Political Landscapes of Capital Cities

Figure 0.1. *Example of urban beautification mural project, southern Tehran, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

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EDITED BY
Jessica Joyce Christie,
Jelena Bogdanović,
AND Eulogio Guzmán

Image credits. Front cover, clockwise from top: urban beautification mural project, southern Tehran, Iran, photograph by Talinn Grigor; "Siege of Constantinople," fresco, Moldovița, Romania, 1532, photograph by Elena Boeck; Folio 2r, *Codex Mendoza* (ca. 1540s), ink and wash on paper, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arch Selden A.1, fol. 2r.; Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch, Ayutthaya, Thailand, photograph by Melody Rod-ari. Back cover: panoramic view of Matera, Italy, photograph by Anne Parmly Toxey.

Contents

Political Landscapes of Capital Cities investigates the processes of manipulation of the natural landscape and its transformation into culturally constructed and ideologically defined political landscapes, as a result of the urban design of capital cities, understood as principal seats of governmental authority. In this sense, capitals turn into political landscapes that, in Adam T. Smith's (*The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities*, 2003) definition of the term, encompass the material elements of buildings and infrastructure, the cultural constructs of their urban functions, and their spatial transformations. Political landscapes are accessible by means of experience, perception, and imagination, generating multivalent relations among space, time, and human agents. They can be experienced through bodily movement, which ferments perceptions that depend upon the social status and the cultural perspective of the agent. Perceptions set up time- and culture-specific relations between subject and object: the agent and the natural and human-made landscapes. Political landscapes of capital cities also mirror power structures that exist between polity agents who designed capitals, or those who lived within them, or those who were otherwise associated with them. Such structures of authority further direct the aesthetic representation of the capital, which provokes calculated responses in the imagination of the subjects. In this context, imagination serves ideology, especially when examined from the viewpoint of those in power.

This collection of essays takes a global approach in terms of chronology, geography, and scholarship to amplify the intimate associations that exist between the natural landscape, human-made environments, and the sociopolitical needs of governmental authority. The multiple but occasionally strongly converging paths of inquiry we offer provide further ways to conceive how processes of urbanization, monumentalization, ritualization, naturalization, or unification affected capitals differently worldwide without losing grasp of their distinctive architectural and spatial features. These essays articulate the many complex political and ideological agendas of a diverse set of sovereign entities that planned, constructed, displayed and performed their societal ideals in the spaces of their capitals, ultimately confirming Smith's claim that "the creation and preservation of political authority is a profoundly spatial problem."

Jessica Joyce Christie, Jelena Bogdanović, and Eulogio Guzmán

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The present volume builds upon the core of Adam T. Smith's work, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities*, which was based on Henri Lefebvre's original thesis that the production of space is a social construct.[1] This collection of essays articulates the ways political terrains were created, manipulated, and contested for a variety of capitals across time, including Amarna, Ayutthaya, Bangkok, Belgrade, Constantinople, Cusco, Kiev, Matera, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Moscow, Novgorod, Pliska, Preslav, Ras, Rome, Smederevo, Thonburi, Tiwanaku, Tehran, Veliko Tŭrnovo, and Vladimir. Smith gives politics and their manifestation in space greater theoretical traction by focusing on ancient polities with occasional insights into modern and global societies. The pluralism of capitals discussed here—some remain well-known capital cities, others are reduced to archaeological vestiges, and a few exist only in textual references—was chosen to allow a broader empirical discussion of the topic. The authors examine selected capitals as wide-ranging political terrain or, to adopt Smith's terminology, *political landscape*, which encompasses urban settings as well as human-modified natural environments. Smith emphasizes that political landscapes promote individual mental perceptions through people's physical experience. This terrain can be further rendered in public performances or modern media to channel imagination of an intended audience.

The Spatial Turn and Political Landscapes of Capital Cities

Eulogio Guzmán,
Jessica Joyce Christie, and
Jelena Bogdanović

Specifically, Smith focuses on selected examples from Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica to demonstrate how political landscapes can be socially constructed: they can be both memorialized and reinvented resulting in a network of relations layered in time, which he identifies by the term *geopolitics*. The broad geographical and chronological perspectives presented here aim to develop a more comprehensive view of the different and similar ways people use space in capitals and related territories to articulate the disparate and in some cases overlapping political aspirations and values of not only its citizens but occasionally outlanders as well.

THEORIES OF SPACE: ADDRESSING POLITICAL TERRITORIES, THE SPATIAL TURN

In his *Political Landscape*, Smith points out that very few studies in anthropology and archaeology explore the spatial arena of politics for early complex societies.[2] More traditional studies in his field, he states, center on defining social evolutionary models for early societies. Examinations of the political depths of space do exist in the field of anthropology, yet the focus of much of this work centers on modern and contemporary periods, making Smith's examination of political landscapes for early societies innovative. Smith's work follows several threads of the so-called spatial turn that developed between the 1970s and the 1990s as a paradigm shift in the humanities, which reintroduced the studies of space and spatiality as cultural dimensions.[3] The respective disciplines of art and architectural history represented in these essays were certainly influenced by this academic trend, for Western but especially among studies of non-Western cultures.[4] The spatial turn was instigated by a number of scholars who examine space beyond its strictly positivistic framework by combining various approaches within a number of disciplines.

Academic examinations that took into account the sociopolitical factors in spatial theories took off when the French Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre introduced the concept of "the right to the city" in 1968 and crystallized it with his book *The Production of Space*, first published in 1974.[5] In this seminal work that studied space as created, codified, and used through social, political, and everyday processes, Lefebvre succeeded in defining space as a social product; in this and later work he downplayed the importance given to the visual