and over again through history, without there necessarily being a sole common tradition or 'source'. This should not surprise us: the orthogonal grid is the simplest system for orientation, regular allotment and spatial order that we can conceive, and it could easily be thought up. With this system, authorities could enforce their spatial order on existing natural and cultural structures to act as a simple and practical instrument – but also to symbolise the dominion of man over nature or of authority over society. This was just as true for ancient Chinese, Meso-American, Egyptian and Roman cultures as it was in the European Middle Ages or the modern period.

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[33]   See Boerefijn, *Foundation of New Towns*, 410–419. For instance, in a recent publication of high academic standard, the author is sceptical of the possibility of deliberate town planning in the fourteenth century, as she argues that the streets of Elburg (see Figure 15.9) could have been formed spontaneously instead of having been planned, as a result of individual settlers building their houses next to one another without planning (Cleijne, *Huizenbouw en percelering*, 320). This is, of course, most unlikely, but it serves well to demonstrate the ignorance with respect to town planning in the middle ages.

[34]   Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*; Gautier Dalché, *Historia urbana de León y Castilla*; Trindade, *Urbanismo na composição de Portugal*.

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Chapter 16

Ildefonso Cerdà and the Eixample grid plan (1859). To be or not to be Rome?

Sofia Greaves

In the nineteenth century, many western urban planners redeveloped and expanded cities on the grid plan. Planners – an interdisciplinary mix of architects, engineers and medics – were repulsed by 'the *laissez-faire* period of town growth corresponding to the last half of the last century', which 'has proved its wastefulness as well as its hideousness'.[1] Planning intended to improve public health conditions and the aesthetics of urban life; it was considered a tool for social reform. Multiple solutions were implemented, from grid plans to garden cities, most actively from the 1860s onwards, to tackle the problems posed by industrial expansion and to address the advances made by medical theory.[2] The grid plan was ubiquitous because it offered a layout which reflected and promoted the rational, productive and industrial characteristics of the modern age. Moreover, whether disease was caused by 'miasmatic exhalations' or contaminated water, its orthogonal layout was compatible with public health objectives, particularly ventilation and plumbing.[3] The grid therefore offered a dual form of social and epidemiological surveillance, and was symbolic of modernity and good urban governance.[4]

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[1]   Reilly, 'The immediate future in England', 339.

[2]   Hall, *Planning Europe's Capital Cities*; Hebbert, 'A City in good shape'; Sutcliffe, *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning*. For garden cities, see Tizot, 'Ebenezer Howard's Garden City'.

[3]   Plumbing systems became increasingly important after British physician John Snow and Italian microscopist Filippo Pacini showed that water contaminated with feces spread cholera (germ theory, 1854). The 'ground-water theory', proposed by influential German physicist Max von Pettenkoffer (1854), proposed that the soil contained micro-organisms which released infectious material into the air if humid and warm. Despite the difference between these two theories, good drainage, ventilation and clean water were still recognised as essentials to urban health. See Bynum, 'Policing hearts of darkness'.

[4]   For water systems and surveillance, Osborne, 'Governing cities: Notes on the spatialization of virtue'; Osborne, 'Security and vitality: Drains, Liberalism and power in the nineteenth century'; Hamlin '"Cholera Forcing."' See also Foucault, 'The politics of health in the eighteenth century'.

> Independence of the individual in the home, independence of the home in the city: independence of the diverse generations of movement in the urban street. Ruralise the urban, urbanize the rural, *replete terram*.[5]

This chapter focuses on the theoretical underpinnings of grid planning in Barcelona, capital of Catalonia. It offers a new perspective on the Eixample plan (Fig. 16.1) devised by Ildefonso Cerdà (1815–1876), the Catalan-Spanish engineer who is considered to be one of the most important pioneers of nineteenth-century modernist planning.[6] The Eixample plan, prefaced by the quote given above, was highly influential and Angel Martín-Ramos has demonstrated 'Cerdà's far-reaching influence on his times', by providing a 'critical reflection on the characteristics of the urban processes that took place'.[7] However, as this chapter argues, we cannot truly understand the Eixample plan without discussing the 'history of urbanisation' which Cerdà included in his *Teoría de la Urbanización* (1867). I offer an original analysis of volume one of the *Teoría*, which remains neglected and untranslated.[8] The history contained therein shows us the importance of Greco-Roman urbanism to modernist planning in a context which is understudied, and diversifies our understanding of the values which grid planning represented in the nineteenth century. The history shows us that it is wrong to assume that Cerdà and Spanish planners 'inherited grid planning from the Romans', as architect and urban planner Salvador Tarragó has written.[9] Nineteenth-century planners embraced this false genealogical link between modern and ancient grid planning. By idealising antiquity, they argued that it offered an urban and constitutional model for modern cities, and linked their practice and objectives back to the glories of the Roman empire.[10] Whether Eixample was 'framed' in such a way has previously been unclear, because as Spiro Kostof has pointed out, the grid plan is an abstract form and requires adequate 'framing' – it may be aligned with multiple and changing values and pasts.[11] By the end of this chapter, it will be obvious that Cerdà did not intend Barcelona, a city with a Roman past, to embody 'Roman' values at all.

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[5]   Cerdà, *Teoría*, preface.
[6]   See Cordua, *Manifestoes and Transformations.*
[7]   Cerdà's text promoted over twenty extension plans in Spain alone. In Barcelona his plan was only replaced in 1953 by the 'Plan Comarçal' and shortly after by 'Barcelona 2000' in 1970. Martín-Ramos, 'The Cerdà effect'.
[8]   Cerdà, *Teoría*. I am using the 1968 edition of this text, the first to republish Cerdà's written work. This edition includes a biography of Cerdà. See Estapé, *Estudio Sobre 'la Vida y Obra de lldefonso Cerdà'.* Cerdà's work went unnoticed abroad because it was written in Catalan and only volumes one and two were published (volume three contained the figures and is lost). Soria y Puig has translated a selection of Cerdà's writings from the *Teoría* but the 'History' remains untranslated. See Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases.*
[9]   Tarragó, 'Quadricular la terra', 151.
[10]   Goldhill, 'The limits of the case study', 417–418. See Butler, *Britain and its Empire*; Rowell, *The New Rome*. See also the introduction to this volume.
[11]   Kostof, *The City Shaped.* See also Rose-Redwood in this volume and Rose-Redwood and Bigon, 'Gridded Spaces'.
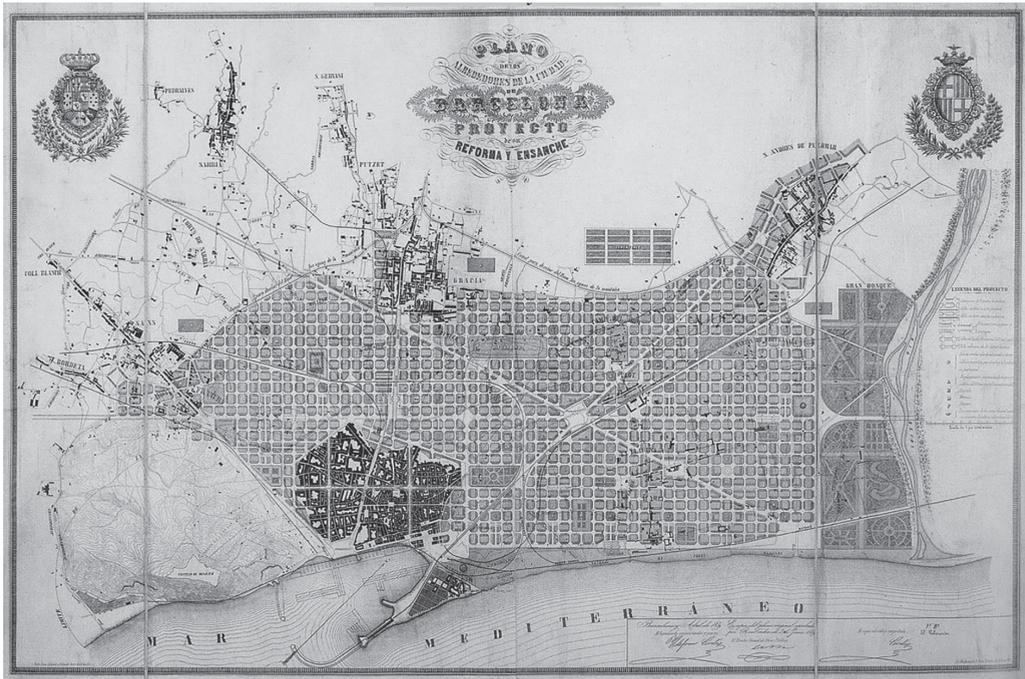
Figure 16.1. Ildefonso Cerdà, Ensanche de Barcelona. Plan de los alredededores de la ciudad de Barcelona y del proyecto para su mejora y ampliación, 1859 (Museu d'Historia de la Ciutat, Barcelona).

Introduction and context

Many of the orthogonal plans introduced in major nineteenth-century cities were aligned with the ancient Roman example; a western tradition of classical planning had reinforced the association between straight-street planning and Roman urbanism.[12] Nineteenth-century planners maintained this association because they studied Greco-Roman texts, particularly those discussing urbanism and health, which established the foundations for their practice.[13] Reformers of Cerdá's generation proposed destabilising changes on the authority of the Roman example, arguing that cities planned with straight streets and aqueducts were just as well governed, modern and civilised as Rome (if not more). Considerations of Cerdà 'in the context of his times', have overlooked this important aspect of his education, and nineteenth-century modernisation.[14] Cerdà graduated from the School of Road, Canal and Port Engineers in 1841 and claimed he had read 'everything that had been written on architecture

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[12] As outlined by the ancient Greek geographer Strabo, 'the Romans had the best foresight in ... the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber'. Strabo, *Geography*, 5.3.8.

[13] See Malatesta, *Professionisti e Gentiluomini*. For Britain, see Stray, *Classics Transformed*; Alston 'Class cities'.

[14] Martín-Ramos, 'The Cerdà effect', 696ff.

from Vitruvius to Leonce Reynaud; everything on law from Solomon to Bentham; everything on the study of society from Plato to Proudhon; everything on sanitation from Hippocrates to the present day; everything on statistics from Moses to the present'.[15]

Most famously, Rome was applied as a model in Paris, a city influential amongst many western cities including Barcelona.[16] Cerdà visited Paris four times between 1856 and 1858, and 'saw Paris of Napoleon III as an interesting subject around which to develop his own theory'.[17] Parisian monarchs and republicans had long attempted to modernise and beautify their city in the image of Rome, an idea which appeared to satisfy the two objectives key to a capital city, which needed to be both a 'space of magnificence' and 'the space of Hygiene', as Richard Etlin has described.[18] Hence, Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891)[19] and Napoleon III (1808–1873) continued a tradition of classical planning with their infamous *boulevards* and a further innovation: aqueducts.[20] Prior to Haussmann, the Parisians drew drinking water from the river Seine, a practice judged 'backwards' by public health standards.[21] It was difficult to change this practice. On the one hand, the Parisians feared the change a new water source might cause in their bodies, believing themselves biologically suited to river water, and on the other hand the Municipal Council feared the unknown expense which aqueduct construction might incur.[22] Haussmann commissioned a history of Parisian and Roman water systems from his leading engineer.[23] He used this study to redefine 'the Roman city', as having an aqueduct. Most importantly, however, he argued that the city of Rome owed its status as the most modern and civilised of cities to its water systems. Hence Paris could neither be modern nor 'be Rome' unless she followed Rome's example in this regard: 'Paris which has the pretention to be the head of modern civilisation, the principal seat of science and arts, the *chef d'oeuvre* of architects and engineers, the model for good popular administration, *the veritable Rome*

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[15] Cerdà, in Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdá's General Theory', 18. Translation Soria y Puig.

[16] Praises of Paris made at the Town Planning Conference in London, 1910, included those by Leonard Stokes, architect and president of the R. I. B. A., 'Why is Paris always so popular? I maintain that it is largely due to the fact that it is well laid out. Humanity is very sensitive to surroundings. Open up vistas, plant trees and fountains, give us light and air and music and you will not recognize the next generation'. Stokes, 'Inaugural meeting', 60. Cf. 'Toast the name of L. Bonnier to whom we owe the plans of Paris which occupy one of our rooms and which are of absorbing interest to all who have time to study them'. Webb, 'Toast', 106. For the conference, see Whyte, 'The 1910 Royal Institute'.

[17] Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 360.

[18] Etlin, *Symbolic Space*, 2. See also Kudlick, *Cholera in Post-Revolutionary Paris*, esp. 13–15, 36–38.

[19] Between 1853 and 1870 Haussmann was prefect of the Seine, the most important administrative position in the French state. For Haussmann's transformation of Paris, see Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity*; McAuliffe, *Paris, City of Dreams*; Carmona, *Haussmann: His Life and Times*.

[20] For classical planning under Napoleon I, see Rowell, *The New Rome*. For the second empire, see Price, *The French Second Empire*. For Napoleon III, see Strauss-Schom, *The Shadow Emperor*.

[21] For the French public health movement, see La Berge, *Mission and Method*; Haussmann, *Mémoire sur les eaux*, 23.

[22] Haussmann, *Mémoire sur les eaux*.

[23] Belgrand, *Les travaux*. See Atkinson, 'Eugène Belgrand 1810–1878'.

of the present century, still lacks the wits to furnish all its services with the quantity of waters which are absolutely necessary'.[24] As Haussmann also emphasised, it was all the more important to make this change because London, a city in competition with Paris, also strove to build 'Roman' infrastructure at home and abroad – aqueducts included. Both cities sought to recreate Rome's imperial reach through urban planning projects across their respective empires. [25] Paris was soon furnished with water from spring sources fed via two new aqueducts – the Dhuis (1865) and the Vanne (1867–1874).[26] This episode illustrates how the very idea of Roman urbanism, its practicality and its symbolic associations, could leverage policy and reform.[27]

Barcelona was faced with the same problems as Paris and the public health movement developed contemporaneously.[28] The city retained a winding medieval layout which was linked to social unrest, disease and inefficient movement. For Cerdà this urban model was causing a confrontation between 'modernity' and tradition across all cities, Barcelona included; hence the city was 'the field of operations for [a] titanic struggle of two civilisations which are vying for the domination of the world'.[29] Modern civilisation 'rose up, youthful, vigorous and powerful, riding on steam and armed by electricity', and 'struggles without end to break the tyrannical chains of masonry which imprison it'.[30] Here Cerdà referred to the city walls, which had been a feature of the city since its founding as the Roman colony Barcino (Fig. 16.2).

In Barcelona the Roman walls were subsumed by later constructions and remained standing in the nineteenth century. In the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries the monarchy had fortified the city with two further circuits to defend against the French invasion of Catalonia (*c.* 1295), and to protect against the Castilian threat (1357–1371).[31] By the nineteenth century, the walls had become an internal threat, because after the War of Secession (1700–1713) Philip V punished Barcelona by decreeing that the city should not expand beyond them.[32] As a consequence, whilst Barcelona – which lay in

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[24] Emphasis in original. Translation mine. Haussmann, *Mémoire sur les eaux*, 11. For an analysis of Haussmann's redefinition of Rome, see Greaves, *Ideal Cities.*

[25] The French built an aqueduct in Cairo. See Fahmy, *In Quest of Justice*, 135–145. For British aqueducts, see Butler, *Britain and its Empire*, 128–132.

[26] Haussmann, *Mémoire sur les eaux*, 108. These arguments were key to water systems in Naples, see Greaves, 'Cholera, the Roman aqueduct'. For a political ecologist's perspective on the nineteenth-century modernisation of water systems see Kaika, *City of Flows.*

[27] See Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris.* Gowers, 'The anatomy of Rome' discusses Paris and the *cloaca maxima.*

[28] Urteaga, 'Higienismo'.

[29] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 7–8.

[30] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 13.

[31] Barcino is the shortened name for *Colonia Faventia Julia Augusta Pia Barcino.* Barcino was a trading centre which produced garum and wine. It had a forum, an amphitheatre and a temple to Caesar Augustus. The Roman walls were 1.5 kilometres long. Barcino was attacked in AD 250 by the Germanic tribes, after which a new double wall was built. The *decumanus maximus* is now the *Carrer del Bisbe*, and *Cardus maximus* is the *Carrer de la llibreteria.*

[32] Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Philip instated military rule from 1714 to 1746.
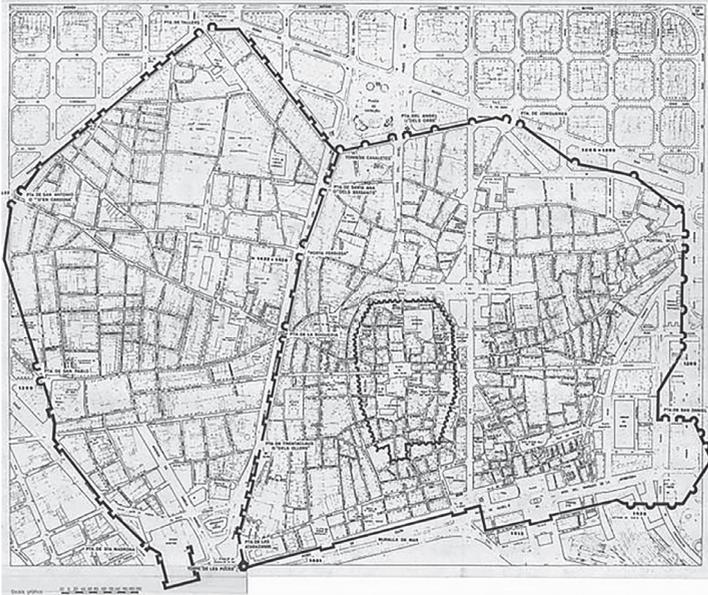
Figure 16.2. Barcelona, with its three wall circuits. Roman circuit (interior, fourth century) and medieval circuits, thirteenth century (Servei d'Arqueologia de Barcelona).

Catalonia – became the economic powerhouse of Spain, the walls caused overpopulation, continual disease and unrest.[33] Public health reform began after a Liberal government emerged victorious from the Carlist civil war (1833–1839), and sought to reject what Enric Ucelay-Da Cal has termed a 'militarised conception of public order'.[34] It is important to note that Liberal order was not completely at odds with the complex and prevailing religious culture in Spain, even if it weakened the Church. The Liberal government continued to support Catholicism, whether tactically or not, as Gregorio Alonso has studied. [35] This may explain why Cerdà used religious language, included an account of biblical cities, and believed that it was man's God-given destiny to fill the earth, as ordained by 'el supremo' and 'el Omnipotente'.[36]

The Liberals pursued public health improvements by lobbying for the walls to be demolished. Cerdà was key to this process; building upon work done by Felipe Monlau (Fig. 16.3) he campaigned for demolition as 'a heroic and efficacious remedy',[37] and proved that cholera epidemics in Barcelona were exacerbated by the population density of 859 people per hectare (in London, it was 86).[38] Demolition began in 1854

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[33]   For the Bourbons in Barcelona, Eissa-Barroso, 'Reform under the First Bourbon' and Wynn, 'Barcelona – planning and change'.

[34]   Ucelay-Da Cal, 'History, historiography', 123.

[35]   Convents were suppressed in 1834 and in 1835 religious orders were dissolved. However, Spain was declared a confessional state in 1851. Alonso, 'Catholicism and nation building in Spain and Latin America'. For a wider view, see Grew, 'Liberty and the Catholic Church'.

[36]   Cerdà, *Teoría*, 50.

[37]   'Un remedio adecuado, eficaz y heroico'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 12.

[38]   Major cholera outbreaks occurred in 1834 and 1854. Martín-Ramos, 'The Cerdà effect'. Between 1718 and 1787 the population rose from 34,000 to 111,000. Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad*, 279. For the water systems in Barcelona, which were inserted into the Cerdà plan see Ordonez, 'Garcia Farias'.

and the *Teoría* was written and proposed in the years that followed, between 1855 and 1859, whilst Cerdà was employed by the Development Ministry.[39]

Taking the Roman model?

One might assume, given the model which Paris offered western planners and the prestige Rome held in the western context, that the Eixample extension plan was also intended to embody and symbolise 'Roman' values. Certainly, ideas which Cerdà identified as being key to Greco-Roman urbanism were crucial to the production of his plan. One can clearly see, for example, the importance of Plato's *Republic* to Cerdà's rhetoric. If, as Roger Brock has explored, Plato posited that the philosopher could provide a remedy for the 'sick city', Cerdà styled himself as a modern Plato; he was the doctor who could diagnose 'the organism of our cities'.[40] Cerdà presented himself as an expert with the power to cure his patient; his *Teorìa* aimed to 'instruct society so it might see the ills it suffers, understand the causes and propose the remedies'.[41] He placed Barcelona on the operating table and claimed that he could unblock her innards by 'introducing the scalpel into the most intimate and hidden parts of the urban and social organism', to find the 'proliferating germ of the grave illness which corrupts the bowels of humanity'.[42]

Figure 16.3. Treatise, *Abajo las Murallas!!!* (Barcelona, 1844).

The major paradigms of the Eixample plan were taken from Vitruvius, whose *de Architectura* taught how a city should manage its site, layout, ventilation and water quality to ensure salubrity.[43] Cerdà therefore believed that a street could ensure that

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[39]   Approval for Eixample was given by Royal Decree, 31 May 1860. Ordonez, 'Garcia Farias', 382.
[40]   'El organismo de nuestras ciudades'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 12. Brock, 'Sickness in the body politic', 24–34. For this metaphor throughout history, see Ricciardone, '"We are the disease"'.
[41]   Cerdà, *Teoría*, 16.
[42]   Cerdà, *Teoría*, 12.
[43]   Vitruvius, *De architectura*, esp. 2. The Hippocratic texts *Airs, Waters, Places* and *Epidemics* examined the importance of local winds, waters, site, soil and diet to disease. Kosack, 'Polis nosousa'.

'entire buildings, dwellings and quarters which were previously deprived of air and light receive the revivifying benefits of the direct rays of sunlight and the purset air and a more efficient ventilation'.[44] He chose a square grid plan as his ideal city layout because in theory it distributed light, air and water equally. Cerdà proposed modular blocks equal in height so that land would be of equal value. Each block enclosed a central garden with access to the street, and each street was equal in width to ensure equal distribution of goods and people, facilities, schools, hospitals and churches.[45] The inner workings of the city, its plumbing and drainage, were equal to its 'aesthetic' elements, because 'the sum of these minor factors ... makes up a valuable and inestimable whole, such as well-being, health and the life of the individual'.[46]

Despite its emphasis on individual liberty and equality, much like the *Republic*, the Eixample plan straddled a fine line between authoritarianism and egalitarianism. Eixample represented a 'strong intervention in the field of health and hygiene', and it was therefore clear that 'To persuade his cohorts at the height of Liberalism, of the appropriateness of the administration intervening in a field that has previously been prohibited from its action, he [Cerdà] needed to provide some arguments of substance'.[47] The 'history of urbanisation', and the depiction of Greco-Roman urbanism which it included, was intended to provide such an argument. Paradoxically, despite his clear engagement with Greco-Roman ideas about healthy urbanism, Cerdà wrote this history to distance Eixample from the Greco-Roman example entirely.

For example, Cerdà clearly wished to argue that the very act of urban planning was not 'Roman'. He began by laying out his terminologies and disassociating 'the city' from Rome itself.[48] Declaring himself 'nomenclator urbano', he asked, 'How can one define the ignorance and abandon faced in this space, how can one define the battle between public health and individual wellbeing?'[49] Cerdà chose *urbs*, a word which 'spontaneously' presented itself to him and was judged adequate for 'those great anthills which we commonly call *ciudades*'.[50] Only *urbs* could 'provide a totally new derivative ... proper and adapted to my idea, new as the matter to which I want to apply it, and so general and comprehensive, to encompass *without violence* all that set of diverse and heterogeneous things that, harmonized by the superior force of human sociability, form what we call a city'.[51] Without irony, he commented that

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[44] 'The first effect and the most essential result at the same time of any reform is a broad, spacious and commodious street'. Cerdà', *Teoría de la Viabilidad Urbana*, 1287, quoted in Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 387. Translation Soria y Puig.

[45] See Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdá's General Theory'.

[46] Cerdà, quoted in Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 31.

[47] Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 416.

[48] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 28.

[49] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 29.

[50] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 29.

[51] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 29–30. Emphasis mine. This ideal was clearly inspired by Aristotle's *Politics*, 1, 1252b, Plato's *Republic*, 4.443d–e, and Cicero's *Republic*, 2.69.

urbs 'had previously been reserved for the arrogant and dominating Rome'.[52] As Ross Adams has already discussed, Cerdà attempted to neutralise words with 'difficult' meanings; he argued for example that *urbs* was just as effective as any etymological descendent of *civitas*, which enabled him to avoid a term directly linked to civility, citizenship and 'civil', as well as 'civil war'.[53] It should be noted that Cerdà also wished to strip the word *urbs* from its quasi-epithetical partner *Roma*, a choice which can be contextualised by wider history writing in Barcelona.

During the formation of Catalan identity, a process which emphasised Catalonian independence, intellectuals reinterpreted history, language and religion in order to legitimise the formation of their respective identities.[54] In his influential *Barcelona Antigua y Moderna* (1854), Andrés Avelino Pi y Arimón described the Roman past as a period of 'domination'.[55] Here 'soberbia Roma', arrogant Rome, invaded and colonised Barcelona; the city passed under Roman law 'and our city was distinguished with the title of colony'.[56] Pi y Arimón told of how Roman law suppressed Catalonian culture, 'this is the system of government which Rome extended to the provinces she conquered; the same governed Catalonia in general and Barcelona in particular ... the Romans communicated their sciences, arts, language, customs to the subjugated Catalonians'.[57] Such accounts of Barcelona drew from ancient Greco-Roman sources which described military conquests in Spain (218–16 BC).[58] Cerdà's interpretation of Rome as a dominating power therefore reflects how the Roman colonisation of Barcelona was narrated by contemporary historians who sought to emphasise the city's independence.

Similarly, it is likely that Cerdà linked the idea of Rome to war and domination via Napoleon and the French. Historically, the French had represented a permanent threat to Spain and French rulers had long linked themselves to the idea of Rome.[59] Infamously, Napoleon I styled himself as emperor and occupied Rome in 1809, before invading Spain in 1812. As seat of religious power, the city of Rome itself also symbolised domination in Spain, via the infamous Inquisition (1478–1834).[60] The Carlist civil war (1833–1839), which sought to reinstate Austrian Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, refreshed this association between Rome, religious power and war.[61] Cerdà's

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[52] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 29.
[53] Adams, *Circulation*, 40.
[54] Catalan identity formation did not necessarily contradict Spanish nationalism. Ucelay-Da Cal, 'History, historiography', 126 ff; Fradera, 'La política Liberal', 674. Interpretations of the past varied between Catholics and Liberals, see Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism' and Payne, 'Visigoths and Asturians'.
[55] Andrés Avelino Pi y Arimón (1793–1851) historian. *Barcelona antigua*, 'Prologo'.
[56] Pi y Arimón, *Barcelona antigua*, 2.
[57] Pi y Arimón, *Barcelona antigua*, 'System of Government', 23.
[58] Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 6–7.
[59] Napoleon invaded the Iberian peninsula 1807–1814.
[60] Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* and Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition*.
[61] Fradera, 'La política Liberal', 679.

attitudes to the Roman past were doubtless affected by these overlapping associations, particularly given the Liberal consensus upon a common resistance to Napoleonic and Carlist forces.[62] It is also likely that he divorced *urbs* and *Roma* because redefining the association between Rome, urban planning and political authority was crucial to presenting the Eixample plan as a peaceful path to independence, good governance and liberty, rather than as a process of warlike destruction and state domination.

The 'History of Urbanisation'

The 'History of Urbanisation' intended to situate Eixample amongst good and bad examples. Cerdà simplified cities from periods of relevance into models, such that they became adaptable and 'useful'.[63] This process was a feature of Modernist projects, which 'chose' from the past to construct the future.[64] Cerdà claimed that by discussing the past his history could furnish the reader with 'a lucid and exact understanding' of the 'science of urbanism', a system which should be applied to 'bring us to a perfect urbanisation' – what we might term his 'ideal city'.[65] The narrative progressed from prehistoric civilisations through Greek, Phoenician, Roman, 'feudal', 'Hispano-Arabic' and 'Hispano-American' models, to the present day.

Cerdà's interest in ancient civilisations was surely influenced by the increase in archaeological excavations and multiplication of historical studies over the nineteenth century.[66] However, Cerdà referenced neither archaeologists nor excavations.[67] Instead he created an exclusively literary model for why civilisations built cities according to particular layouts, why cities prospered and why they collapsed. Unlike his contemporary Haussmann, Cerdà did not celebrate what Zanker and Favro have termed 'the symbols' of Roman urbanism: monuments, infrastructures and public spaces.[68] He reduced the concept of 'urbanism' to 'layout' alone and read only a 'skeleton' of the city image, as Kevin Lynch would describe.[69]

In Cerdà's history the characteristics of any city were produced by three constitutional types.[70] He followed Aristotle, who described how Hippodamus divided the urban constitution into three. Cerdà combined this idea with a theory of

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[62] Fradera, 'La política Liberal', 674.
[63] Cf. Planners at the Town Planning Conference, as outlined in the introduction to this volume.
[64] See Griffin, *Modernism*.
[65] 'Una urbanización perfecta'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 17.
[66] Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism', 39, 43.
[67] Few excavations were carried out and published. 'In comparison with other European countries, Spain's popular archaeological literature was underdeveloped'. The first National Archaeological Museum was opened in 1867. Investigations into Spanish prehistory began much later, in the early twentieth century. Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism', 43.
[68] Favro, 'IconiCITY'; Zanker, 'The city as symbol'.
[69] Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 96.
[70] 'His system was for a city with a population of ten thousand, divided into three classes; for he made one class of artisans, one of farmers and the third the class that fought for the state in war and was the armed class'. Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.5.1267b, 33–36.

evolution; he explained urban form as if it were the product of the human nature – or constitution. The history of mankind's evolution from primitivism to present day was therefore the history of urban form. However, rather than seeing this history in terms of an Aristotelian 'development' from barbarity to civility, Cerdà established that 'the prehistoric' period of urbanism was an 'embryonic' and 'pure' phase. His model of 'civilisation' argued that *all* time periods were civilised so long as their layouts responded directly to the needs of man.

Cerdà's three tribes were the pastoral (*pastoral*), mercantile (*mercantíl*) and 'warmongering' (*guerrera*).[71] The city began from the home, *hogar*, another adaptation from Aristotle, who argued that man took his dignity from the hearth.[72] From the home, a 'cell', the first cities were formed.[73] From this cell, the pastoral or agricultural tribe produced the *urbe rurál*, a settlement which possessed no wall circuit and meandering roads, because man had a primal need to wander freely across the landscape. The pastoral 'cities' 'covered enormous extensions of land, rivers, mountains and lakes'.[74] Cerdà next compared the 'rural' city to the mercantile city ('urbe mercantíl e industrial'), produced by a society requiring movement and connectivity. This city was characterised by its orthogonal layout with no walls. An ideal city, as defined by Cerdà, was produced by a society which balanced the pastoral and mercantile elements within its constitution and so did not allow 'the warlike tendency' to dominate.[75] Warlike societies built a 'warring city' ('urbe guerrera'), with walls, which were necessary for for defence, conquering and plundering. These cities were doomed to misery. As Cerdà summarised, walls 'have always produced and will constantly produce the same effects of densification in every city which, for its disgrace, has to have them'.[76]

The 'tribe' scheme attempted to neutralise urban form, particularly 'the straight street', of its association to any one civilisation or authority. This naturalised the Eixample grid as an expression of an agricultural, industrial and economically oriented society which eschewed war. Eixample therefore presented an ideal layout because it perfectly reflected the city Barcelona wished to be. Here, the grid plan was no longer symbolic of its historic and current associations: surveillance and expropriation. In

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[71] Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 6.8.1322b, 26.

[72] 'So great was the importance of the home [*hogar*] in the history of humanity, which it protects, enshrouds, and saves in its very cradle'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 38. Cf. Aristotle on the hearth, *Politics*, 6.8.1322b, 26.

[73] Cf. Aristotle, who believed that the city was created when villages merged, 'For this reason, every city exists by nature, just as did the earlier associations [from which it grew]. It is the end or consummation.' Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 1252b.

[74] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 112. Compare Haverfield's definition of 'rural' settlements in Roman Britain, discussed in the introduction to this volume.

[75] 'Warlike urbanism: walled centres, very tight streets full of bunched up and juxtaposted buildings, regular but narrow roads, street layout subordinate to the number of doors, with one interior circulation road, the other external, space for circulation is bare and sparse.' Cerdà, *Teoría*, 107.

[76] Cerda, *Teoría*, 143.

Figure 16.4. Barcelona under the Bourbon monarchy. The contrast between the organic city and the Bourbon grid redevelopments is clearly shown, as is Las Ramblas, the Bourbon citadel and Barceloneta extension in the port (1775). The fortress at Montjuic, rebuilt by the Bourbons (1779-1799) is visible on the left (Sambricio, Territorio y ciudad, *281).*

Barcelona's planning history, the 'despotic' Bourbon monarchy had recently built *Las Ramblas* and the Barceloneta extension for control. These 'improvements' did not alleviate disease and made many homeless (Fig. 16.4).[77] Similarly, Cerdà dissociated Eixample from Paris, a model he expressly rejected because he believed that Parisian orthogonal planning inhumanely deprived citizens of their homes.[78] Hence by analysing the city, Cerdà justified the choice of straight street planning in Barcelona (Fig. 16.5), under what Jose Ordonez terms 'an unprecedented administrative model' dependent upon state legislation which 'menaced rights to ownership of urban land'.[79]

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[77]   Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad*, 279; Wynn, 'Barcelona – planning and change'.

[78]   'Thus the reform of Paris, the purpose of which was to provide a great benefit to that town, and the results of which have finally met that elevated purpose, nevertheless began by causing serious and deplorable harm which should have been foreseen and which could easily have been prevented'. Cerdà, *Teoría de la Viabilidad Urbana*, 1349, quoted in Soria y Puig, *Cerdà, The Five Bases*, 372. Compare Numa Fustel de Coulange's attitudes to the ancient city which were shaped by similar motives. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*; Momigliano, 'The Ancient City of Fustel'.

[79]   For discussion see Ordonez, 'Garcia Farias', 382.
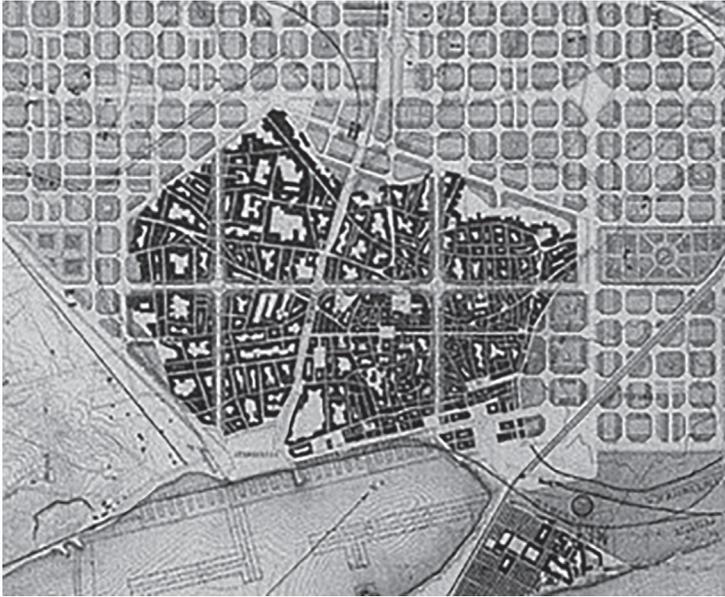
Figure 16.5. Eixample *plan extending past Bourbon Barcelona with two boulevards running north to south and one east to west. A third runs diagonally (Cerdà, Museu d'Historia de la Ciutat, Barcelona).*

Thereafter, the history implicitly contrasted Eixample with civilisations in which the warlike tendency had dominated, ushering in disease and ruin. The Islamic city was one example. In Cerdà's account, the eighth-century Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula (711–1482) had corrupted the orthogonal 'Spanish urbanisation' ('urbanización Española') with its warlike constitution, producing 'irregular, inconvenient and violent manners' and 'portable cities' ('urbes portátiles').[80] Cerdà stereotyped the Islamic city as a winding mess which 'robbed land from the road' and 'condemned the family to exist in a hermetically sealed state'.[81] He projected nineteenth-century understandings of the *laissez-faire* onto the past, casting narrow winding streets as the product of irrationality and immorality.[82] These attitudes to Islamic urbanism reflected the prevailing interpretation of Spain's Muslim past produced by Christian historians after the *Reconquista*, as explored by Sam Ottewill-Soulsby through Francesc Eiximenis in fourteenth-century Catalonia.[83] In Cerdà's narrative urbanisation was saved by the *Reconquista*, which restored orthogonal

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[80]   Cerdà, *Teoría*, 184.
[81]   Cerdà claimed that the only good thing the Arabs did was to empty out the city and go to Africa. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 183.
[82]   See Ennahid in this volume.
[83]   See Ottewill-Soulsby in this volume for the ways in which Catalan writer Eiximenis had also claimed in his *Dotze llibre del Crestia* (1384) that grid planning was a reflection of order and beauty.

planning.[84] This history of the 'Hispano-Arabic' city nicely prefaced the change Cerdà wished to make, because it positioned grid planning as the introduction of rationality to an illegible and warlike context to instate peace and order.

  Contrary to what one might expect, Greece and Rome also appeared alongside Islamic urbanism as negative exempla in the history. Though Cerdà marvelled at these powerful and dominating civilisations, he explained how their 'warlike tendency' caused their downfall. The fall of Greece and Rome was caused by war and walls, for which Cerdà created a prescriptive model of decline: a government built walls so that the people could go to war, but the walls obligated the people to build within them. To escape the walls, the people built new colonies, 'so that … the families could live with total freedom and independence'.[85] Walls caused density and disease; thus the cities of Greece and Rome were forced to colonise forevermore. Despite their adoption of the grid plan, both civilisations failed in their mission to colonise the world; their cities had a kind of inbuilt obsolescence. Cerdà offered an original interpretation of his Greco-Roman source material, which emphasised the importance of walls to urban survival.[86] He offered a universal principle for why cities fell: civilisations had their life spans dictated by their walls, because they could not adapt.[87]

  It followed that an ideal city, as conceptualised by Cerdà, prevented its decline by building on a grid plan without walls. He was thinking like Polybius, 'the historian of Rome's rise to power', who adopted what Walbank has described as a 'biological pattern' in his account of cities and their constitutions. Cities had a beginning, growth, perfection, change and end. Polybius applied this understanding to *anacyclosis*, the theory that constitutional forms perpetually cycled, and argued that Rome had been successful because the city had suspended its biological sequence before 'the end'.[88]

  By presenting this historical model, Cerdà actually seemed to imply that Eixample, a city planned on the grid without walls, could be better than Rome. Indeed, Barcelona already *was* Rome in this narrative. However, the comparison was undesirable. Cerdà's Rome was filled with Juvenal's *insulae*, here 'petty slums' ['mezquinos tugurios'] which are victim to Tiber floods, rickety and stinking homes seven or eight floors high, 'raquiticas y hediondas habitaciones'.[89] One can hear Sallust's description of Catiline's thugs in 'the calumny, spying and assassination' ('calumnia, delación, asésinato') of the gangs (*pandillas*).[90] Cerdà failed to describe any of the virtues which he might have found celebrated by Augustan authors. Even if Cerdà glorified Rome and fully acknowledged her powers, he did so to foreshadow her demise. With Sallustian relish

[84] Ferdinand VII (1813–1833) censored Arab studies in Spain and this policy continued until 1840. Cerdà had obviously not seen the orthogonal city of Madinat al-Zahrā, which was the first Arab site to be excavated (1855). Díaz-Andreu, 'Islamic archaeology', 71, 76.
[85] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 143.
[86] As in Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1330b, 32; Aristotle, *Politics*, 2.1331a, 1–2.
[87] The same was true of the biblical cities Babylon and Nineveh. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 137ff.
[88] Walbank, 'The idea of decline in Polybius'.
[89] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 172; Juvenal, *Satire* 3, 190–204.
[90] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 172.

he described how society fell into physical and moral depravity.[91] As Cerdà exclaimed, 'certainly Asiatic luxury was not as dismal … as the physical and moral perversion caused by the unthinkable overcrowding of the inhabitants.'[92] The Romans were plagued by 'disturbios,' riots ('alborotos') and bloody battles ('combates sangrientos'), all of which naturally originated from the walled centre of their city: Rome's fate had been decided since 'los aventureros de Alba', Romulus and Remus, the fratricide and the *pomerium*.[93] Cerdà's image of Rome was actually a projection of Barcelona, cherry-picked from a selection of ancient source material.[94]

From Cerdà's perspective, the Roman colony was the worst example of Roman urbanism. Cerdà took the makeup of the Roman colony to be 'a continuation of Rome', her nature and ideals; it was the product of an expansive, mercantile and warlike civilisation.[95] The colonial model may have enabled Rome's rise to power, enabling her to exercise 'an irresistible influence, a ubiquitous domination which began to be felt in the furthest confines of the regions known at the time', but this legacy was terrible and detrimental.[96] It went hand in hand with the spread of Roman walls, which would case the destruction of cities across the world due to overcrowding and its effects. Cerdà seemed therefore to see the colony as a kind of inherited disease, 'the Roman urbanisation had become truly predominant, not just in those times, but also long after'.[97]

Cerdà's comments on the negative effects of Roman colonial planning are comparable to those made at the Town Planning Conference in 1910. Surveyor John Brodie also pointed out the problems with colonial settlements, where 'there is a very great similarity in these plans and all the planning was of a very defective kind – a great deal of cooping of people together and far too much shutting out of fresh air by means of defensive works, high bastions, and so on'. [98] Brodie also believed that ancient urbanism was not 'modern' in this regard, 'a model incompatible with modern understandings of public health'.

Similarly, Cerdà's reduction of 'the Roman colony' can be compared to the model of Roman urbanism put forward by British archaeologist Francis Haverfield in his *Ancient Town-Planning* (1913) and *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (1912). Haverfield produced his 'Roman city' by presenting a selection of colonies and totally disregarding topographical and cultural differences between them; for him Roman urbanism was characterised by orthogonal order and rationality in contrast to 'rural'

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[91] See Levick, 'Morals, politics'.
[92] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 172.
[93] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 169.
[94] It is unlikely that this image of Rome served to criticise the Church. Nor did Cerdà's image of Rome reflect his views on Italy. Cerdà was also pro-Italian unification, which he praised as a 'heroic struggle'.
[95] When the Romans founded colonies, the 'cities were a continuation of Rome'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 194.
[96] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 159.
[97] Cf. Polybius, *History*, 1.1.5–6, 2.7, 5.1: 'by what means … the Romans … had succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sway'. Walbank, 'The idea of decline in Polybius', 208.
[98] Brodie, 'Overflow meeting', 180.

winding settlement typologies.[99] Cerdà, like Haverfield, believed that orthogonal layouts had a beneficial and 'civilising' effect upon barbarian peoples – for him the Spanish *Reconquista* exemplified this process – but he did not argue that the Romans had civilised the barbarians or the Catalonians. Whereas Haverfield saw the effects of Roman urbanism as a process of civilisation and 'Romanisation', Cerdà seems to have preferred the term 'domination'.[100] In the *Teoría* it was urbanisation, not 'Romanisation' which 'always marches and advances on the path of its perfection, upon which the Omnipotent did not place the limits which he placed upon the Ocean'.[101] Hence Cerdà abstracted urbanisation in order to argue that grid planning was not, in Haverfield's words, 'the great gift of the Roman Empire to Western Europe'.[102] The grid existed before the Romans as a prehistoric form. The Romans gave western Europe walls, which were a negative contribution.

Cerdà's reduction of 'the Roman colony' served to contrast Spanish colonisation with Roman imperialism despite the links which previous rulers had drawn between the Spanish and Roman empires.[103] David Lupher has shown the many ways in which the Spanish conquistadors took Rome as a model and 'challenged the reputation of the ancient Romans for incomparable military genius and daring'.[104] For example, the Spanish resettled subjugated peoples in new cities which were built on grid schemes (Fig. 16.6). Cerdà imposed a new reading upon the Spanish colonies; for him they were *not* an expression of war and conquest. The colonies achieved success because they were 'not warlike, but mercantile', and were 'just', 'beautiful' and 'limitless' where 'nothing impeded later expansion'.[105] Having placed the colonies into an ideal city

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[99] Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world'; Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*; Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*; Laurence, 'Modern ideology'; Laurence, 'Roman narratives'; Laurence, *Roman Archaeology*. See also Snodgrass 'Comment' and the introduction to this volume.

[100] 'In the occasions when Romans founded colonies directly, these cities were a continuation of Rome. Because it was her objective to secure and exploit the conquered country, the warlike element always predominated and she made cities ready to serve her in imitation of the condensed urban nucleus in Rome, preserving a tyrannical predominance over the whole settlement, such that the suburbs were subordinate to the city'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 'Roman Provincial Urbanism', 194.

[101] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 54. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.278–279.

[102] Haverfield, 'Town planning in the Roman world', 123.

[103] The *Laws of the Indies* (1680) made recommendations for urban planning which were in line with Vitruvian principles for the site and orientation the city (esp. book 4). The laws stated that buildings should be of one type and the city must be planned for the population to expand rapidly. See Mundigo and Crouch, 'The city planning ordinances', for both translation and discussion. Cerdà was undoubtedly aware of the *Laws*. See Sambricio, *Territorio y Ciudad*, 121. See also Ottewill-Soulsby and Martínez Jimenez in this volume. For the sixteenth-century collection and celebration of Roman antiquities, see Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism', 41–42.

[104] Lupher, *Romans in a New World*, 1. For a comparative perspective on Spanish colonialism see Mahoney, *Colonialism*.

[105] 'The distinctive characteristics of Spanish foundations in America are their extremely spread out and unlimited settlement area, their orthogonal plan, which is spacious and very wide in the warp and weft, which nothing impedes further uniform expansion … the predominant element is not warlike but mercantile. Grandiosity in the sum of their parts, comfort in their fine details'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 199–200.
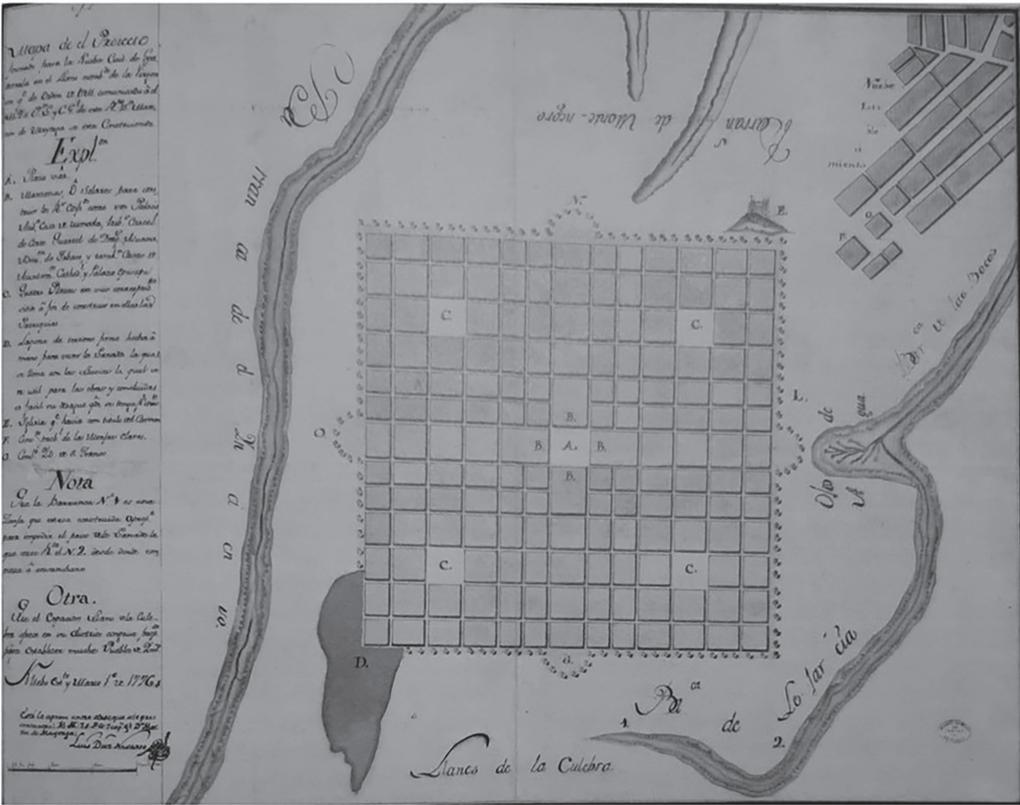
Figure 16.6. Guatemala was then rebuilt on the grid after an earthquake in 1773. Plan of Guatemala, 1776, by Luiz Diez de Navarro. The streets were laid out north–south, east–west (see Sambricio, Territorio y ciudad *and Markman, 'The plaza mayor').*

category, he used them to foretell the destiny of Eixample as a 'colonising' yet peaceful endeavour. Cerdà distilled this objective in the plan's prefatory maxim: *replete terram.*

Whilst Rome was central to Cerdà's conception of Eixample, it is crucial to note that he was similarly adamant that the ideal modern city would not be Greek. Cerdà placed Greek urbanism into his 'warlike' city category and even argued that open squares were 'expressions of the warlike spirit, the domination of collective ownership and population density', rather than the emblems of the good public health and civic participation, as other planners and archaeologists emphasised.[106] He attacked Greek democracy, which did not respect individual rights, thus could not equal true liberty.[107] For Cerdà all Greeks were 'forced' to be equal. As a result,

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[106] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 191.

[107] 'In the present day even in absolutist regimes, the individual is someone who enjoys his rights and equally considered in all ways'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 155.

all citizens were denied their basic needs, every man 'suffered with resignation all manner of deprivations'[108] and 'even wealthy citizens had small houses, reduced, without different rooms, without commodities and light'.[109] Athens provided a spectacularly negative example. As he told it, the Athenians wished to jealously guard their democratic 'ideal' with walled circuits, which compressed 500,000 inhabitants into 1200 hectares: a density of 416 people per hectare – half that of Barcelona, but hardly a model.[110] Cerdà even calculated rental costs, using the orator Lysias to exclaim that a flat which would cost 4000 pesetas in Barcelona would have cost an ancient Greek five times that amount.[111] Logically it followed that families lived in 'repugnant mix of sex and ages' and immorality (*immoralidad*); their houses were 'neither sufficiently furnished by sun nor air, which was recycled and corrupted'.[112] Walls had caused the Greek race 'to degenerate in a notable manner'.[113] Indeed, Cerdà was so determined to adhere to his master narrative that he recast Lycurgus, who Plutarch records to have demolished the city walls of Sparta and replaced them with 'a wall of men instead of brick'.[114] If Plutarch recorded that Lycurgus instated a balanced constitution in which all Spartans were equal, Cerdà argued that Lycurgus 'soon took advantage of this situation'.[115]

There was one past civilisation which did offer an urban and political model for Barcelona and Eixample. Cerdà looked past the Greeks and Romans, arguing that the Etruscans provided a good model for urban layout, land ownership and citizenship. They had produced 'a single and true city', in which 'the warlike, pastoral, agricultural, mercantile and industrial ... are harmoniously balanced'.[116] Their urbanism 'allowed the freest development and expansion, neither altering the institutions nor the

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[108] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 155.

[109] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 155. Cerdà also hated Communism. He considered workers' housing of the day to be 'a training school for communism'. Cerdà, *Teoria de la construcion de las ciudades* (1859), quoted in Soria y Puig, 'Ildefonso Cerdà's General Theory', 130. Communism caused concern among Spain's property-owning classes by offering its own version of 'liberty', one which would bring equality 'by fulfilling the needs and desires of *all*'. Garrido, 'On Communism (1848)'. In this treatise, Fernando Garrido y Tortosa (1821–1883) comments on the fear of communism in Spain.

[110] Athens '*the* Greek city par excellence, cradle of the arts, centre of the sciences, the most vast and celebrated of all the Greek cities, was without a doubt far, extremely far, from obtaining the expansion which its population required'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 154.

[111] Here, Cerdà applied the orator Lysias' account that a house was worth three and a half talents (79,820 rs.), to argue that a year's rent would cost a talent (20,520 rs.). Cerdà, *Teoría*, 151.

[112] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 151. This argument was repeated for Rome, Cerdà, *Teoría*, 172.

[113] The Athenian degeneracy could be proved because Philip II and Alexander the Great were able to conquer Greece with far smaller armies than Darius and Xerxes. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 150. Cerdà likely took his cue from Polybius, who described how the Greek population count had fallen, a subject taken up by Montesquieu and David Hume as evidence of economic decline. Polybius, *History*, 1.36.17.

[114] Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, 1.

[115] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 154. Later, 'Sparta is the exception to this rule, but her city was very condensed and folded in on itself nonetheless'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 191.

[116] 'Una sola y verdadera urbe'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 192.

division of the land'.[117] In contrast, Roman urbanism, which was typically held in the western tradition to represent the apogee of urban civilisation, had actually brought about the ruin of this ideal city. As Cerdà told it, 'Rome in effect, looking past the fabulous origins attributed to it by her sycophants and those of Augustus, let us repeat, was nothing more than a small Etruscan city'.[118] Thus 'Rome did not invent monuments'; the Etruscans had their own 'monuments constructed with solidity and desires for permanence'.[119] The Etruscans were 'the people who most contributed to the progress of Italy', who 'lent Rome' their political and social 'system', 'prestó ... su organismo'.[120] In sum, the Romans 'were in this, as in so many other things, servile imitators of that great people which preceded them, and which they subjugated nonetheless'.[121]

  Cerdà's interest in the Etruscans can be contextualised by the nineteenth-century attitudes to autochthony. Corinna Riva has examined the origins of Etruscology in the context of European nationalism, and showed how German, Italian and British scholarship debated the political and cultural achievements of the Etruscan civilisation.[122] Publications such as George Denis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (1848) presented idealising visions of this past.[123] Italian scholars saw in the Etruscans the 'earliest Italy', and their studies underpinned Italian unification and independence.[124] Cerdà's decision to look past Rome also closely resembles the way in which eighteenth-century Neapolitan historians, who sought 'a native tradition which could inform contemporary reform and upon which a cultural identity could be constructed', vilified Rome and celebrated the Samnites, as Melissa Calaresu has shown.[125] In this context, the Samnites were civilised because they cultivated the land. The Romans, conversely, were barbarians who had ushered in foreign rule and oppression. This

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[117] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 163–164. Cf. Pi y Arimón on Roman colonisation, 'when the Roman armies conquered a place, the territory pertained to the dominion of the State'. Pi y Arimón, *Barcelona antigua*, 86.

[118] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 161.

[119] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 162–163.

[120] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 161.

[121] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 163.

[122] Riva, 'The freedom', 123. Winckelmann saw political freedom as a feature of Etruscan society and art, arguing 'the Etruscans so jealously guarded their freedom and were such great enemies of royal authority that they found the latter detestable and unbearable even in those peoples merely allied with them.' Similarly, 'the extensive trade by land and water, which preoccupied them and nourished them, must have awakened in them the desire to emulate the artists of other peoples, especially as in every free state, the artist has more true honour to hope for and achieve', Winckelmann, *History*, 159.

[123] Dennis (1814–1898) was an archaeologist who also served as British consul in Spain. His publication reflects new interest in the pre-Roman Italic tribes after the exhibition of Etruscan monuments in London in 1837. The *Cities* was not translated into Spanish. Marzabotto, near Bologna, began to be excavated in 1862 and is discussed as an example of the 'origins of Italian town planning' by Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning*, 57–58.

[124] Italian nationalists saw 'the earliest Italy' in the Etruscans. De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation*.

[125] See Calaresu, 'Images of ancient Rome', 643; Greaves, 'Roman planning as a model'.

antipapal narrative vilified the Rome-loving Spanish, who had recently been ousted by Charles III, the French Bourbon king.[126]

Cerdà similarly praised the Etruscans as a represention of a free, independent and liberal society living within an ideal city. His Etruscans had an admirable citizenship policy; they considered 'all individuals who lived on their territories as members ... to whom the honour of citizenship was given with satisfaction'.[127] The Etruscans 'did not reduce the peoples they conquered to slavery, they even granted them rights, and lands with laws'.[128] The totality of the Etruscan territories formed 'an extremely extensive city which encompassed all the population'.[129] In contrast, the Greeks and Romans 'closed their doors to strangers whom they did not admit unless in the degrading condition of slavery'.[130] Hence, Cerdà used the Etruscans to inform contemporary debates about land ownership, the Spanish constitution and definitions of Spanish citizenship, particularly relating to the extension of citizenship rights to the colonies.[131] They also offered him a good cultural 'model' for Barcelona and Catalonian society, which had a 'liberty-loving citizenry' and 'a dominant household structure'.[132] Moreover, the Etruscans could be aligned with the period already glorified by Catalan cultural narratives: the medieval period, which Cerda argued was 'nothing more than a reproduction of the Etruscan urbanisation'.[133]

Whilst medieval layout may not have offered a model for the modern city, medieval culture was celebrated within contemporary Catalan culture, which turned to a mythic vision of the medieval past and privileged 'continuity, stability and deference to social hierarchy' to legitimise the new Catalonian identity.[134] The Catalan 'Renaissance' (*Renaixença*) celebrated medieval ideas, and influential writers active in Barcelona idealised this rural past as 'a moment of plenitude'.[135] Perhaps Cerdà's Etruscans were meant to align with, even provide a cultural foundation for, this golden period. Certainly his attitudes to the medieval period ran contrary to the idea of 'decline and fall' which typified the story of the classical city, put forward most canonically by Edward Gibbon (1737–1794).[136] Cerdà saw transformation and not decline; he believed that 'Roman urbanism saved the world' because cities provided an environment

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[126] Charles V Holy Roman Emperor ruled Naples (1504–1734). The French house of Bourbon ruled Naples tumultuously from 1734 to 1861, with assistance from Napoleon I.

[127] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 162.

[128] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 163.

[129] 'Estensísima urbe que abarcaba a todo el pueblo', Cerdà, *Teoría*, 164.

[130] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 155.

[131] The constitution of Cádiz (1812) defined the Spanish 'subject' and the Spanish 'citizen'. See Salvatto and Carzolio, 'Naturaleza and citizenship'.

[132] Ucelay-Da Cal, 'History, historiography', 119; Harty, 'Lawyers, codification', 361.

[133] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 196.

[134] Fradera, 'La política Liberal', 696. This flowering of culture would later be called the 'Renaixença'.

[135] Fradera, 'La política Liberal', 691–692. Medieval archaeology developed as a discipline, but Catalan nationalism 'had little influence on archaeology' and 'did not use archaeology to legitimize the Catalan nation'. See Diaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism', 45.

[136] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*.

for society and the nature of urbanism itself to undergo a 'vital metamorphosis' ('metamórfosis vital').[137] For this reason, events like 'the great cataclysm produced by the fall of Rome' did not spell the end of the city and civilisation: 'from destruction came foundation', and 'in the middle of the great disorders and bloody wars which people were victim in the middle ages, civilisation marched on nonetheless'.[138] The idea of continuity and transformation presented modernisation as a natural process. If cities had previously 'metamorphosed' to match a change in mankind's social structure and needs, they could do so again.

Cerdà's image of the Etruscans as the creators of an 'ideal city' and cradle of medieval ideas reflects his desire to find a legitimate model for a new government and its city in a moment of cultural renewal. By rejecting the idea that Rome offered such a model, he emphasised that Eixample embodied the values of independence, liberty and civility. It is not clear whether Cerdà invented his image of the Etruscan city or if he read any of the literature outlined above. Ultimately, the mystery surrounding 'Etruscan urbanism' worked in his favour; he needed to know very little about it to continue with his argument that 'wars caused ruin', and a city without walls would prosper in harmony.

Conclusion

The Eixample plan could only be realised with destructive demolitions which were destabilising after civil war and regime change. Ildefonso Cerdà naturalised his scheme by situating Eixample within a long history of grid planning and aligning it with certain values and civilisations. By discussing the grids of the past he argued that Eixample would embody the Liberal ideals of liberty, equality, harmony and individualism, whilst acting as an expression of the mercantile and rural nature of Barcelona. Cerdà was able to make his argument by ascribing different values to the grid plan in accordance with the political model in a given civilisation. Contrary to what one might expect, given the idealisation of Roman urbanism in major western capitals like Paris and London, he did not seek to link his new plan back to the Roman example. Cerdà 'de-Romanised' the grid and celebrated the Etruscan civilisation as an alternative model for the urban layout and political constitution. He took a model of civilisation which emphasised continuity despite 'the fall of Rome', an episode which offered a useful parable because it proved that walls were the enemy of limitless expansion, influence and social order. This is an important case illustrating the impact of history writing upon policymaking; we must understand that reflections on Greco-Roman urbanism were essential to the implementation of Eixample, a plan which totally altered the mental image of Barcelona, as Augustí Rubio has argued.[139]

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[137] '§5. Urbanización Feudal'. Cerdà, *Teoría*, 181.

[138] Cerdà, *Teoría*, 177. This appears to prefigure Charles Redman's resilience theory, which argues that cities are resilient over the *longue durée*.

[139] Rubio, 'La image mentál'.

For Alberto Serratosa this grid is 'the most outstanding symbolic reference which the visitor perceives in an unconscious way and which Barcelonans have possibly integrated into their genes'.[140] Fundamentally, the afterlife of the grid plan highlights once again the ambiguous nature of this layout and the power of framing techniques. If Eixample was conceptualised as an 'Etruscan' city, it would later be 'Romanised' under a Fascist government (1936–1975). General Francisco Franco, who attempted to present Spain as a 'single cultural unit', looked to Spain's imperial Roman past. He exposed the ancient Roman walls in Barcelona to emphasise the military origins of Barcino and stressed its role within the Roman Empire.[141]

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[140] Serratosa, 'The Eixample ensanche', 227.

[141] For the walls, Muñoz-Rojas, 'Cities under Franco', 24–32. 'The Roman era was studied because it was argued by scholars that this was the first time Spain had been united', Díaz-Andreu, 'Archaeology and nationalism', 45–46.

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Chapter 17

Searching for Rome: French colonial archaeology and urban planning in Morocco

Said Ennahid

Introduction

After several years of political and military vicissitudes, Morocco resigned to signing the Protectorate Treaty in March 1912 and Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934) was appointed first Commissioner Resident General of France in Morocco. Lyautey, in company of an elite team of urban planners, architects, archaeologists and landscape designers was quick to set in motion a process of transformation of long-lasting impact on city and urban life in Morocco. He created two administrative entities of paramount importance to the Protectorate enterprise: 1) the Urban Planning Services (*Le Service central des plans de villes*) created in 1913 and 2) the *Service des Antiquités* created in 1918.

It was clear from the outset that the practice of urban planning and archaeology was not a selfless professional and academic pursuit; the Protectorate scheme was to transform them into formidable instruments of political control and ideological manipulation. It is, however, beyond the scope of this chapter to dwell upon the specifics of Lyautey's decisive role in French colonial urban policy, something widely discussed in the literature. Instead, the author will focus on the colonial city in Morocco from two different, yet tightly connected perspectives. First, the setting of a meticulously devised program to 'resuscitate' a number of pre-Islamic (mostly Roman-period) archaeological sites, and second, the creation, *ex nihilo*, of the *ville nouvelle* as an exclusively European neighborhood deliberately separated from the *medina* (the Arab walled city). The former adopting a rational (orthogonal) design while the second continuing its idle existence oblivious to twentieth-century modernity. French colonial narratives conveniently appropriated Rome's ideals of peace and order, and through a form of an historical determinism considered France as the rightful heir to its colonies' Roman past. On the one hand, archaeology was to serve as a powerful tool to establish a material connection between the old coloniser and the new one, and, consequently, to legitimise the Protectorate's appropriation of Morocco's classical

heritage. The building of the *ville nouvelle*, on the other hand, with its imposing public monuments, sweeping vistas, wide tree-lined avenues and high-rise buildings, was meant to convey the metropole's prestige and power among the natives.

The ultimate mission was to bring modernity to the colonies (what the French have called *mission civilisatrice*) and to pick up where Rome had left off. Needless to say, there was little or no native agency in this large-scale modernisation venture and it was conducted at the detriment of the native masses.

Method and theory in French colonial archaeology

In early colonial-period Morocco, archaeology served as a powerful tool of political manipulation and as ancillary to outright military occupation; another facet of Lyautey's strategy of 'pacification'. For several years after the establishment of the French Protectorate in Morocco (1912), archaeology was conducted in tandem with military action. Louis Chatelain (1883–1950), a military officer, *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* (a prestigious military distinction he was awarded in 1931), was a pioneering archaeologist in Morocco and founding director of the *Service des Antiquités*, a 'section' within the larger *Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques*. The *Service des Antiquités* was established by Arrêté Résidentiel (*i.e.*, by no other than the Commissionner Resident General himself) in July 1918 and entrusted with the study of 'the pre-Islamic remains of ancient Berbers [*Berbères Antiques*], Libyans, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines'.[1] The *Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques* was created earlier in November 1912, *i.e.*, immediately after the establishment of the Protectorate.[2] Lyautey was keen on providing the *Service des Antiquités* with all the necessary human and material resources; his benevolence was highly praised by Chatelain, his fervent acolyte.[3] This administration came under civilian control in 1919, with headquarters in Volubilis until 1928, when it was transferred to Rabat.[4]

As the colonial regime's head archaeologist and a strong believer in the French civilising mission, it came as no surprise that Chatelain would openly advocate his ideologically motivated position of putting archaeology at the service of the Protectorate establishment;[5] he considered archaeology as both a political and a scientific (in this order) 'necessity' to the Protectorate project. He did not have any qualms to view French military domination, and its exploitation of the resources of its colonies, as a natural sequence of that of Rome in antiquity. For Chatelain, archaeology was a powerful legitimising tool for French domination of the country; in other words, Roman archaeological remains are the material evidence of an historical determinism

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[1] Chatelain, *Les recherches archéologiques*, 7.
[2] *Bulletin Officiel* (November 29, 1912), no. 5, 25–26.
[3] Chatelain, 'Les origines des fouilles', 7.
[4] For more details, see Euzennat, 'Le Service des Antiquités'.
[5] Chatelain, *Les recherches archéologiques*, 3–4; Chatelain, 'Ce que nous savons', 153–154.

of sorts: '[L'archéologie] complète l'histoire, elle la vivifie, elle la renouvelle et la recrée sans cesse'.[6] Archaeology, and the study of the past in general, were instrumentalised to gain 'practical' ('utilitaire') intelligence to succeed where the Romans had failed in exploiting the colonies' resources. In line with colonial archaeological narratives, Chatelain went to great lengths to glorify the Roman past while showing little or no enthusiasm for later periods; his writings are all glowing praise for Rome and its legacy in Morocco as if the country's history had lain dormant for centuries, from Rome's retreat to the establishment of the Protectorate.[7]

In retrospect, and considering the brazenly racial and condescending tone of the narrative, the following passage could arguably position Chatelain as the undisputed theorist of French colonial archaeology in Morocco:

> En outre, ces travaux rappelaient aux indigènes que les Français, et par leur race et par leur culture, sont ici les vrais héritiers des Romains et que, par leur seule qualité de Français, ils ont sur le pays plus de droits que les Arabes. Pacificateurs du territoire et représentants de l'idée de justice, nous avions, avant même d'entrevoir la possibilité d'un protectorat, des droits sur le Maroc. D'où notre intérêt à honorer d'une vénération toute particulière les moindres vestiges de l'époque Romaine: ceux-ci n'affirment-ils pas d'une manière éclatante qu'après les Phéniciens, qu'avant les Vandales et les Byzantins, le grand peuple de qui nous avons hérité tant de qualités a conquis la Maurétanie tingitane, lui a procuré la paix, l'a initiée à l'idée de justice, l'a, en un mot, civilisée.[8]

Volubilis, the most iconic Roman-period archaeological site in Morocco, served as a laboratory of sorts to put into practice Chatelain's colonialist agenda; it was the country's first site to be excavated. Volubilis was well-known to European scholarly circles long before the Protectorate; the site was first discovered in 1721.[9] At the time of Windus' visit in 1721, the triumphal arch and the judiciary basilica were the only monuments still standing in the midst of the city's ruins (Fig. 17.1). Chatelain, who was still in uniform in 1915, began the first systematic excavation at the site shortly after a military garrison had been stationed there. The site was buried under several metres of debris and necessitated a great deal of clearing labor; for four months, a group of German prisoners of war were conscripted to execute this thankless chore (Fig. 17.2).

A year earlier, World War I had broken out in Europe, and France had to fight on a military as well as a propaganda front. Chatelain hailed Lyautey's decision to conscript the German prisoners to forced labor at the site as a testimony to his General's military genius.[10] The sight of these prisoners removing dirt all day long was meant to produce

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[6]   Chatelain, 'Ce que nous savons', 154.
[7]   Chatelain, 'Ce que nous savons', 153 ; Chatelain, 'Les origines des fouilles', 24.
[8]   Chatelain, *Les recherches archéologiques*, 4; see a similar passage on p. 7.
[9]   Windus, *A Journey to Mequinez*.
[10]   Chatelain, *Les recherches archéologiques*, 3–4.

Figure 17.1. Volubilis, The Judiciary Basilica (c. 1916), 'Volubilis. Ruines romaines excavées par les prisonniers de guerre allemands' (© International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); no date, Reference: V-P-HIST-03521-21).

a powerful and long-lasting impression on the locals; another indication of France's power and prestige. The German prisoners left Volubilis in 1916:

> [L]e Général Lyautey estima qu'il était rigoureusement opportun de convaincre les indigènes de la prodigieuse vitalité de la France: loin d'être affaiblie par la plus invraisemblable et la plus meurtrière des guerres qui fût jamais … la France est tellement forte, tellement sûre de son existence et de sa prospérité, qu'elle peut à la fois faire face aux exigences d'une lutte sans merci, et s'adonner aux occupations les plus pacifiques. La présence des prisonniers allemands augmentait encore l'impression produite sur les indigènes.[11]

In 1915, Volubilis offered a far less spectacular vista than it does today, however, it was very clear to Lyautey and Chatelain that the site was destined for a great future. With a surface area of close to 44 hectares (half of which has been excavated to date) and monumental architecture of remarkable quality just awaiting to be uncovered, Volubilis was the ideal place to showcase French colonial archaeology in Morocco. For close to five decades, and in line with common practice in colonial archaeology at the time, the first cohort of French archaeologists who worked at the site, most of

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[11]   Chatelain, *Les recherches archéologiques*, 3.

Figure 17.2. Volubilis, German War Prisoners at Work (c. 1916), 'Volubilis. Prisonniers de guerre allemands excavant des ruines romaines' (© International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); no date, Reference: V-P-HIST-03521-20).

whom were former members of the École Française de Rome (*e.g.*, Louis Chatelain, Raymond Thouvenot and Maurice Euzennat), put all their energy and resources into exposing and restoring the city's areas with the most spectacular architectural and mosaic features; at first, at the monumental centre where the triumphal arch, the judicial basilica, the Capitoline temple and the forum are located; then, in the north-eastern quarter where the city's elite had lived in large patrician houses. Needless to say, the archaeological exposure of the monumental centre and the north-eastern quarter was conducted at the detriment of other sectors of the site, admittedly of lesser architectural appeal, but certainly of paramount importance to a holistic understanding of the city's past. Shortly after independence (1956), and especially with the founding of the National Institute of Archaeology and Heritage Sciences in Rabat (INSAP) in 1985, a growing body of scholarly research has been devoted to shed more light on the pre-Roman, post-Roman and early medieval phases at Volubilis; the time periods which suffered the most from French colonial archaeological bias. In 2018, Elizabeth Fentress and Hassan Limane co-edited *Volubilis après Rome*; the culmination of a successful collaboration between the INSAP and the UCL Institute of Archaeology.[12] For five years (2000–2005), a team of experts and students from

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[12]   Fentress and Limane, *Volubilis après Rome*.

Morocco and the UK, in addition to Algeria, China, Egypt, Italy, Romania and the US, conducted a comprehensive program of excavations at the western quarter of the city known as *la ville réduite.* Fentress and Limane's *Volubilis après Rome* has provided us with unprecedented insight into the archaeology and history of the site in the post-Roman, pre-Islamic and Islamic periods.

All throughout the Protectorate, several other archaeological sites were excavated (*e.g.,* Sala Colonia, Banasa and Thamusida) using Volubilis as a model to look up to and to replicate. In addition to excavation work, colonial archaeologists pursued a systematic program of field surveys to identify new archaeological sites, with a clear preference for Roman-period ones, and with the ultimate goal of building an archaeological map for the whole country (*Carte archéologique du Maroc*). Another key facet of French colonial archaeology in Morocco was to complete the work started in 1830 by amateur archaeologists, mostly European travelers and diplomats (*e.g.,* Ferdinand von Augustin, Charles Tissot and Henri de La Martinière), and later continued by trained epigraphists of collection, study and inventory of ancient inscriptions. By the end of the colonial era, a sizeable corpus of epigraphic material had been collected; it was made essentially of inscriptions written in Latin, with a few specimens in Libyan and Greek. The first scientific attempt at building a similar corpus for Arabic inscriptions in Morocco did not start until 1920, almost a century later, with Alfred Bel's work on Marinid epigraphy in Fez (*Inscriptions arabes de Fès*).[13]

A few months after the establishment of French Protectorate in Morocco, French and Spanish colonial powers signed a treaty placing the northern zone of the country (with the exception of Tangiers) under Spanish control (the Spanish Protectorate). Here, Spanish colonial archaeologists have reproduced the same methods and embraced the same theories as those in vogue in the French-controlled zone. In 1921, César-Luis de Montalbán, of the *Junta Superior de Monumentos Historicos y Artisticos*, launched the first systematic excavations at Lixus, the most important archaeological site in the Spanish-controlled zone; the Spanish also founded the Archaeological Museum of Tetuan to serve as a showcase for their most spectacular findings. Its first three directors were all prominent colonial regime archaeologists, namely, César-Luis de Montalbán, Pelayo Quintero Atauri and Miguel Tarradell.[14]

One cannot dispute that French colonial archaeology had a blatantly biased agenda in favor of one facet of the Moroccan past (*i.e.,* the Roman legacy) at the expense of the pre-Roman, post-Roman and Islamic periods. French archaeologists, working on this latter period, were more interested in architectural history (*archéologie monumentale*) and restoration of historic buildings than in any field-based Islamic archaeology; there were no excavations specifically conducted at Islamic sites before 1940. The first archaeological excavations at Chellah, a landmark of Marinid art and architecture,

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[13]   Bel, *Inscriptions arabes.*
[14]   For more details on colonial archaeology in the Spanish-controlled zone, see Díaz-Andreu, 'The archaeology of the Spanish Protectorate'.

were conducted at *Sala Colonia*, the Roman section of the site.[15] Furthermore, when Lévi-Provençal made his sweeping declaration for the bright prospects offered to Islamic archaeology (he used the term *arabo-berbère* instead of *Islamique*), he carefully nuanced his statement by adding, in essence, that Mauretania Tingitana simply could not compare, in architectural monumentality, urban complexity and cultural sophistication, with its neighbors to the east (Algeria and Tunisia).[16] That being said, one also cannot ignore that French colonial-period scholarship did recognise, and even celebrate, the exceptional architectural and aesthetic quality of such monuments as the Almohad Kutubiyya and Hassan mosques in Marrakech and Rabat respectively, the Sa'adian Tombs (also in Marrakech), or the unique urban legacies of the country's dynastic capitals (*e.g.*, Fez, Marrakech and Meknès). However, many of these masterpieces of Islamic art, architecture and urbanism were left in a state of dereliction and neglect; for many centuries, local historiographies and hagiographies had shown little or no interest in these monuments as material culture evidence per se, while they went to great lengths to celebrate their connection to decisive moments in the rise and fall of Moroccan dynasties or the passage of eminent saintly and/ or scholarly figures. This was a source of considerable consternation among many French scholars.[17] It was not until November 1912 that a *Sharifian Dahir* (royal decree) was issued, and hence putting the state ('the Makhzen') in charge of protecting historic sites and monuments.[18] It is not a coincidence that the earliest colonial-period publications on the archaeology and urban history of medieval Morocco took the form of voluminous monographs on iconic sites and cities such as Chellah, Fez, Rabat and Marrakech; many of these monographs have endured the test of time and are still considered seminal works in the field today.[19] Jacques Caillé's monograph on Rabat has recently been translated into Arabic and it is still being widely cited.[20]

The grid-city model: A view from French colonial urban planning

One of the highlights of the Paris 1931 Colonial Exposition was the organisation of the *Congrès international de l'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays de latitude intertropicale*; the congress proceedings, published a year later (Royer, 1932), are considered today a key source of information for understanding colonial urban planning.[21] They provide

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[15] These excavations were directed by Borély and Princess Riaz of the Service des Monuments Historiques Islamiques (Chatelain, 'Les centres romains', 33). This is not to ignore Basset and Lévi-Provençal's seminal ethno-archaeological study on Chellah, 'Chella, une nécropole'.

[16] Lévi-Provençal, 'La littérature et l'archéologie', 172–173. See also Chatelain , 'Les centres romains', 25–26.

[17] Lévi-Provençal, 'La littérature et l'archéologie', 171; Pauty, 'Rapport sur la défense des villes', 449–450.

[18] *Bulletin Officiel* (November 29, 1912), no. 5, 25–26.

[19] For a critical anthropological reading of Islamic archaeology in the colonial period, see Naji, 'Archéologie coloniale'.

[20] Caillé, *La ville de Rabat.*

[21] Royer, *L'Urbanisme aux colonies.*
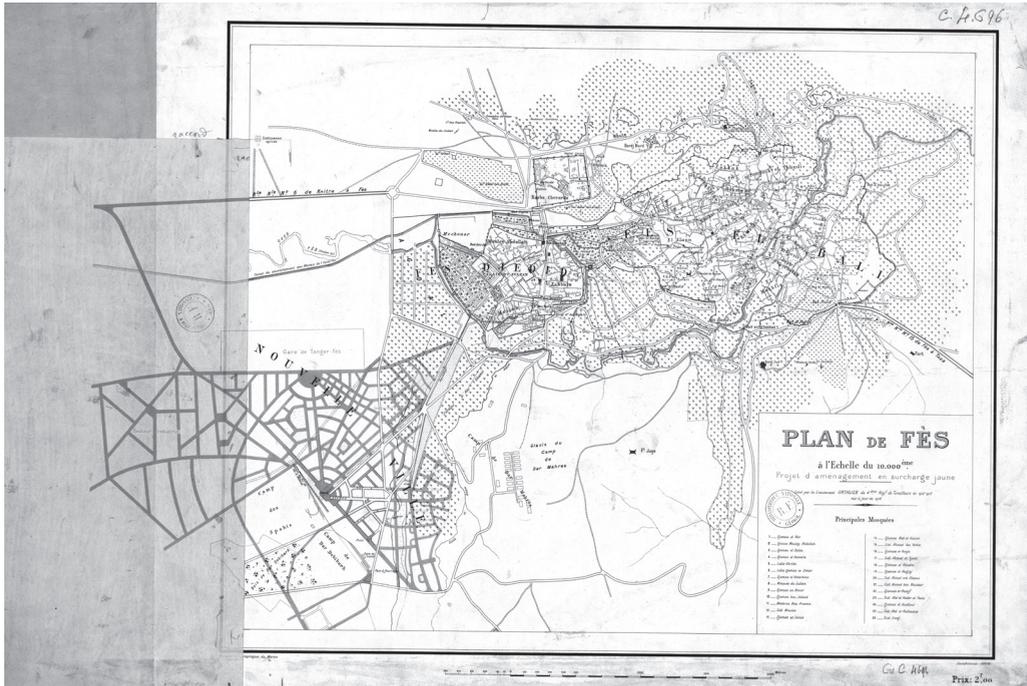
Figure 17.3. Fez, Planning the Future Ville Nouvelle (c. 1916), 'Plan de Fès à l'échelle du 10.000ème. Projet d'aménagement en surcharge jaune. Levé par le Lieutenant ORTHLIEB du 4ème Rég.t de Tirailleurs en 1912-1913, mis à jour en 1916' (gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France).

a well-documented overview of a wide range of urban experiences from different colonies with a special focus on the Moroccan case; a true laboratory for French colonial urban planning ('mouvement urbaniste').[22]

The building of the *ville nouvelle* (or European quarter) is arguably the most important moment in Morocco's twentieth-century urban history; a quarter specifically designed to respond to two structuring principles of French colonial urban planning: separation and modernity (Fig. 17.3). The separation of the 'indigenous' populations from the European ones was a recurrent theme in the congress proceedings.[23] Several arguments were put forward to justify the colonists' categorical position in keeping the local element at bay from the *ville nouvelle*; their tone varied from condescending paternalism to outright racism.[24] In addition to political (security) considerations, the congress addressed the separation principle as it relates to other considerations

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[22] de Tarde, 'L'urbanisme en Afrique du Nord', 27.
[23] In 1931, Casablanca's population was made of 161,000 inhabitants (105,000 in the old medina), including 56,000 Europeans (Durand, 'L'evolution de l'urbanisme', 81, 83).
[24] See for example the introductory note by Du Vivier de Streel, 'Introduction', 9–13.

such as public hygiene, local economy, municipal administration and cultural heritage preservation.[25]

It is however the principle of modernity that is of relevance to us here. In parallel to military action to 'pacify' the country and subdue rebel tribal uprising, Lyautey's strategy was to use architecture and urbanism as a way to put on display French colonial power, superiority and prestige. One would argue that it is only natural for France, as a colonial power, to build new cities to attract, and subsequently accommodate, the influx of colonists (workers, public servants, military personnel, entrepreneurs, white collar professionals, etc.). Nevertheless, considering the scale and the resources mobilised in the design and building of the *ville nouvelle*, it becomes evident that Lyautey's had a political agenda as well. The *ville nouvelle*, with its imposing public monuments, sweeping vistas, wide tree-lined avenues and high-rise buildings (*e.g.*, Avenue de la Gare in Casablanca), was meant to epitomise France's 'civilising mission'. Casablanca's *ville nouvelle* is the ultimate expression of this colonial vision; the city boasts several icons of twentieth-century architecture such as the city hall (Marius Boyer), the post-office (Adrien Laforgue), the courthouse (Joseph Marrast), the bank (Edmond Brion) and the church of Sacré Coeur (Paul Tournon).[26] These buildings reproduced many features, in terms of architectural volumes and decoration, from Morocco's centuries-long Hispano-Moorish tradition. In fact, a new style was born: the 'Neo-moorish' (also known as 'neo-Moroccan' or 'neo-traditional') or what François Béguin (1983) has called 'Arabisances' in what is now a seminal work on the topic.[27] There is now a large body of research on the 'Arabisances' movement in the art, architecture and urbanism of colonial-period Morocco, including postcolonial narratives which have aimed to deconstruct the complex ramifications of this movement (aesthetic, ideological, political, etc.).

The *ville nouvelle*, as a model of urbanity, stands in stark contrast to the old *medina*. The former, with its elegant and rational orthogonal plan (the grid), was meant to convey an image of a city well-anchored in modernity. In a previous work, the author analyzed in detail the second model of urbanity (*i.e.*, the old *medina*) with an attempt to explain, if not demystify, the logic behind its archetypal labyrinthine design.[28] The *ville nouvelle* and old *medina* represent two models of urbanity in response to two totally different socio-cultural realities. The medinan (*i.e.*, non-orthogonal) model, although seemingly erratic, represents a clever response to a set of socio-cultural and religious principles the sacrosanct of which was the protection of the family sanctum; as the

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[25] Durand, 'L'evolution de l'urbanisme', 81–82; Laprade, 'Une ville créée spécialement', 95, 99; Prost, 'Rapport général', 24; Prost, 'Le développement de l'urbanisme', 60, 73, 79; de Tarde, 'L'urbanisme en Afrique du Nord', 29–30.

[26] For more discussion on the 'allusions to power' in French colonial urban planning, see Wright, *Politics of Design*, 113–117; Jelidi, *Fès*, 115–116.

[27] Béguin, *Arabisances: décor architectural.*

[28] Ennahid, 'Access regulation'.

author argued elsewhere, the structuring principle of Islamic urbanism was to ensure a watertight separation between the public and the private realms:

> [The road network in the *medina* was essentially organic in nature and] was not laid out according to a preconceived plan. As stated by Le Tourneau: 'Moslem cities in North Africa were not laid out according to street plans; the location of the streets was determined by the arrangement of the buildings.'[29] [Typically, the *medina*'s road network] developed from random circumstances and prior occupation of building space by domestic units.[30] With the exception of a few main arteries leading to the centre of the city, streets constitute in essence an extension of the domestic (private) space or a buffer zone around it.[31]

In 1912, to embrace modernity meant first and foremost to break away from this old and long-outdated model; the *ville nouvelle*, by adopting a 'new' model (the classical grid), was to project a city with high hopes for the future – but it goes without saying that it was a colonists' future, one with little or no native agency.

   It is very tempting to view the *ville nouvelle* as yet another ostentatious expression of a colonial scheme to resuscitate the classical grid-city model and, by extension, reclaim the country's Roman heritage. The reality on the ground, however, points to a much less conceptually elegant explanation. To be rooted in modernity, the *ville nouvelle* had to portray a strong sense of rationality, functionality, expandability, security, comfort and beauty; the classical grid-city model was simply too obvious a solution to ignore. This argument finds its perfect illustration in the Algerian case. One of the Paris 1931 conference papers (*Congrès international de l'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays de latitude intertropicale*) shows that in 100 years (since the French occupation of Algeria in 1830), the French had built close to 600 new settlements, both rural and urban ones; more than half of these settlements were established using a grid-city model ('plan en damier régulier'), with many of them adopting an orientation to cardinal points.[32] Furthermore, Laronde did not make any connections between the Algeria case and classical Rome; he simply argued that, as long as topography allows it, the grid-city model was a 'natural' solution to build new cities that could be expanded at will in the future. At the same conference, and along the same lines, du Vivier de Streel had advocated a revival of a form of *Pax Romana* through architecture and urbanism (what he called 'principes d'urbanisme'), hence making a tacit link between Rome and French colonialism; he did not however make any reference to the grid-city model.[33] Wide and elegantly rectilinear avenues (such as the Avenue de France in Fez, the Avenue du Général d'Amade in Casablanca and the Avenue Dar El Makhzen in Rabat) flanked with monumental and elaborately decorated public buildings were meant to stir a mix of

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[29]   Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinides*, 26.
[30]   Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinides*, 25.
[31]   Ennahid, 'Access regulation', 131.
[32]   Laronde, 'Villes et villages de colonisation', 41.
[33]   Du Vivier de Streel, 'Introduction', 9.

emotions; pride and superiority among the colonists and awe and resignation among the locals. In Casablanca, the new face of a modern Morocco, the dramatisation was pushed even further. The French installed two imposing memorials, the *Monument de la Victoire* (sculpted by Paul Landowski and inaugurated by Lyautey in 1924) and the *Statue équestre du maréchal Lyautey* (sculpted by François-Victor Cogné and inaugurated in 1938); the installation at the very heart of the city's administrative quarter was meticulously staged so as to have both memorials facing each other. After independence, the *Monument de la Victoire* and Lyautey's statues were deemed to be too painful reminders of colonial subjugation for many Moroccans, hence they were eventually dismantled; the first was relocated to Senlis in France and the second to the inner precinct of the French consulate in Casablanca.

The invention of the automobile in the late nineteenth century and its subsequently phenomenal success among the urban middle class had a revolutionary impact on twentieth-century urban planning; this impact was arguably much more immediate and far-reaching in the colonies than it might have been in the imperial metropoles (*e.g.*, Paris, London, or Rome). In the 1910s, the automobile was still a rare curiosity in dusty Moroccan streets, but it was evident to everyone that it was only a question of time before motor traffic took over as the new mode of transportation of people and goods. It is worth noting that available archaeological evidence does not point to any form of large-scale wheeled traffic for inter-city transport prior to 1912; the bulk of the country's road network was made of dusty unpaved tracks that people travelled, for many centuries, on foot with their beasts of burden. Furthermore, archaeologists were not able to find any evidence of paved roads for wheeled transport outside the perimeter of ancient Roman urban centres. In Volubilis for example, the paved road stops abruptly as one reaches the city gate.[34]

The introduction of the automobile in the Moroccan twentieth century urban landscape was the primary determinant of how the *ville nouvelle* was designed. Cities began to issue municipal ordinances to accommodate motor traffic and consequently allow efficient urbanite mobility.[35] The road network in the *ville nouvelle* was set up hierarchically while adhering to a grid-city model; in other words, streets got wider as one moved from the residential block to the city centre. When the Avenue de France in Fez (70 metres wide) and the Avenue Dar El Makhzen in Rabat were laid out, they were at first deemed to be too disproportionate to their surroundings. Today, almost 100 years later, one must admire colonial planners' foresight considering the relative traffic fluidity when driving along these avenues on a busy weekday. As discussed above, wide tree-lined avenues flanked with monumental public architecture were also a form of political instrumentalisation of urban planning. Moreover, efficient urbanite mobility was tightly linked to a colonial scheme of much larger scale to build an inter-city network of rail and road transport to expedite military domination and

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[34] Chatelain, 'Les centres romains', 27.
[35] For the Fez *ville nouvelle*, see Jelidi, *Fès*, 89–91.

economic exploitation of the country. The train station was an especially important constituent of the colonial urban planning edifice, hence the special care and diligence put into choosing its location, architectural design and intended vistas (*e.g.*, train stations in Fez, Rabat and Casablanca).[36]

Conclusion

The year 2021 marks the first centennial anniversary of the launching of *Hespéris-Tamuda*, the leading academic journal in Morocco for research in the humanities and the social sciences. In commemoration of this important landmark in the country's intellectual life, the journal's volume for 2021 will consist of a collection of primary research-based retrospective papers on the last 100 years of conducting archaeology in the Maghrib: 'Archaeological Practice in the Maghrib: Historical Perspectives and Today's Realities' (*Pratiquer l'archéologie au Maghreb: perspectives historiques et réalités contemporaines*). This multidisciplinary volume aims particularly at providing a historical-anthropological contextualisation of archaeology in Morocco as the discipline, and by extension, its practitioners, its administrative and support apparatus, had made the transition from a 'colonial science' to a 'post-independence science'.

In 2014, and along the same vein, the School of Architecture of Casablanca organised an international colloquium in commemoration of '100 Years of Urbanism in Casablanca 1914–2014' (*100 ans d'urbanisme à Casablanca*). The colloquium proceedings (published in 2015) provide an insightful look at Casablanca's role as the spearhead of Morocco's urban planning, both retrospectively (for the colonial period) and for the post-independence period. This is to say that there is a growing awareness, at least in modern academia, that it is time to take stock of the last 100 years of conducting archaeology and urban planning in Morocco.[37] In other words, time has come for academics (anthropologists, historians and architectural historians) and practitioners (field archaeologists, architects and urban planners) to leverage the current momentum (namely the *Hespéris-Tamuda* and the School of Architecture of Casablanca initiatives) to build a more comprehensive retrospective study on how the two disciplines (archaeology and urban planning), their methods and theories, have evolved since the establishment of the French Protectorate. This chapter is a contribution to this important and timely project.

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36   For Tangiers-Fez train station, see Jelidi, *Fès*, 92–96.
37   See, for example, Fauvelle *et al.*, 'Les savoirs archéologiques'.

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Chapter 18

Planning the colonial capital:
Khartoum and New Delhi

Robin Cormack

My chosen cities for examination are Khartoum and New Delhi. Both cities were designed to act as new British colonial capitals in the early years of the twentieth century. Contextually they belong to a period of intense interest in the ideal layout of a capital city, with comparative cases like Washington, D.C., Paris and Canberra being foremost examples.[1] The decisions made about the precise location and layout of the two cities were extensively debated before building began. This planning activity shows how diplomats, the military, architects and engineers were all involved in making proposals, but the individuals in these discussions were decidedly not always in agreement. Consequently, there is a wealth of documentation available from the time of the genesis of both Khartoum and New Delhi, and the key buildings still survive. My aim is to identify some patterns of thinking and see how far theory matches up to the completed architecture. The key issue in such an investigation is what was the nature of the grid system chosen for communications in these two capitals and how far the grid system was subverted by the architecture of the buildings which the developers of these cities formulated and built. In other words, it will be argued here that the symbolism of the capital city is determined by the nature of its architecture rather than by the grid system of its roads.

Of course, interpreting all this material must be done with an awareness of the many contemporary debates about the handling of colonial history. It is also the case that the buildings I am illustrating are under current reconsideration of their future purpose and even continued survival. My method is to ask how far are the fingerprints of British empire-making reflected in the material evidence of colonial architecture? Some hints come from historians of empire about identifying features of

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1   Gordon, *Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities.*

British imperialism, and I reckon the most relevant of these for architectural history are the following:[2]

1. The English language.
2. British class hierarchies.
3. Protestantism.
4. The idea of Liberty.

So, my aim is to see how far these features might be embedded in the symbolism of colonial city architecture, and also within the aims of this publication to ask how far the character of the city of Rome in antiquity might have influenced the modelling of these cities.

Khartoum

I turn first to the making of modern Khartoum, and for this a few words on the political and historical background of the need for a new capital city. The formative historical episode to bear in mind was the killing on 26 January 1885 of Charles Gordon, governor-general of Egypt-controlled Sudan. His death was the turning point in the Mahdiya revolt and lead to a change in political control of Sudan, much to the shock of the British press. A theocratic Islamic state was set up with its capital not on the site of Khartoum on the east side of the Nile as before, but at nearby Omdurman on the western side. This new state lasted for thirteen years. The motives for a strong British military reaction to the revolt were neatly summed up by the eyewitness of the young Winston Churchill in his book, *The River War*:[3]

1. Retaliation for the death of Governor Gordon.
2. To remove any claims on Sudan by other western powers, notably France.
3. To gain control over a large part of Africa, although with a significant compromise as this was to be governed in combination with Egypt. This new Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was designed to operate with a British governor.

Bluntly, the British occupation of Sudan conformed to traditional imperialism. The recapture of Sudan was achieved on 2 September 1898 by General Herbert Kitchener with the notoriously brutal battle of Omdurman, resulting in thousands of Muslim dead and remarkably few British casualties. The rebuilding of the city of Khartoum began immediately in a rush. There was a flag-raising ceremony on 4 December 1898 in the ruins of Gordon's palace, which was accompanied with a twenty-one-gun salute by the gunboat *Melik*. Churchill ascribed the victory (and terrible bloodshed) to the

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[2]   Ferguson, *Empire*, esp. xxiii.
[3]   Churchill, *The River War*.
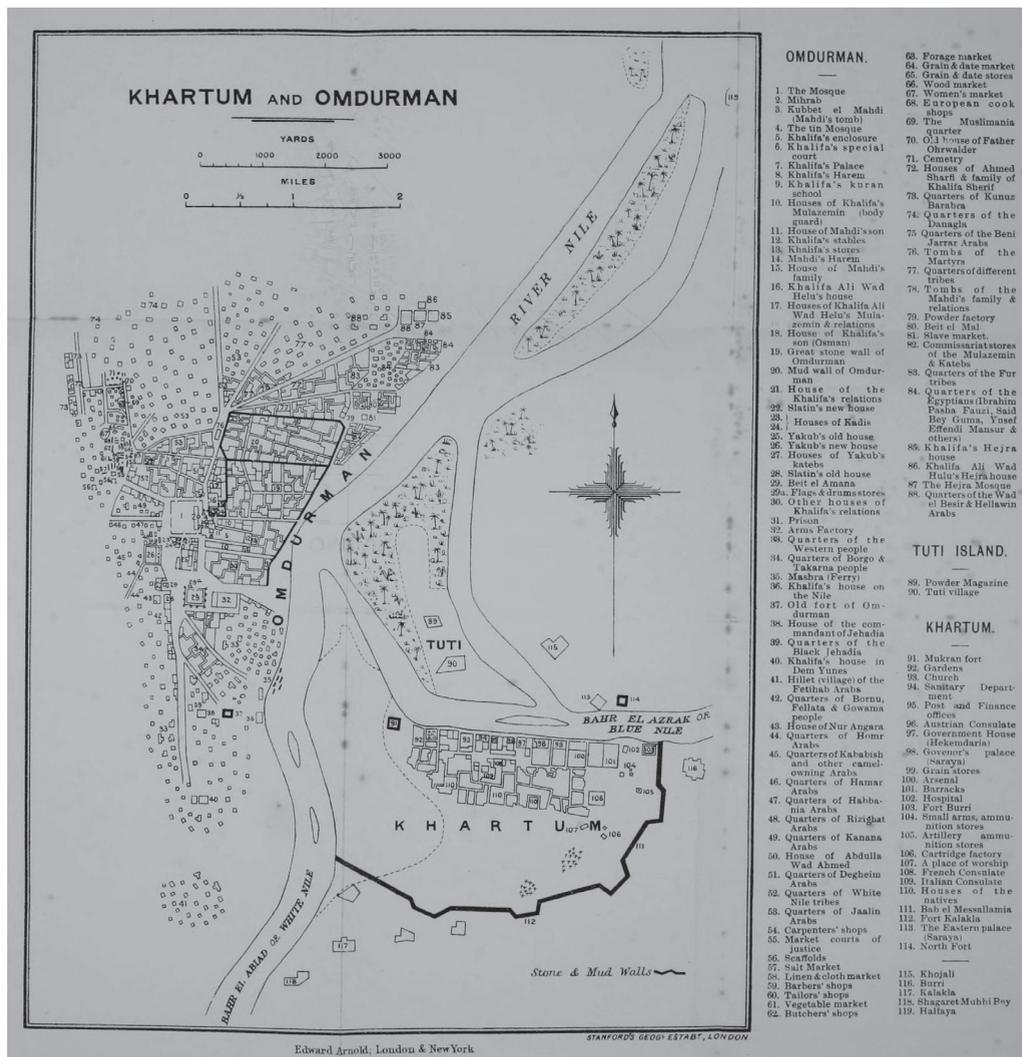
Figure 18.1. Plan of Khartoum in 1896 (after Slatin, 1896, 630).

massive shooting power, above all, of the gunboat sultan-class, *Melik*. Today it is now no more than a convenient beached storage place for drinks for the Blue Nile Club Bar.[4]

The instant decision was made by Kitchener, as the first governor-general, to rebuild the city on the site that had been Gordon's capital and not at the Mahdi development at Omdurman.[5] Rudolf Slatin produced a plan showing its dilapidated

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4   *Melik* was apparently the first warship to carry a cine camera on board, though no film was ever produced.
5   Babika, *Khartoum*, esp. 15–16.

state in 1896 (Fig. 18.1).[6] Kitchener's key idea for the new Khartoum was to build a new capital city for the elite with some prestigious buildings, but to designate Omdurman for the larger native population (in 1913, Khartoum had a population of 25,000 – one quarter European – and Omdurman 60,000).[7]

This decision about location of the British new capital was the key issue of debate; how it was to look was less well considered. What mattered to Kitchener was to set up a secure and permanent new and visibly powerful regime.[8] The building works were done haphazardly. The Royal Engineers were given a year to rebuild Khartoum as a major capital city in Africa. They were given a sketchy plan, keeping the old fortifications walls and military barracks with new wide streets and avenues. This was in part drawn up by Kitchener himself in 1898 and one might even want to say 'on the back of an envelope' when one sees it reproduced by Ahmad and described in the 1910 paper by William Hanna McLean.[9] The fact is, Kitchener spent no more than two days planning the new city before he returned to England, and no doubt military officials helped with the drawing. It was a grid plan over a totally flat area with the main roads parallel with the river Nile and with crossing roads at right angles. This simple plan was then adapted by the contractors and it became not so straightforward (Fig. 18.2). A series of diagonal roads were built across the grid. Some commentators (without any apparent justification) have suggested that the streets were meant to resemble the Union flag or a series of flags.[10] Army officials seem to have queried whether the diagonal roads were suitable for military security and operations, but there is no evidence that their design was intended for the ease of machine-guns to sweep the town or for the control of riots.[11] The diagonals were likely to cause difficulties when erecting new buildings in the consequent uneven spaces; after 1912 several of the diagonal roads were filled in, probably for this very reason. By 1908, the plan published in the Baedeker Guide to Egypt and Sudan did show a number of open squares and spaces, particularly near the Nile (Fig. 18.3). It would be possible to compare such an outcome with Rome or Paris; even with the French inspired plans for Cairo, in part achieved after 1868 as part of the celebrations for the inauguration of the Suez Canal, hopefully to make a 'Paris along the Nile'.[12] But since the urban development of Khartoum was more of an evolution than a defined plan from the outset, it is hardly possible to connect its plan with any clear source.

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[6]   Slatin, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, 630.
[7]   Ahmad, 'Khartoum blues: The 'deplanning' and decline of a capital city', 309–325; McLean, 'Town planning in the tropics', 227.
[8]   Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 25–28.
[9]   McLean, 'The planning of Khartoum and Omdurman'; see also comments by Lord Kitchener and R. Weir Schultz (who read the paper in the absence of McLean). Kitchener's plan is on fig. 7, 589.
[10] Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 25.
[11] Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 25.
[12] Fahmy, 'An olfactory tale of two cities'.
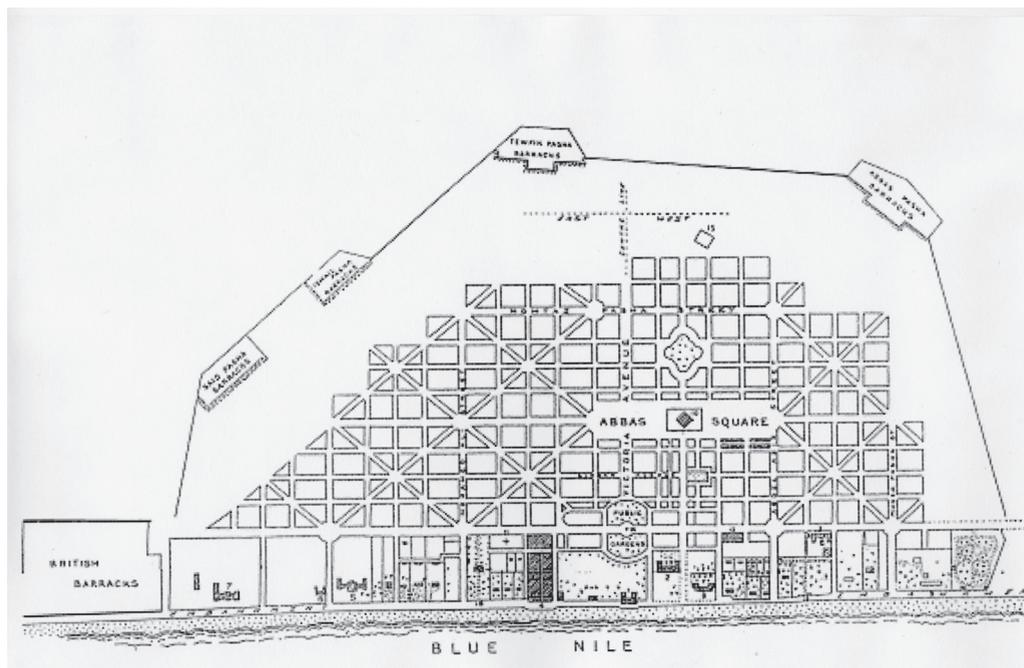
Figure 18.2. Kitchener's plan for the redevelopment of Khartoum as adapted (after Hassan, fig. 11).

But the Baedeker edition of 1908 did comment that the plan 'somewhat recalls that of Washington'.[13]

From 1906 the further development of the city was in the hands of the civil engineer just mentioned, W. H. McLean (1877–1967).[14] He was a trained town planner and was influenced by Ebenezer Howard, the creator of the garden-city concept, like Letchworth, in his book *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898). He lived in Khartoum from 1906 onwards until leaving the city in 1913. He then moved to Alexandria (until 1926), where he planned around fifty Egyptian towns. In 1918 he worked on a new city plan for Jerusalem, with the road plan in a grid form, which was not, in the event, adopted. His thinking about the environment that was best for Khartoum was certainly influenced by the ideas of the garden city, but his planning was also complicated by his aspiration to accommodate the needs of immigrant Europeans living in a tropical city.[15] His development plan drawn up in 1910 and approved in 1912 (Fig. 18.4) illustrates what had so far been achieved (in dark shading) and records his aims for further expansion. He emphasises the necessary comfort of Europeans in

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[13]   Baedeker, *Egypt and The Sudan*, 412.
[14]   Home, 'British colonial town planning'
[15]   McLean, 'Town planning in the tropics'.
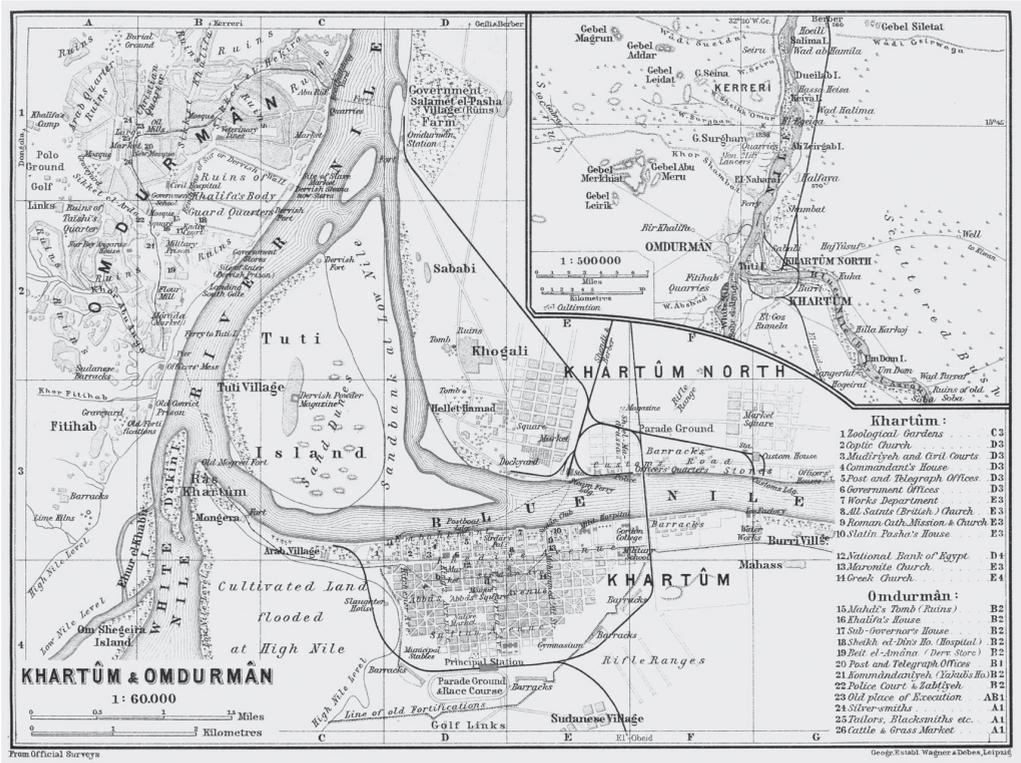
Figure 18.3. Khartoum as in 1908 (according to Baedeker, 1908, pp. 410–411).

the climate of Khartoum over the natives: Europeans must live in houses open to the prevailing winds, placed with a north and south exposure and surrounded by gardens or open spaces to permit free circulation of wind.[16] To help with this ventilation, the main roads were 120–150 feet wide. The consequences of this planning were noted critically by a later resident, R. E. H. Baily: 'The British went home to their charming houses on the river with their well irrigated gardens and trees while their subordinates were relegated to dismal rows of houses in the dusty back parts'.[17]

Against this background, we need to assess how far the axial planning of Khartoum as a new capital city reflected an underlying British ambition to emulate Roman imperial environments. Maybe this was a factor in Kitchener's original hasty simple grid, but it is hard to think it was anything so calculated. It is true that Kitchener would have been well aware of the situation of planning at Cairo, but the evidence points in a different incentive in the planning of Khartoum, but one which only

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[16]   McLean, 'Town planning in the tropics', 226.
[17]   Quoted from Baily's papers in Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 357.
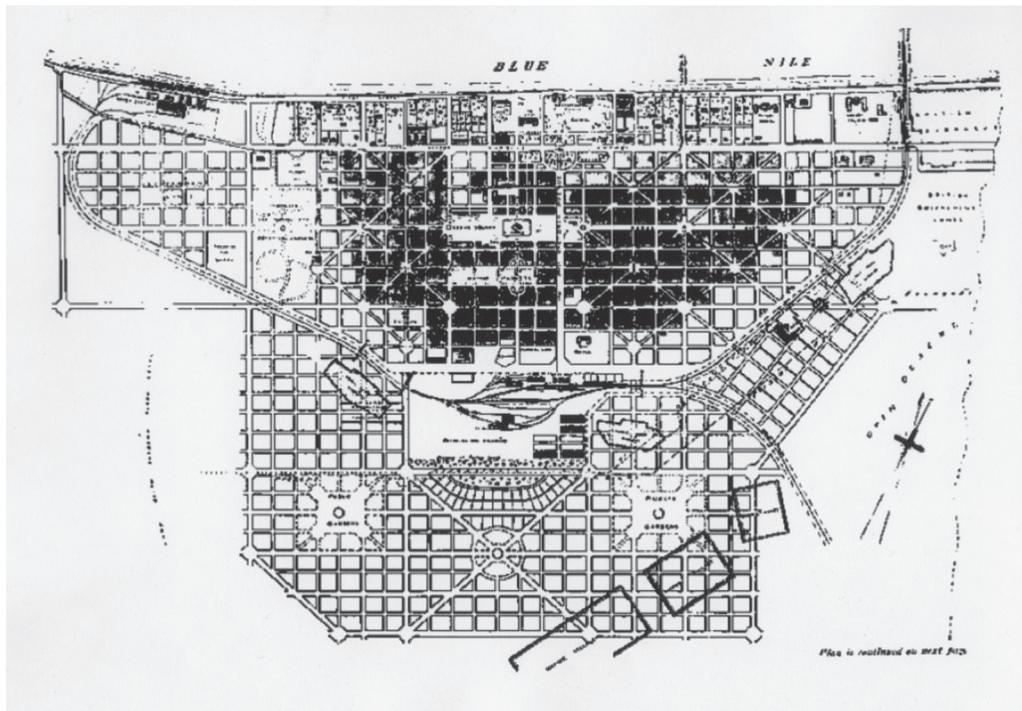
Figure 18.4. 1912 plan by McLean for the further development of Khartoum (after Home, p. 5).

emerged under the direction of McLean. This was the growing impetus in British architectural thinking of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its principles about urban planning, and McLean was a participant in these ideas.[18] The *Housing and Town Planning Act* of 1909 conspicuously privileged the concept of the Garden City which emphasised the comfort of the residents and spaces for recreation rather than the dominance of public buildings. The extent of commitment to the ideals of the Garden City is demonstrated by the R. I. B. A. Town Planning Conference in London in October 1910 which had an extraordinarily high attendance (around 1,400 participants).[19] McLean was one of the speakers (though the paper in his absence was read by Robert Weir Schultz), communicating his important report on his work at Khartoum. Other publications at the time illuminate the gap between Arts and Crafts adherents and other more traditional perspectives. Francis Haverfield, for example, set out in 1913 the case in favour of the classical city and in particular Roman urbanism against the 'medievalism' of the Arts and Crafts Movement.[20] But he was in the minority. Some

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[18]   Heffer, *Age of Decadence*, esp. 457–461.
[19]   Whyte, *Transactions of the Royal Institute.*
[20]   Haverfield, *Ancient Town-Planning.* For a commentary on the debates, see Alston, 'Class cities'.

architects at the conference were more wedded to the axial planning of the Beaux Art tradition (as at Paris, Cairo and after 1917 at Thessaloniki) and saw British values as insular and unsuitable for global city planning. On this issue, the British architect H. V. Lanchester, who was involved in the planning of New Delhi, wrote: 'National character and national ideals are the paramount influences on any town planning scheme'.[21]

After the initial work on the road system in 1899, the construction of new prestige buildings was done by the army under the command of Lieutenant George Frederick Gorringe, a self-educated architect. He was ordered to immediately constructa new governor's palace for Lord Kitchener, as well as the Gordon Memorial College, which was inaugurated in February 1902 by Lord Kitchener, a year in advance of its completion. As for the governor's palace, designed by Lieutenant Gorringe, the building went up very quickly, and was briefly occupied by Kitchener despite its unfinished and unfurnished situation. Gorringe writes: 'I cleared the site and then wrote to England for books on Italian and other architecture. These arrived in due course and with the help of plans, elevations and architectural details which they contained I designed the first and second floors, the staircases and verandas of the new palace, everything being submitted to and approved by Lord Kitchener. The designs for the original Government Offices were also prepared by me. As regards the portion of the Palace facing the river, the ground plan and the shape of the windows on the ground floor differed little from those of Gordon's Palace'.[22] A critic described this building as 'a wedding-cake of a building in a pastiche Venetian style, no more familiar on the banks of the Blue Nile than St Mark's would have been'.[23] But the important thing was that a British imperial symbol of power was in place. Another issue was the foundation stone for a mosque, signalling Egyptian faith and power, laid in 1900, and soon the spacious Abbas Square was marked with the impressive Great Mosque there. The other important symbol, an Anglican protestant church as a religious signal and social centre, took longer and needed continual public subscriptions before its completion.

The architect for this Cathedral Church of All Saints was chosen in 1906 and it was noted in the announcement that Robert Weir Schultz was well-known for his knowledge of Byzantium.[24] He was a major advocate of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and based in London. When he brought his plan for the cathedral to Khartoum in January 1907, what was shown was not a traditional English Gothic design, as might have been expected from other cities (such as Jerusalem and Athens), but instead a

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[21] Quoted by Whyte in his introduction, *Transactions of the Royal Institute*, 11.

[22] Quoted by Daly, *Empire on the Nile*, 26. Also see Cormack, 'Unity Out of Diversity? The Making of a Modern Christian Monument in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan', 63-90.

[23] Daly and Hogan, *Images of Empire. Photographic Sources for the British in the Sudan*, 232.

[24] See *Sudan Church Notes*, published by the Clergy House Khartoum, 15 January 1907. The weekly accounts in this newsletter between 1907 and 1914 give a wealth of detail about the materials, progress and aims of the building and an account of its dedication ceremony.

Figure 18.5. Cathedral of All Saints, south side, Khartoum (R. Cormack).

building harbouring echoes of primitive Christianity for a newly Christianised region (Fig. 18.5). For example, the model for the ground plan and elevations was the sixth-century transept basilica of St Demetrios at Thessaloniki, which he had studied at first hand in the 1890s when he came to Athens as part of a project to record the Byzantine architecture of Greece. Weir Schultz came back to Khartoum for the inauguration of the still incomplete cathedral on 26 January 1912, the anniversary of Gordon's death in 1885. The architecture was a melée of Byzantine, Saxon and Coptic elements, and even had Mycenaean Cyclopean style masonry on the west façade around its rose window and above the monogram in Greek of the Victory of Christ (Fig. 18.6). It was built in local stone with the heavy work done by local Sudanese labour, under the management a Scottish master mason with the help of Italian and Greek workers. The articulation of the masonry was simply designed, as there was no local skill in stone architecture. The *Church Times* (1912) wrote that it was 'a more than usually beautiful building'.[25] A reviewer in the *Builder* wrote: 'A very curious piece of architecture, the style of which

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[25] *Sudan Church Notes*, 27 January 1912, 115.

Figure 18.6. Cathedral of All Saints, western façade, Khartoum (R. Cormack).

we presume is suggested by local associations. It is a long, low, solid building with transepts ... We cannot call it beautiful, but it is an original and interesting one, like nothing else one has seen in the way of a church'.[26] The inaugural service in 1912 was led by the Bishop of London in the presence of the governor-general Sir Reginald Wingate (appointed in 1899 after years in the Egyptian army, and a great supporter of Kitchener). The cathedral is today the National Museum of Sudan, but its future is under discussion. It still contains the imperial images of Kings George V and Queen Mary, and a chapel (Fig. 18.7) with a commemorative inscription in honour of Gordon:

PRAISE GOD FOR
CHARLES GEORGE GORDON
A SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST
WHOSE LABOUR WAS NOT IN VAIN.
IN THE LORD

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[26] A review of aerial perspective of the architecture at the Royal Academy appeared in *The Builder*, 8 May 1909, 546. See also Ottewill, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860–1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect', 88–115, 104 and 161–172.
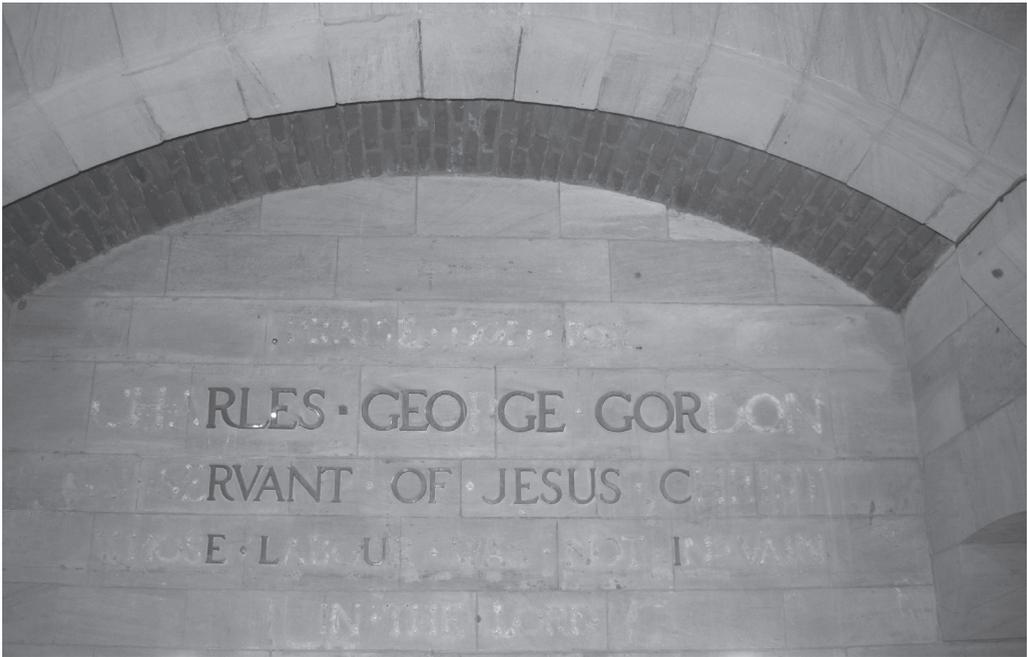
Figure 18.7. Gordon Memorial Chapel, Cathedral of All Saints, Khartoum (R. Cormack).

The fittings in the church were Arts and Crafts furniture made of Cuban mahogany and transported all the way to Khartoum from the Cotswolds in southern England. When the cathedral was closed in the revolution of 1971, most of these Arts and Crafts fittings were moved out. Fortunately, they were not destroyed, but can be found still in use in another Anglican church in Khartoum, now the cathedral. Schultz's drawings for this furniture still survive (some in the R. I. B. A. library in London and the V&A Museum of Design, Dundee), and his correspondence reports minor changes made to the designs by the carpenter Ernest William Gimson (Fig. 18.8).[27]

In terms of the concept of a capital city for Sudan at Khartoum, the completion of the palace and church symbolised the essentials of British imperialism, matching the criteria of English language, British class hierarchies, Protestantism and the idea of Liberty ensured within British royal rule. The perceived importance of the church emerges prominently in the little pamphlet produced in 1943 for the army based here in World War II. This little pocketbook highlights the symbolism of the architecture for the power of the British empire:[28] for example it describes the cathedral as 'a constant Reminder of the ideals of our Race'. It also prints the English inscription

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[27] For an analysis of the fixtures and fittings, and associated documents see Cormack, n. 22 above. For additional documents in Scotland see Spooner, 'Deconstructing empire'.

[28] '*The Church in Khartoum* to all Members of His Majesty's Forces', 24.

Figure 18.8. Furniture from Cathedral of All Saints, now in the new Episcopal church of the Sudan, All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum (R. Cormack).

commemorating Gordon in the cathedral. It also has a political statement about the region on page 96: it notes that Sudan was described by Kitchener's troops before the conquest as 'miles and miles and miles of sweet Fanny Adams', but this was changed by British rule.

To sum up after this brief sketch of the colonial capital city of 'British' Khartoum, focussing on just two of its key and conspicuous landmarks: I have argued that its main features were to privilege the palace as the symbol of power, the church as the symbol of state religion and to house the military in permanent barracks. Looking back to antiquity, this city has little in its physical environment beyond its grid system of roads to remind us of Rome. A closer ancient parallel might be the frontier Syrian city of Dura Europos adjacent to the Euphrates, which of course was not yet excavated in the time of Kitchener. This comparison supports the view that the planning of Khartoum was in response to the physical features of the site and its proximity to a river. The anomaly of the outcome of the planning (or original lack of real planning) at Khartoum is that it started as a city with a traditional grid format, but that was developed more in line with anti-classical Art and Crafts ideas. Nothing was more

striking than the clash of the classical regularity of the streets with the romantic medievalism of the Anglican cathedral.

New Delhi

My second colonial capital to consider in this chapter is New Delhi, which in many (perhaps most) respects differs radically in its genesis from Khartoum. While Khartoum was developed rapidly and on the cheap, the opposite extreme was the outcome of the decision announced by King George V at the Durbar of 1911 to move the capital of India from Calcutta to the previous Mughal capital at Delhi.[29] After considerable scheming, Edwin Lutyens (who was building the British School at Rome pavilion in 1911) and Herbert Baker were chosen by the British government as the partner architects of New Delhi. Their first crucial decision was to agree on the city's precise location. They opted for the southern site centred on the Raisina hill as the capital and so for the governing classes to be separate from mass population of old Delhi. In this respect they were following the logic of an elite capital city as seen at Khartoum. The planning of a road system was, however, much more complicated. Lutyens' simple scheme of 1912 was to have all the streets crossing at right angles, with a single central road, the Rajpath (King's Way) running from the Viceroy's House to the India Gate. To the north of this ceremonial way, he planned for the government and administrative buildings, and to the south for residential bungalows for the colonial administrators. Although this simple scheme is still discernible in New Delhi, Lutyens was overruled.[30] A series of individual interventions, notably from the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, and the architect, Henry Vaughan Lanchester, together with the decisions of the Delhi Town Planning Committee produced the final plan. It became more like Paris than Washington, D.C. It was agreed that to break the force of the frequent dust storms there should be ample provision of wide streets and roundabouts as well as trees and hedges to alleviate their impact. The result incorporated hexagons and diagonals and open vistas (Fig. 18.9).

Lutyens travelled each year for the next twenty years and the Viceroy's House (now known as the *Rashtrapati Bhavan* and acting as the official residence of the President of India) was inaugurated in 1931 and used by the Viceroy until Indian independence in 1947 (Fig. 18.10). The greatest dispute between Lutyens and Baker was the precise location on the Raisina hill for the palace and the secretariat buildings. Lutyens lost the argument and saw the result as a disaster, because the lower site for the palace made it almost invisible on most of the processional route. This was an acrimonious debate and conclusion, and the reason for Lutyens's hostility remains clear in photographs of the ceremonial way from the India Gate through the secretariat to the place (Fig.

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[29]   Davies, *British Architecture in India*; Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi*; Hussey, *Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*; Irving, *Indian Summer*; Byron, *New Delhi.*

[30]   See Irving, *Indian Summer*, chapter 4 'Evolution of a city plan' for an account of all the various stages.
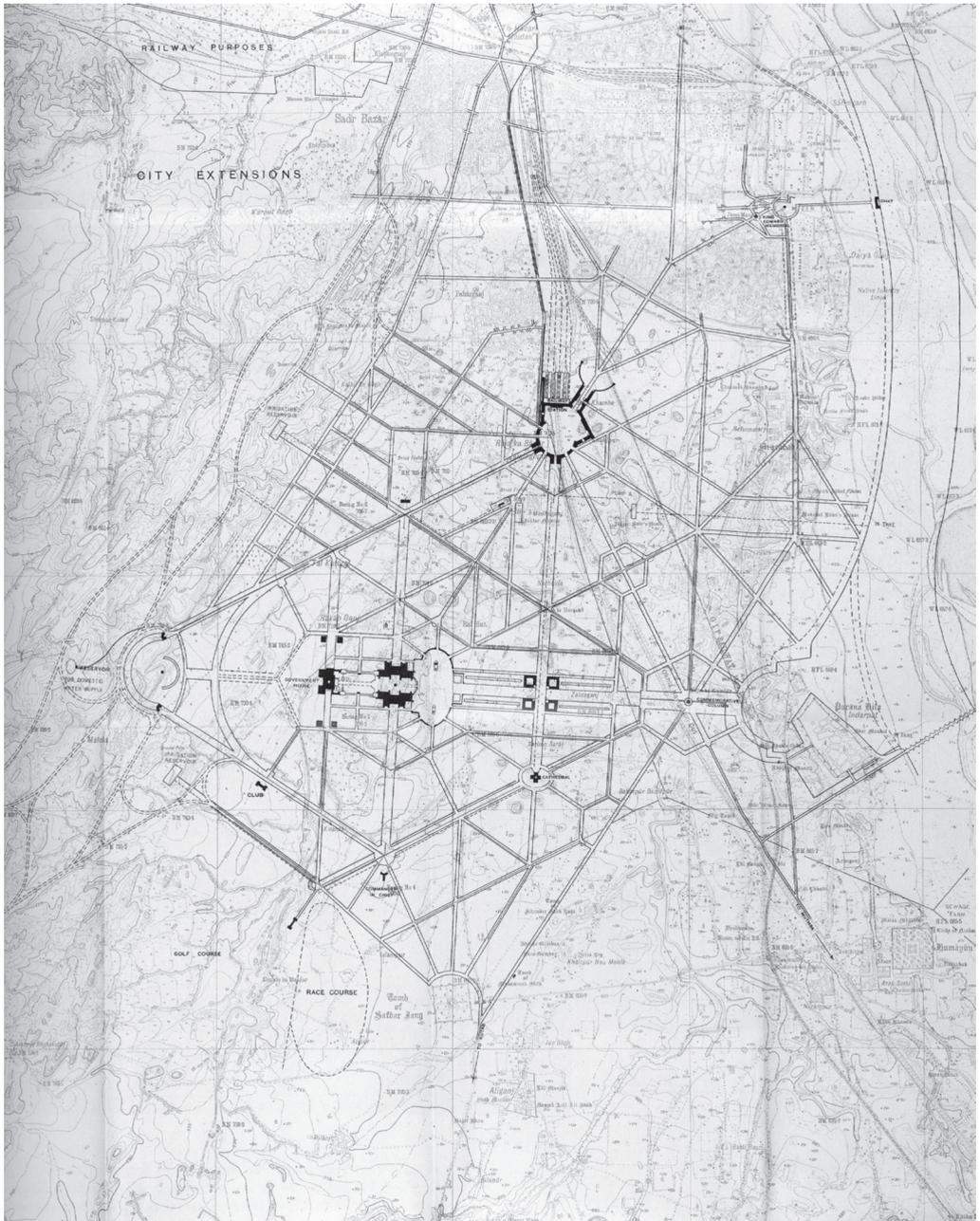
Figure 18.9. The plan for the development of New Delhi in 'Final Report on the Town Planning of New Imperial Delhi', 20 March 1913 (after Volwahsen, fig. 60).

Figure 18.10. The Viceroy's House, now Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi (R. Cormack).

18.11). Only the dome of the Viceroy's House is visible instead of a vista of its full magnitude.

We have explicit comments on the architectural proposals made by various observers on the character of the palace and the new city.[31] 'It should be a Hellenistic Greek city'; 'It must be like Rome, built for eternity' (Sir John Birdwood).[32] The Viceroy Lord Hardinge said 'Lutyens's plan for New Delhi was the proud expression of British Rule over a foreign race'. Robert Byron in 1931 thought: 'Lutyens accomplished a fusion between East and West and created a novel work of art'.[33] We also know Lutyens' own predilections and thoughts. He studied Rome and Washington conspicuously, also Paris, even Bath, because he was seeking as symbolic of British power – axiality, symmetry and monumentality. His thinking was that this would symbolically impose order on the chaos (as he saw it) of Indian society. He chose Palladian classicism, and he denigrated Mughal and Hindu models as following hopeless building practices. He

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[31] Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi*, 18ff.
[32] Irving, *Indian Summer*, 90 and Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi*, 18.
[33] Byron, *New Delhi*.

Figure 18.11. Raisina hill, New Delhi (R. Cormack).

particularly disliked the Taj Mahal with its exterior mosaic effect. But Lutyens had to concede several compromises as work proceeded and reluctantly incorporated some Indian traditional elements into his building.

The key symbol of power was the Viceroy's House. It had four floors and 340 rooms; it required 6000 servants and 400 gardeners (50 solely to chase birds away). At its centre was the Durbar or throne room, ostentatiously based on the Pantheon. It is half the size of the Pantheon, but the geometrical proportions used are the same, and the vaults clearly communicate to the viewer that this was its model. But on the exterior, we can see some of Lutyens' forced compromises. The stone used is pink Indian stone; the drum is incised in the manner of Buddhist models; the Moghul device of stone projections is used (*chujja*). In fact, some critics have thought that Lutyens may have come to see that the strength of Indian light on the exteriors may have been the reason for the artful Moghul decoration of exteriors like the Taj Mahal.

But despite several compromises, Lutyens achieved his aims of Roman monumentality as the means of communicating imperial power. In many places, the interior of the palace showed the mixture of pompous ceremonial with the symbolic presence of British royalty as well as the ubiquitous presence of Lutyens's

Figure 18.12. The canopy of the statue of George V, India gate, New Delhi (R. Cormack).

personal designs (down to the nursery clock). Outside the gates of the palace on the Raisina hill, the secretariat buildings of Baker were in the same neo-classical mould, but with even more compromise to Indian traditions in the details. But they stood conspicuously on the acropolis of the hill, gaining the prominence which Lutyens' palace lost, because of the dispute about the need to change the profile of the landscape.

Part of the scheme of New Delhi, in additional to the provision of a mass of housing for state officials, was the triumphal India gate, a war memorial for soldiers of the British Indina army killed in the First World War and the Anglo-Afghanistan War. It is obviously based by Lutyens on Roman triumphal arches, perhaps by way of the Arc de Triomphe. To celebrate protestant Christianity, the Cathedral of the Redemption, built by Medd and seen as the Viceroy's church, was opened in 1931, which is based on Il Redentore at Venice and Lutyens' church at Hampstead. As for the celebration of King George V as emperor of India, Lutyens' monument was this time based fully on Hindu models (Fig. 18.12). However, the statue of the king was removed in 1947 and has ended up in a park many miles away. The condition of the massive statue is starkly symbolic of fallen empire (Fig. 18.13).

Before I sum up with a conclusion about the symbolism of the architecture and city planning of a British colonial capital, I want to introduce one more Arts and

Crafts dimension. This is because one architect who worked with Lutyens and Baker and became one of the designers of the New Delhi environment was Walter S. George, who had like Weir Schultz been one of the British School architects who recorded Byzantine monuments in Greece and Constantinople in the late nineteenth century, and who knew Byzantine architecture in detail.[34] What is special about Walter George is that he decided to stay in Delhi for the rest of his life after Lutyens and Baker departed, and he died in India in 1962. His aim over several decades was to develop a kind of Indian Arts and Crafts environment in New Delhi, more British in origin than the neo-classicism of Lutyens. He trained local architects but also provided houses and amenities for the British. One building of his, the Regal Theatre of 1932 in Connaught

Figure 18.13. Statue of George V in its present state, Coronation Park, Delhi (R. Cormack).

Place, is neo-classical on the exterior and Arts and Crafts in the interior (Fig. 18.14). He also built St Stephen's College, University of Delhi, which architecturally is a cross between a British public-school interior and a more traditional Indian exterior (Fig. 18.15). He also built the church of St Thomas in New Delhi with its Arts and Crafts look on the exterior, Protestant church in the interior and with some Byzantine details (Fig. 18.16). I introduce Walter George here as an extraordinary contrast through the nature of his low-cost colonial architecture against the vast expense of the work of Lutyens and Baker which was paid by the Indian taxpayer. In all, the development of New Delhi is much more diverse and complicated than Khartoum, despite many similarities of political intention. Yet all the elements, both streets and buildings, are predominantly classical and Roman in conception and execution. In this respect, Khartoum is a more original and eccentric British creation. The cathedral designed by Weir Schultz in Khartoum meant that one of its most distinctive landmarks was conspicuously an Arts and Crafts invention. The most distinctive landmark in New Delhi was Lutyens' neo-

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[34]   See Cormack, 'Discovery of Byzantium by British visitors to Greece and what they saw'.

Figure 18.14. Regal Cinema, Connaught Place, New Delhi (R. Cormack).

Figure 18.15. St Stephen's College, University of Delhi (R. Cormack).

Figure 18.16. Church of Saint Thomas, Mandir Marg, New Delhi (R. Cormack).

classical Palladian house, and the Arts and Crafts buildings of Walter George made little impact at all on the character of the environment.

In conclusion, how does the architecture of New Delhi match up in practice to its theoretical underpinning? The English language is used in all public writings in the buildings. The nature and sizes of the buildings symbolise British class hierarchies. The monumental cathedral demonstrated the Protestantism of the ruling classes. As for the declaration of the idea of Liberty, we have the inscription over the arched entrance to the north secretariat quoting the British writer Charles Caleb Colton: 'Liberty does not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to Liberty. It is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed'. It must be admitted that one historian has described this as 'the most condescending statement in the entire history of the British empire'.[35]

It may be something of a paradox that the current discussions in India about the future of the buildings of Lutyens and Baker propose they be converted into museums, just like the fate of the Anglican cathedral of Khartoum which was closed in 1971, its

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[35]   Ferguson, *Empire*, 215 n. 2.

steeple demolished in 1996 and opened as a museum in 2000.[36] Today, considerable deference is given to memory of the architects Weir Schultz and to Lutyens and Baker, and their names are recorded conspicuously in these building. What is also widely recognised in present day Delhi is the direct copying of ancient Rome by Lutyens, and many local architects in Delhi still follow his lead and describe their building as 'Roman architecture'.

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36 Ray, 'A new New Delhi'.

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Chapter 19

Roma rediviva: The uses of *romanità* in Fascist-era urbanism

Aristotle Kallis

Rome – the place, the history, the material heritage, the myth – shaped Fascism's historical trajectory and ideological self-image. Gradually the Fascist trope of *romanità* became all-pervasive and supremely polyvalent, underwriting discursively and underpinning politically so much of what in the end defined the Fascist *ventennio*. In historiographical terms the exploration of the Fascism-*romanità* nexus in all its ideological, discursive, cultural and aesthetic parameters has been rich and multifaceted.[1] However the temptation to simply equate Fascism with *romanità* may run the risk of reducing Fascism's ideological relation to the Roman past to either sweeping, essentialising statements or all-too-neat binaries. Unsurprisingly for a radical political phenomenon that represented an 'unstable mix of dreams of radical restoration and (futural) rupture', Fascism's relation with the Roman past was supremely volatile.[2] The claim to a special relationship between Fascism and Roman-ness was a carefully constructed and layered one; it was far from a given during the early years of Fascism as a movement, as a party and even as a regime.[3] It is well known that the messy ideological tapestry of early Fascism hosted a spectrum of critical or even outright hostile views on Rome – or rather what it had come to represent in modern times. Most Futurists despised it as physical presence and cultural baggage. In the 1909 *Manifesto del Futurismo*, Filippo Marinetti calling for people to 'take the picks and hammers' to destroy it.[4] For the Florentine Giovanni Papini (1913), the city

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[1]   Among others, Gentile, *Fascismo di Pietra*; Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity*; Tarquini, 'Il mito di Roma nella cultura e nella politica del Regime Fascista'; Marcello, 'Building the image of power'; Nelis, 'Constructing Fascist identity'; Salvatori, 'Fascismo e romanità'; Visser, 'Fascist doctrine and the cult of the Romanità'.
[2]   Schnapp, 'Mostre', 61.
[3]   Kallis, *Third Rome*, 20–26.
[4]   Marinetti, 'The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism' (originally published in *Le Figaro*, 22 February 1909) in *Futurist Manifestos*, 19–24.

'dangerous symbol of everything that hinders in Italy the emergence of a new, original mentality' caused him 'repulsion that at certain moments became almost hatred'.[5] Even the young maverick socialist Mussolini himself had described it as a 'vampire of a city'.[6] While *romanità* had become hard-wired into the core of the Fascist worldview by the late 1920s, its meaning and its ideal-typical expressions remained unstable and protean through the 1930s. Put differently, there were multiple Romes coexisting in the Fascist universe – as they had done for centuries before, courtesy of a schismatic image of the city capable of inspiring fascination and unbound admiration but also disdain or hatred – and multiple ways to express their underlying mythology.

It may be tempting to link Fascist *romanità* to the profusion of literal declarative gestures – the iconography surrounding emperors and legions, ideally presented as part of a privileged historical lineage that led to Mussolini; the new temporality indicated by the Roman numerals of the Fascist calendar and the ritual use of the acronym 'A(nno) F(ascista)' to mark important projects of the Fascist period; the visual cues abstracted from the formalist vocabulary of classical architecture and reproduced, in literal or liberally translated form, in many Fascist-era buildings. Representing Roman-ness was undoubtedly of paramount importance for a regime so keen on grand iconic statements and versed in the affective importance of signalling narratives of historical continuity in legible visual terms. However Fascist *romanità* ran much deeper than canonical discursive or visual representations. An expansive and flexible trope of *romanità* became a symbolic anchor for a variety of initiatives and signature projects of the Fascist *ventennio* intended for domestic and international consumption alike: national rebirth and great-power status, universality and primacy of Italian civilisation, corporatism, economic modernisation and autarchy, territorial expansion and imperial ambition, war, later even racialism. Its ultimate power lay in its protean ideological elasticity without losing any of its power to re-'auratise' such a wide range of heterogeneous, even contradictory Fascist projects.

The Fascist claim to a *Roma rediviva* was presented as the unique product of Fascism's restoration, rebirth and authentic translation of a cherished, superior heritage.[7] It also rested on a further claim – that Italy and Italians alone enjoyed privileged access to the spirit of ancient Rome, as the modern-day custodians of a universal legacy that nevertheless remained rooted in the territory of its historic cradle. Among the surfeit of Fascist boasts to have revived the fullest and most authentic spirit of ancient Rome, the domain of *ex nihilo* urbanism (that is, planning cities and settlements on a – real or imagined – *tabula rasa* of space and/or 'civilisation') generated arguably the most extravagant projections of Fascist history-making ambition and transformative agency. In these instances, the very essence of Roman 'civilisation' refracted through the prism of Fascist *romanità* was re-enacted on empty space, as a supreme act of cosmic

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5   Giovanni Papini, *Contro Rome e Contro Benedetto Croce. Discorso detto al Meeting futurista del Teatro Costanzi, 21 febbraio 1913*, in D'Orsi, *Il futurismo tra cultura e politica*, 223–232.
6   Mussolini, *OO*, vol. III, 190.
7   Welge, 'Fascism triumphans', 83–94.

(re-)creation, and as a novel, tangible legacy in the present tense. Here the elemental Fascist tropes of rebirth and civilisation aligned *romanità* with the modernising, futural Fascist alter ego, (re-)enacting history as a present-day epoch-defining drama.[8] In this chapter I explore two of the most lionised Fascist projects of ex nihilo urbanism: the design of the 'new cities' (*nuove città* or *città di fondazione*) in the reclaimed Pontine Marshes south of Rome; and the projects for the major redesigned cities in the colonial territories in the Italian east Africa. Taken together, the case studies featured here provide a framework for assessing how Fascist constructions and uses/performances of *romanità* developed from the 1920s to the 1930s, reflecting ideological shifts at the very heart of the Fascist regime. They also allow a broader perspective that illustrates how *ex nihilo* Fascist-era urbanism could mediate the differences between metropolitan and colonial space by invoking the same expansive imaginary of a revived Roman civilisation – *civiltà.*

Engineering the Roman past as present: The Fascist construction(s) of *romanità*

Fascism did not invent *the* 'myth of Rome'. The city, according to Giardina and Vauchez, has always had a uniquely powerful and persistent appeal to diverse western audiences since medieval times.[9] Different but largely overlapping appeals to *romanità* flourished among Italian liberals and nationalists, radicals and conservatives, from the nineteenth century.[10] Inevitably, national unification and the city's annexation into the Italian kingdom in 1870 not only deepened its appeal but transformed it into a foundational national myth. *Romanità* was of course a flexible trope that over the centuries had invited a wide range of metaphorical associations and wishful projections to serve a wide array of ideological, political and cultural projects. In this respect, Fascism was following a well-trodden historical path.

Still, *Fascist romanità* was distinctive, expansive and elastic. It operated on diverse levels – as ideological frame, public discourse and visual/aesthetic expression – in ways that were often unstable, contradictory and contested. As political mythology it involved both a nexus of political/cultural associations, as well as a legible 'language' to effectively conjure them up and articulate them to its intended audiences. These two orders of signification – one connotative, that is symbolic and associative; the other denotative, that is representational and experiential – operated differently even as they cumulated into the various expressions of Fascist *romanità*. The former, connotative signification, involved the production of an expansive historical imaginary of Roman-ness, based on a core set of allegedly unique and irreducible values that linked the consecrated 'spirit' of the Roman past with the (Fascist) present. As connotation involved the construction of the myth itself, it was flexible, wide-ranging

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8   Fogu, 'The Fascist Stylisation of Time', 98–114.
9   Giardina and Vauchez, *Il mito di Roma*, 1–2.
10   Visser, 'Fascist doctrine and the cult of the Romanità', 7.

and aggregative: the more positive ideas, discourses and actions could be plausibly aligned with the declared core values of *romanità* the more powerful the image of radical restoration that the Fascist regime sought to project.[11] By the late 1920s the connotative apparatus of Fascist *romanità* was very much in place as an ideological container, even if it continued to expand, thicken and further diversify in subsequent years. What was being debated and often contested was its most apposite denotative expressions – the visual, tangible codification and representation of *romanità* in the present tense as declarative or instructive gesture. Differences of opinion with regard to the best form and code for declaring the essence of *romanità* reflected a deeper lack of consensus – not about its core meaning but about the hierarchy of its constituent elements and about the most effective strategies of representing it in a contemporary/modern setting.

    How to represent something as complex and contradictory as a city is never a straightforward choice of course. This statement is especially true for a *caput mundi* like Rome – and it pointed to a challenge that was as complicated in ancient and Renaissance times as it was in the twentieth century. Barring a quixotic Borgean map representing an empire on a 1:1 scale, every representation of a city is essentially metonymic – featuring a carefully chosen set of iconic shorthands for, and symbolic signifiers of, the multifaceted whole.[12] Still the 'whole' itself is meaningful only as an abstraction derived from the conscious selection of particular elements and the equally deliberate exclusion of others. What a city ought to represent has always been an active choice based on a subjective hierarchy of elements and factors regarded by the observer as more important or relevant than others. Thus the two orders of signification (*de-* and *con*-notation) are closely linked: not only is visual representation conditioned by the intended symbolic associations but it also (re-)formulates and (re-)shapes them for its intended audience. In other words, the denotative/representational function is not a simple translation of *a priori* meanings and associations; *what* to represent and *how* best to do that are locked in a dynamic–– and thus unpredictable – dialectical relation.

    When it came to articulating Fascist *romanità*, architects and planners with very different design and aesthetic allegiances were drawn to all these debates, no doubt also benefiting from the bizarrely tolerant 'hegemonic pluralism' that characterised the regime's attitude to cultural policy, at least until the mid-1930s.[13] They fought hard to win official sanction for their claim that they, alone or at least more/better than others, had achieved the most authentic, most complete translation of *romanità* as programme *and* visual vocabulary. In 1933 the then rising architectural star of Fascist Italy Marcello Piacentini and the always vocal conservative cultural critic Ugo

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[11] Cf. Richard Etlin's description of Fascism as 'voracious amoeba' ('it swallowed everything around it in order to proclaim that it was all a Fascist achievement') in Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture*, 387.

[12] Favro, 'The iconiCITY of Ancient Rome', 20.

[13] Stone, 'The State as patron', 205–238.

Ojetti were embroiled in a very public spat about the importance of columns and arches as signifiers of Fascism's tribute to Roman-ness.[14] The young members of the *avant-garde* modernist movement of *razionalismo* arrived at a very similar genuflection to *romanità* but through a very different route. Theirs was a *romanità* expressed in pure architectural form and abstracted spirit, in subtle and elliptical connotation deliberately divorced from conventional historicist formal denotative signs. Their vehement critique of the Italian academic architectural establishment of the time unfolded as a public squabble over form and aesthetic expression; but the stakes were far higher, touching on the very meaning of the concept of *classico* as the irreducible essence of the Roman spirit and heritage.[15]

Thus, while no prominent Fascist political or cultural figure in the 1930s would question the ideological centrality of the Roman heritage and spirit in all matters of Fascist-era architecture and urban planning, the long list of public *polemiche* on the matter underlined how the Roman imaginary could sustain a multitude of diverse, even conflicting interpretations, translations and formalistic expressions.[16] Even as competition briefs for landmark Fascist-era projects were becoming progressively aligned to the official discourse of *romanità*, the visual/formal and aesthetic interpretations thereof produced a fascinating kaleidoscope of translations and denotative statements. This was the case in most of the high-profile competitions for iconic official buildings of the regime in the 1930s – from the gargantuan multi-purpose new party headquarters (*Palazzo del Littorio*) that was intended to be inserted into the ruins of the Roman Forum[17] to the various briefs for iconic buildings destined for the new city designed for the 1942 world fair in the southern outskirts of Rome along the way to Ostia (E42).[18] A cursory look at some of the designs submitted for the competition of one of the seminal buildings of the entire fascist *ventennio* – the *Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e Congressi* in the new E42 exhibition quarter (Fig. 19.1) – attests to the wide margins of architectural interpretation and formal denotation of *romanità*, even in the case of high-profile official buildings that were usually subjected to more rigorous scrutiny.[19] The original winning design by the rationalist Adalberto Libera represented an attempt to mediate bold modernist form and volume with a more subtle – anti-historicist but nevertheless easily legible – denotation of the Roman heritage. In the long-drawn out process of its construction, Libera's original winning design was subjected to the procrustean requirements of a more direct and literal

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[14] Ghirardo, 'Italian architects and Fascist politics', 116; Neri, 'Arches and columns', 1–17.

[15] Ciucci, 'Gli architetti italiani', 23–29; Cavallo, 'Classicità, classicismo', Kallis, *Third Rome*, 63.

[16] For an overview see Patetta, *L'Architettura in Italia.*

[17] Marcello,'The politics of place: Citing and re-siting the Palazzo Littorio', 146–172. For a selection of the projects see Lecis, *Progetti per il Palazzo Littorio.*

[18] Nicoloso, 'I concorsi di architettura durante il fascismo', 4–7; Saponaro, *Adalberto Libera*; Spagnesi, 'Roma 1921–43', 355–375; Muntoni, 'E42: i Concorsi', 83–100.

[19] 'Concorso per il Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e dei Congressi', 731–735.

Figure 19.1. Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e Congressi, EUR/E42 (arch. Adalberto Libera).

visual/formal denotation of *romanità*, in the process earning its fair share of columns on the facade and other classically-inspired decorative features.[20]

It was the iconographic programme for the building's interior, however, that turned out to be even more controversial. Libera's original design for main hall featured an abstract mosaic design that, despite using a historically Roman decorative medium, did not satisfy the exhibition authorities' increasing thirst for legible historical cues. A new competition for the interior decorative programme was also declared null and void by the judging committee for failing to generate a strong enough statement of the exhibition's link to Rome and its myth. Thus the world fair's organisers turned to the Institute of Roman Studies (*Istituto di Studi Romani*, ISR) – an institution with immense canonical power over all things Roman in the 1930s – to re-design the brief for the decorative programme of the main hall and invite only selected artists to submit or resubmit their entries.[21] According to the new brief, the hall was to be decorated with four enormous mosaic panels dedicated to the history of Rome from its origins through the imperial and papal periods, culminating in a collage that glorified the Fascist 'third Rome' as a kind of historical apotheosis. Each panel of the

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[20]   Poretti, *Modernismi Italiani*, 166–176; Ciucci and Levine, 'The classicism of the E 42', 85–86.
[21]   Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity*, 29–49; Nelis, 'La "fede di Roma"'.

winning design followed a linear, strongly narrative, part-chronological and part-thematic approach, with pseudo-realistic vignettes and even captions to enhance the legibility of the overall composition. Panels were organised in four horizontal registers, depicting important events and themes for the period to which it was dedicated. Giovanni Guerrini's *La Roma di Mussolini*, covering the period from 1914 to 1939, would contain a sequence of events that had shaped Fascism's relation with the city and its myth. Two other illustrated episodes merit special attention in the context of the discussion of Fascist *romanità*: the 1925 'battle for wheat' (*battaglio del grano*), leading to the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes and the foundation of the 'new cities' (*città nuove*) in the 1930s; and the attack on Ethiopia that paved the way for the proclamation of the Fascist *impero* in 1936.[22] These two occasions shared a narrative arc that connected the ancient imperial past with Fascism and flaunted the planning of human settlement as the supreme marker of 'civilisation'. Both were also presented as instances of *creatio ex nihilo* that had a profound cosmogonic effect on their respective territories. Taken together, however, as part of their containing iconographic programme in the main hall and other mosaic compositions both inside the Palazzo (*e.g.* Achille Funi's 1943 composition titled 'All streets lead to Rome') and in other E42 buildings (*e.g.* Giorgio Quaroni's 'The foundation of Rome' in the Palazzo Uffizi), they also asserted the diachronic and enduring primacy of *romanità*, as a universal force of civilisation now allegedly revitalised by Fascism.

The 'new cities' of bonifica in the Pontine Marshes

As historian Mircea Eliade has claimed, the transition from emptiness to order and from a presumed (chaotic) state of nature to organised society always begins with profoundly symbolic acts of marking and consecrating space. It was through these – both ritual and practical – acts that humans 'reactualized the paradigmatic act of creation' and thus re-enacted cosmogony, 'by assuming the responsibility of creating the world that [they have] chosen to inhabit'.[23] The project of *bonifica integrale* – total and wholesale reclamation of land – was the closest approximation and most powerful performance of this ritual of *creatio ex nihilo* in the Italian metropole during the Fascist years. The Pontine Marshes (Agro Pontino; *Pomptinae Paludes* in ancient times), the vast, inhospitable, malaria-infested swampland extending southwards from Rome, had for centuries proved stubbornly resistant to all sorts of efforts to promote systematic human settlement and productive transformation.[24] The challenge to succeed where so many others – emperors, popes, kings and liberal governments – had failed and to transform the untamed land into productive agricultural space fit for human settlement captured Mussolini's imagination in the second half of the 1920s.[25] The

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[22]   Marcello, 'The idea of Rome in Fascist art and architecture'.

[23]   Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, ch 1.

[24]   Sallares, *Malaria and Rome*, 168–191; Caprotti, 'Malaria and Technological Networks'.

[25]   Mulè, 'Nel cuore dell'Agro Romano'.

symbolic acts of 'conquering'/'taming' space mapped onto Fascism's core ideological discourses of rebirth, national greatness and universal, diachronic civilisation.[26]

Against this backdrop, the concept of the *città nuova* was promoted as the next, decisive stage in the transformation of the reclaimed lands of the Pontine Marshes.[27] Between 1932 and 1939 a network of five 'new cities' emerged across the previously barren and hostile space of the Agro. The so-called 'pentapolis' began with Littoria (founded in 1932; nowadays Latina), reached its creative apex with Sabaudia (1933), continued with the cities of Pontinia (1934) and Aprilia (1937) and concluded with relatively low-key Pomezia (1939). Fascist propaganda invested the new settlements with a mythical, indeed cosmogonic quality. They were both ideal expressions of a Fascist conception of collective life and 'miraculous' creations that transcended life itself.[28] The triptych of conquering space, taming nature and disease and imposing a new, perfect human order over them transformed the construction of the pentapolis into an expression of universal, yet revitalised by Fascism, Roman *civiltà.*

The story of the settlements in the Pontine Marshes began with an infelicitous episode that highlighted the maelstrom of contradictory ideological schemes invested in the discourse of a reinvigorated Fascist *romanità.* On 30 June 1932, Valentino Orsolini Cencelli, the Commissar of the National Veterans Organisation (*Opera Nazionale Combattenti*, ONC) that had been tasked with constructing Littoria *ex nihilo*, marked its foundation by following the ancient Roman tradition of setting the first stone by tracing the sacred boundary (*pomerium*) of the new settlement with a furrow. Predictably the ceremony attracted a lot of attention in the media and yielded a perfect photogenic propaganda opportunity. Mussolini, however, was conspicuous by his absence at the proceedings. Apparently he had objected to the ceremony's primordial symbolism (harking back to the founding of Rome by Romulus) for it appeared to suggest that Littoria was a 'city'. This association ran counter to the regime's branding of the reclamation of the Pontine Marshes as an anti-urban, ruralising project – 'a dam against the flood of urbanism' with its negative associations with 'unproductive'/'parasitic' living, 'bourgeois' manners, infertility, effeminacy and moral vice.[29] The grudge did not last for long. Mussolini soon changed his mind and attended the triumphant inauguration of Littoria in December 1932 and soon overcame his earlier aversion to ancient founding rituals by attending – and subsequently even leading – similar rituals elsewhere.[30]

The entire campaign for the *bonifica integrale* of the Pontine Marshes was wrapped in heroic Roman cloak. The gigantic technical effort involved in the reclamation of

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[26] Bo Frandsen, '"The war that we prefer"'; Caprotti, *Mussolini's Cities*, 17–23; Caprotti, 'Destructive creation', 659–678; Saraiva, *Fascist Pigs*, 21–42; Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities*, 80.

[27] Kargon and Molella, *Invented Edens*, 50–52.

[28] Burdett, *Journeys through Fascism*, 109–110.

[29] Bevilacqua, 'Le bonifiche'; Caprotti, 'Internal colonisation, hegemony and coercion', 942–957; Kallis, *Third Rome*, 42–51, 159–163.

[30] Marcello, 'Building the image of power', 348.

the notorious swamps echoed the way in which the ancient Romans used power, will, order and knowledge to tame nature and set the foundations of civilisation across the lands that they conquered.[31] The site plans for the Pontine pentapolis paid the necessary homage to the planning heritage of ancient Rome. The use of the rectangular plot as the instrument of structuring space and as the elemental unit of the gridiron urban plan communicated the triumph of human (and Fascist) will over the unruly natural forces as well as the beginning of organised collective life within a hierarchical political entity.[32] References to the configuration of the ancient fortified *castrum* and the classical gridiron pattern framing a central monumental core were prominent in all cases.[33] Road construction too was important in the empty territory of the reclaimed Agro. The obvious practical benefits of connecting new settlements to one another and to existing urban centres (Rome to the north, the Campania region to the south) were matched by the opportunities for a deeply symbolic parallelism between ancient Roman *civiltà* and Fascist regeneration of Italy.[34]

Yet, beyond the effusive discursive genuflection to *romanità*, the construction of the Pontine pentapolis reflected a much wider gamut of planning/architectural inspirations and tributes. When the Italian delegation of *avant-garde* modernist architects submitted an analysis of the plan of Littoria to the fourth congress of modern architecture (CIAM) in 1933, they described it as an ambitious modernising plan, more indebted to the novel precepts of international *avant-garde* urbanism and to garden-city principles of radial deployment than to the traditions of ancient Roman urbanism.[35] This in no way suggests that tributes to the cultural capital of *romanità* were absent from the rationalist architects' vision and practice. In fact, more than any other new settlement of the pentapolis, Sabaudia could claim a clearer derivation from classical planning norms, with its ordered grid-based plan and a fairly recognisable forum at the point of intersection of the two roads to Littoria/ Rome and Terracina (even if again the norm had been interpreted loosely resulting in a significantly enlarged format based on a deliberate separation of the civic/Fascist from the religious buildings) (Fig. 19.2).[36] But while the Italian rationalist architects underlined this connection when they presented the urban plan at the 4th CIAM congress in 1933, they also introduced Sabaudia as the climax of a new programme of urban planning that they described as *urbanistica corporativa*.[37] In the view of the rationalist architects, this new conception of urban planning translated one of the key ideological innovations of the Fascist state – corporatism – into a strict functional

[31] ACS-SPD, Carteggio Ordinario (CO), 509.831 and 132.862.

[32] Mittner, 'Le Città Pontine e le Città Nuove degli anni trenta', 58–64; Ghirardo and Foster, 'I modelli delle città di fondazione', 635–674.

[33] Arthurs, *Excavating Modernity*, 64–65; Rifkind, '"Everything in the state"', 51–80.

[34] Stewart-Steinberg, 'Grounds for reclamation', 94–142.

[35] Rifkind, '"Everything in the State"', 59–60; Lejeune, 'Sabaudia: Foundation, growth', 321.

[36] Muntoni, 'Newly founded Italian cities of the thirties'.

[37] Belgioioso *et al.*, 'Urbanistica corporativa', 40; Landriscina, *Urbanistica corporativa*.

Figure 19.2. Sabaudia's regulatory plan (arch. Luigi Piccinato) in 'Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia', Urbanistica *12 (1934): 18 (permission granted by Casa dell'Architettura).*

hierarchy of the built environment. It was this and other subtle *modern* facets of Fascist urbanism, they claimed, rather than the obsequious denotation of the Roman heritage as form, that represented the most complete and authentic translation of the spirit of universal *romanità* in the modern world.[38]

Littoria (whose monumental celebratory civic architectural programme by Oriolo Frezzotti was unremarkable enough to slip quickly under the public radar) was very

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38   Piccinato, 'Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia'; Olivetti, 'Urbanistica corporativa'; Occhipinti, 'Sabaudia. Il piano fondativo', 26–41. For an excellent analysis see Schnapp, *Building Fascism, Communism, Liberal Democracy*, 71–100.
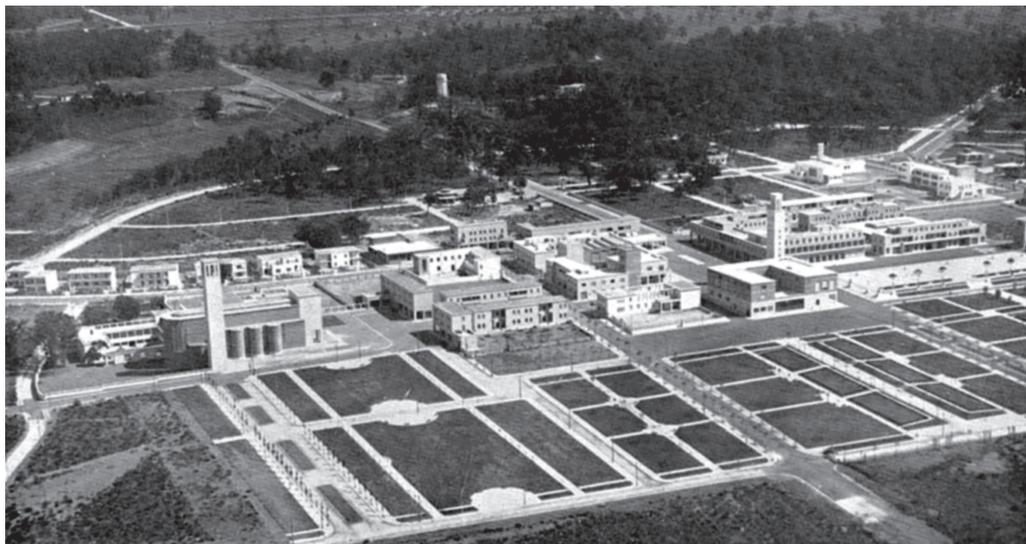
Figure 19.3. Aerial early view of Sabaudia ('Sabaudia dall'aeroplano', Architettura *14, 11 (1935): 644).*

soon eclipsed by Sabaudia, whose inauguration coincided with the peak of rationalism's influence on the official architectural discourse of Fascist Italy (Fig. 19.3).[39] The occasion also generated bitter controversy when a group of intransigent Fascists headed by former party secretaries Roberto Farinacci and Francesco Giunta openly attacked the architecture of Sabaudia as elitist and essentially 'un-Roman'.[40] This acrimonious public exchange highlighted a fundamental limitation of the more subtle, connotative and elliptical rather than declarative, code of *romanità* sponsored by the rationalists: beside matters of aesthetic taste, it was not regarded as legible enough.[41] This would turn into a veritable deficit for modernist architects in the second half of the 1930s, when they were increasingly sidelined for high-profile commissions in favour of those who were willing to denote *romanità* through more literal and visible historicist cues.[42] But in the halcyon days of the early 1930s the experimental streak of the Sabaudia project was hailed as a major milestone, earning its architectural team (Luigi Piccinato, Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori and Alfredo Scalpelli) a private audition with, and public praise from, no other than Mussolini himself. At the meeting the Duce declared his enthusiastic support for the project precisely because it did not simply carbon-copy the past but instead translated the cherished tradition into a new architecture 'of our time'.[43]

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[39] Canniffe, *The Politics of the Piazza*, 203.
[40] The exchange is quoted in Pagano, *Architettura e Città*, 12–13.
[41] Kallis, 'Futures made present', 49–50; Ciucci, *Gli Architetti e il Fascismo*, 168–169.
[42] Kallis, *Third Rome*, 131–158.
[43] Quoted in Estermann-Juchler, *Faschistische Staatsbaukunst*, 139.

Without doubt the Sabaudia episode attests to the surprising plurality of the debates on architecture and urban planning during the Fascist years. In addition, however, it highlights the tension between connoting (symbolically) and denoting (visually) *romanità* in architectural form and spatial planning. Each of the new cities constructed in the reclaimed Pontine Marshes ended up referencing rather different formalistic sources and planning paradigms; yet different design solutions and denotative cues were still allowable and credible if aligned conceptually and discursively with the expansive cosmos of Fascist *romanità*. Architects and designers who participated in the competitions for these and other similar high-profile architectural or planning projects in the 1920s and 1930s could choose from a wide register of visual design solutions (whether rooted in local/national traditions or derived from international experience or indeed hybrids thereof) so long as they promoted cogently the imaginaries built around the idea of a universal and diachronic Roman civilisation. This flexibility may have gradually receded in the second half of the 1930s, with the Fascist regime promoting the more historicist, legibly 'Roman' official *stile littorio* as the normative framework for expressing the spirit of *romanità* in architectural form.[44] Even then, however, the Fascist authorities far from shunned pluralism, continuing instead to rely on high-profile architectural competitions for key projects (*e.g.* the landmark buildings of the E42 quarter) and following a fairly balanced commissioning policy that neither favoured exclusively nor shut out any single side to the architectural debates. Fascist *romanità* remained a more or less elastic and inclusive ideological canopy until the end, privileging negotiation and synthesis over any singular denotative code.

Fascist colonial urbanism in east Africa

In early April 1937 the National Institute of Urban Planning (*Istituto Nazionale dell'Urbanistica*, INU) held its first full congress in Rome. The timing of this high-profile event was significant. It coincided with the peak of the *bonifica integrale* campaign and echoed the enthusiasm for the success of the first *nuove città* in the Pontine Marshes. It also came less than a year after the official conclusion of the Ethiopian campaign and the proclamation of the Fascist *impero* and following shortly from the decision to hold the 1941 world fair in Rome. Predictably then the themes of *bonifica* and colonial urbanism dominated the proceedings.[45] A multitude of different visions for the future of Fascist *urbanistica* were paraded at the congress. Ranging from sweeping technocratic utopias to strongly anti-urban and ruralising perspectives to far-reaching plans for the future development of the colonial empire in Africa, they competed to shape the field and dominate public discourse. On their part architects, administrators, planners, scientists and political functionaries argued their cases at

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44   Paolozzi, *Il Nuovo Stile Littorio.*
45   Fuller, *Moderns Abroad*, 147.

a time of seemingly unique opportunity that invited the most expansive planning imaginaries for both colonial and metropolitan urbanism. The fascination with *ex nihilo* urbanism and large-scale regional planning in particular was palpable, stimulated by the occupation of Ethiopia and proclamation of the *impero.*

The debate on a Fascist *colonial* architecture and urbanism had begun in earnest in the second half of the 1920s. The ambition to (re-)develop the early colonial possessions in the Mediterranean (Libya and the Dodecanese) had generated considerable interest among architects and planners, sustaining a rich public debate about what the optimal modern, Italian *and* Fascist design approach for the colonial settlements was. A public debate conducted through the pages of newspapers and specialist journals touched on architectural tastes, best practices in urban planning, devising an Italian and Fascist 'colonial style', as well as regional planning in the colonies.[46] However the conclusion of the 1935–1936 military campaign against Ethiopia and the proclamation of the Italian East Africa (*Africa Orientale Italiana*, AOI) transformed the ideological and discursive complexion of the debate on Fascist colonial architecture. Unlike the earlier colonial possessions, the whole territory of the AOI was imagined by the Fascist authorities and the majority of eager to participate Italian architects as 'virgin soil' with no memory, no 'civilisation', no heritage worth preserving or engaging with dialectically.[47] In this crucial respect, Fascist planning interventions in the key settlements of the AOI were carefully coded as *ex nihilo* projects, just like in the case of the Pontine Marshes and in contrast to the Fascist colonial fantasies for Tripoli or Rhodes, where a putative material Roman legacy could be traced, preserved and celebrated.[48]

Prominent architects grasped the unique opportunities offered by the vast project of large-scale regional and urban *ex nihilo* planning in the lands of the AOI. Within days of the proclamation of the *impero*, Piacentini approached Mussolini to propose a unitary vision of 'Fascist' planning and architecture for the entire AOI. His proposal was based on a modern and functional approach that, if devised quickly and implemented consistently as a programmatic blueprint, could forestall the kind of much-criticised Italian-local vernacular faux amalgams already on display in Libya and the Dodecanese.[49] Piacentini understood the political need to frame the entire discussion about the future development of the AOI as a 'civilising mission' along the path trodden by the ancient Romans. In a separate public appeal to Italian architects, he reminded them that the 'Roman way' had always been about imprinting the conquered lands with the 'unmistakeable signs' of *civiltà*: 'roads, bridges, aqueducts, baths, theaters and temples: all works in which the synthesis of utility and beauty

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46 Sabatino, 'The politics of Mediterraneità', 52–54; Stigliano, *Modernità d'esportazione*; Santoianni, *Il Razionalismo nelle colonie Italiane*; Fuller, 'Building power'; Kallis, *Third Rome*, 67–69; McLaren, 'Carlo Enrico Rava'.

47 Fuller, *Moderns Abroad*, 140.

48 Bo Frandsen, 'The war that we prefer', 78.

49 Von Henneberg, 'Imperial uncertainties'.

was perfect'.[50] Piacentini's appeals reflected his belief that the spirit of ancient Rome manifested itself in the civilising imprint of Fascist Italy on the newly acquired lands and not in an artificial revival or invention of 'styles'. A Fascist colonial urbanism could reference its genealogical link to the heritage of ancient Rome by propagating a new civilisation, especially through the design of new cities, settlements and modern networks that linked the entire AOI. As such it did not need blatant formalistic gestures or artificial new styles to be – and be recognised as – 'Roman'.

Shortly after Marshal Pietro Badoglio's troops entered Addis Ababa in May 1936, the Italian authorities announced the official annexation of Ethiopia (a 'victory of civilisation' leading to a new *pax romana*, as Mussolini claimed in a deliberate reference to the Augustan 'era of peace') and proceeded swiftly with plans for the organisation and urbanisation of the AOI.[51] Road construction became an immediate priority for the colonial authorities. Already well-rehearsed in the metropole through the extensive construction of new roads, motorways and railroads in the 1920s and 1930s,[52] the connection between roads and *civiltà* was also invoked extensively in the vast constructed *tabula rasa* of the AOI, obliquely referencing the ancient Roman tradition as both unique spiritual heritage and unsurpassed technical-organisational acumen.[53] In his early directives to Badoglio – who had been installed as the first Viceroy of Ethiopia – Mussolini anecdotally dictated 'roads, roads and roads' as the main priorities of the colonial administration.[54] Consequently a nearly 5000-kilometre road network, supported by all sorts of necessary state-of-the-art infrastructural work, was constructed by the Italian colonial authorities in AOI to aid the military effort, to connect new and old urban centres, to promote trade and encourage tourism in the new lands. At around the same time, clear directives about particular routes in all three parts of AOI (Ethiopia, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland) signed by Mussolini himself were dispatched to Ethiopia.[55] Images of indefatigable road construction fitted the overall discourse of imprinting a modern version of Roman *civiltà* on the constructed image of an Ethiopian wilderness 'without roads, without cities or villages'.[56] The state-controlled media producer Istituto Luce produced an abundance of visual material (newsreel and documentary films dedicated to the colonisation and development of the AOI post-1936), with roads occupying a central part of the overarching narrative of *civiltà* and *passione romana*.[57]

When it came to urban planning, committees charged with the execution of regulatory plans for most major settlement areas across Ethiopia and Eritrea produced

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[50]   Podestà, 'Le città dell'impero', 126; Piacentini, 'Realizazzione costruttiva dell'impero', 241–244.
[51]   Mussolini, *OO*, vol. XXVII, 390–396.
[52]   Moraglio, *Driving Modernity*; Atkinson, 'Totalitarianism and the street in Fascist Rome', 13–30.
[53]   Cobolli Gigli, *Strade Imperiali*; cf. Atkinson, 'Constructing Italian Africa'.
[54]   Rifkind, 'Gondar', 501.
[55]   Cecini, 'La realizzazione della rete stradale', 113–115.
[56]   Zoli, *La Conquista dell'Impero*, 388; Sessa, *Nuova Immagine*, 148; Bertazzini, 'The long-term impact of Italian colonial roads'.
[57]   Mancosu, 'La "Luce" per l'impero', 253–340; Fidotta, *Un Impero cinematografico*, 8.

an avalanche of plans for the future reorganisation of the settlements. Based on the principle of segregating Italian and indigenous communities, these plans were presented as forcing a new, putatively superior order of *civiltà* on the colonial space, in juxtaposition either to a wild state of nature or to the putative backwardness of indigenous civilisation.[58] Predictably, the capital of Ethopia became the focus of the planning efforts as it is clear that the future 'new' city was intended as a showcase of Fascist colonial urbanism. A team of experts headed by the engineers Cesare Valle and Arturo Bianchi and the architect Ignazio Guidi was appointed by the then city governor Giuseppe Bottai to oversee the new regulatory plan for Addis Ababa. A few months later, Mussolini also dispatched three well-established architects with strong modernist credentials – Enrico Del Debbio, Giuseppe Vaccaro and Giò Ponti – to visit Ethiopia and report their views about the future development of the capital and the tasks of regional planning.[59] Such was the symbolic importance of this project that the deliberations lasted more than three years, generating a lot of professional disagreements and political controversies along the way. Yet every new iteration of the plan came with the very same connotative trappings – presented as supremely 'Roman and Italian in a modern way', infused with 'Roman meaning', a 'solemn, strong, Roman piece of work', and so on.[60]

After a series of variants and iterations, the plan for Addis Ababa's modern 'new' city emerged as a hybrid solution indebted to a wide range of diverse sources.[61] There was the axial organisation of the new civic centre, echoing ancient Roman urban patterns though refracted through neo-monumental sensibilities of the sort that was being planned for the E42 quarter at roughly the same time. In terms of architectural style, again the emerging canons of the *romanità*-inspired abstracted *classico* of Rome's new exhibition quarter set the tone for the new the civic and 'Italian' zones. But the focus of the Italian colonial authorities and architects-planners was on connoting the alleged superiority of the Italian civilisation through the very instrument of the regulatory plan – an instrument of order, discipline, clarity and modern efficiency, whether deliberately juxtaposed to or forcefully replacing (through demolition of old quarters) the preexisting, overwhelmingly unplanned, settlements across Ethiopia. It was the discipline of the plan itself, imposed on the terrain no matter what its actual topography, rather than any particular form thereof, that became the ultimate marker of Roman and Italian/Fascist *civiltà.* Alongside elements of the orthogonal grid and quadrants, a wide range of other sources were referenced by the various planners who worked in the AOI during the short period of Italian occupation: for example, garden-city ideals, radial patterns, strict zoning rules that were more akin

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[58]   Antonsich, 'Signs of power'.
[59]   'Rapporto degli architetti Del Debbio-Ponti-Vaccaro sulla costruzione di Addis Ababa', 7 December 1936, in ACS-MAI, b. 104.
[60]   Canali, 'Addis Ababa "italiana"', 94.
[61]   Fuller, '"Wherever you go, there you are"'.

to the planning norms sponsored by CIAM and 'corporatist' planning models.[62] The regime saw no problem in heralding its urban (re-)planning schemes for the AOI as the highest form of tribute to *romanità and* opting for architectural solutions that referenced garden-city ideas in the plans for the (re-)development of the imperial Addis Ababa.[63]

The case of Asmara, the capital of Italian Eritrea, was very different. When the Fascist regime embarked on the redesign of the settlement that had grown at an unprecedented rate from *c.* 18,000 in the early 1930s to nearly 100,000 inhabitants by 1939, it was working on a layer of modern urban planning devised by the Italian colonial authorities themselves since the 1910s. In fact, it could be argued that Asmara was the first Italian 'new city' *avant la lettre* – a laboratory of a new colonial planning consciousness and a template that actually influenced subsequent plans for the metropolitan new cities of Fascism. When it became the capital of Italian Eritrea in 1900, the colonial authorities decided to transform what was effectively a loose unification of four villages into a modern 'European' administrative centre. The special status of Eritrea as the first modern Italian colony (*colonia primigenia*) gave it a unique quality as a space of design experimentation *par excellence*, a faraway outlet of Rome that was at the same time distant and invisible enough to evade metropolitan or, later, official Italian colonial norms. Therefore it is not surprising that, when Asmara's expansion was planned in 1938, the city ended up being unique in other ways. The new regulatory plan by Vittorio Cafiero could be more accurately described as one of urban *expansion*, not cosmogonic foundation as was assumed to be the case in Addis Ababa or other settlements in Ethiopia.[64] While Asmara may have been akin to an urban *tabula rasa* in the nineteenth century, it was treated by Italian planners as already metropolitan and 'Italian' in the 1930s.[65] When the Italian colonial authorities in Eritrea began the consultations regarding a new regulatory plan for Asmara, they were largely responding to a *fait accompli* of ongoing urbanisation carried out by a significant influx of Italians that began suddenly in 1935 and proceeded at a dizzying pace through the rest of the 1930s.[66] By that stage, Italians represented more than half of the city's population – a significant increase of more than 40,000 in the course of only a few years. While the Ethiopian capital was framed as a canonical statement of a Fascist colonial metropolis *ex nihilo*, Asmara was already regarded and framed as an 'Italian' and 'modern' city. It also lacked the 'Mediterranean' connotations of the Libyan and Aegean colonial contexts; there was no historic 'Roman' lineage to retrace, revive or translate in Eritrea, no diachronic negotiation of *romanità* with local vernacular styles to deal with. Cafiero's 1938/1939 plan made no attempt to disguise the priority given to the development of Asmara as *modernissima*, serving the interests

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[62] Perotti, 'An imperial colonial city in Africa'.
[63] Dainese, 'Le Corbusier's proposal for the capital of Ethiopia', 502–516.
[64] Denison, 'Capital visions', 115–134.
[65] Denison et al., 'Asmara: Africa's Modernist City', 26–32.
[66] Amara, *Un progetto urbano per Asmara*.

of industry while being respectful of its topographical specificity. The profusion of modernist and futurist individual buildings in the late 1930s ran counter to the official colonial architectural norms, such as they were, produced for the 'new' Addis Ababa and other redesigned cities across the AOI. And yet the new Asmara ended up as Mussolini's proverbial 'little Rome' (*piccola Roma*), sold as a project steeped in the heroic halo of *romanità*.[67]

The Fascist colonial city: The asymmetry between connoting and denoting *romanità*

At the inauguration of the third new town of the pentapolis, Pontinia, in the midst of the Ethiopian campaign and of the League of Nations sanctions against Italy, Mussolini described the aggressive military venture in Africa as a 'war of civilisation and liberation'.[68] This was an analogy that mapped conveniently onto the overriding ethical discourse of the *bonifica integrale* and in particular the foundation of new towns. An inscription on Pontinia's Palazzo Comunale made the connection explicit:

> On the 18th of December the year XIV [1935], 31st day of the [international] economic siege, Pontinia III, a city founded in the redeemed countryside begins its life by consecrating the victory of Fascist Italy over the deadly swamp, *while the legions of Rome supported by the indomitable will of the Italian people are conquering on behalf of the fatherland a new province in the African continent with the sword, the plough, and the pickaxe*.[69]

Two months later, the prominent modernist architectural journal *Domus* (edited by Gio Ponti) published an editorial with the title 'Civilisation' (*Civiltà*). The article featured a stinging subtitle borrowed from Virgil – 'sic nos non nobis' ('thus we but not [just] for ourselves [have worked]'). The gist of the article was that classical Roman architecture and urban planning were at the very essence of what was best about universal civilisation, from the design of individual buildings to the organisation of the human settlements, large or small, past and present. While, however, this heritage was timeless, the authors stressed that Italy had always been and remained the cultural and geographic cradle of this tradition. This kind of reassertion of creative ownership of a diachronic and universal *civiltà romana* by contemporary – and Fascist – Italy was a response to what the authors of the editorial considered as the grotesque ingratitude shown by all those who had appropriated, and benefitted from, Roman heritage without acknowledging its presumed cultural source. What was particularly distressing to the authors was that it was the perceived primary cultural beneficiaries of *romanità* who were now accusing Italy itself of 'barbarism':

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[67] 'Piano regolatore di Asmara—Relazione Cafiero', ACS-MAI, 106; Anderson, *Modern Architecture and its Representation in Colonial Eritrea*, 100–135.

[68] Mussolini, *OO*, vol. XXVIII, 202–203.

[69] Ciammaruconi, 'Tra estetica del potere ed esigenze identitarie', 27; emphasis added.

[w]e must turn our spirit to the urban layouts outlined on orthogonal, concentric, radial schemes that the Romans marked in the conquered lands beyond the Alps and beyond the Channel: this is the origin of the contemporary city setting that arises or grows. While the casual street patterns of the French or Germanic villages have bequeathed the disastrous heritage of the old cities in need of demolition, the military city of [ancient] Rome is alive and will remain alive for ever in the planimetry of urban settlements created by all the people.

The article was illustrated with a full-page photomontage that juxtaposed the supposed continuity of the Roman-Italian *civiltà* (indicated by the date range stretching from the mythical foundation of Rome all the way to 1935; and by the deliberate parallelism between emperor Augustus and Mussolini) to the primitiveness of 'barbarians' – both past and present-day (Fig. 19.4).

Figure 19.4. Illustration of the Domus *editorial.* Domus, *98, 2 (1936): 3.*

The visual juxtaposition worked on another level too: a series of orthogonal architectural plans with clear contours and functional dividing lines – superimposed on the natural environment – were contrasted to the ostensibly primitive, organic design of the settlements and crudeness of everyday life in Africa. The disturbing claims to universal cultural primacy and racial superiority aside, the editorial started and ended with reference to Virgil's dictum:

> In this harsh period of our history, in which the coalition of people that Rome redeemed from primitiveness intends to humiliate the Roman civiltà in front of the last barbarians, all the greatness of our history is urgently needed to our hearts and our brains to make us resist with pride the insult of *those who still owe us so much*.[70]

This was a clear, defiant message with multiple recipients – not only among those supporting the international sanctions against the Fascist regime but also in (National Socialist) Germany and in fact across the world. In essence, the Fascist regime's ideological investment in Roman symbolism stemmed from a conscious intent to

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[70]   Levi-Montalcini *et al.*, 'Civiltà', 2; emphasis added.

re-appropriate it as both heritage and optimal authentic translation in modern times. The motto 'sic nos non nobis' distilled the overarching Fascist claim that Fascist Italy was the privileged, exclusive custodian of the ancient Roman spirit and heritage – and thus uniquely capable of understanding, expressing, translating and representing its essence.

More than any other ideological and discursive scheme of the Fascist period, it was *romanità*, the expansive and pliant and polyvalent Fascist myth of universal Roman heritage, that functioned as the all-important glue, conferring narrative coherence and overarching historic meaning to Fascism's multitude of high-profile projects in the 1920s and especially 1930s. Much more than mere propaganda or regression to a mythical past, Fascist *romanità* became the ideological fulcrum of, and symbolic template for, pretty much every high-profile Fascist political project, whether restorative or futural: *bonifica*, corporatism, urban regeneration, imperialism and territorial expansion, cultural production, governance and charismatic leadership, economic and demographic policy and so on. So elastic, expansive and polysemic was the cosmos of Fascist *romanità* that its motley crowd of self-proclaimed champions could speak in its name while using very different symbols or icons – or indeed invoking the same icons to articulate very different interpretations about its meaning and optimal projections in the present. The result was not a mere revival of *romanità* as a museum gallery of declarative cues but its continual and active reinterpretation as an overarching spiritual, symbolic connotative framework – abstracted and infused with a plethora of other elements, indulged as historical fantasy and creatively updated as a modern and universal force. The all-important stable core of this otherwise protean discourse was its overarching association with an ethically superior, timeless and universal *civiltà*. Nearly any visual translation that could credibly reference and reinforce this primary association was considered permissible in the context of Fascist 'hegemonic pluralism' – allowed to compete for official regime sanction. There was no single denotative gesture that mattered anywhere near as much.

In the field of Fascist-era urban planning and architecture, the asymmetry between connoting and denoting the allegedly Roman derivation of contemporary projects manifested itself as a fascinating disjunction – between an increasingly pervasive, discursively articulated genuflection to the spirit of *romanità*, on the one hand, and its 'flexible' or even inconsistent translation into tangible urban and architectural form, on the other.[71] The 'Fascist' city, or rather its wishful projection, *was* Roman even without a strict adherence to specific denotative trappings such as the grid plan, the classical colonnades or the arched porticos. It *was* Roman because it was proposed as creative, resourceful, resilient, civilising, enterprising, productive, ordered, functional, modern, technocratic, monumental, anti-rhetorical – depending on who was speaking. This was how the myth of Rome could still be inherent in all sorts of futurist, modernist, historicist and traditionalist fantasies articulated during

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[71] Stone, 'A flexible Rome'.

the Fascist *ventennio*. Conceiving Fascist *romanità* as the deliberate terrain of ideological negotiation and synthesis between wholesale revival and renovation ascribes to the scheme of *Roma rediviva* a critical 'total' ideological function under Fascism, irreducible to any singular or fixed formal denotation.

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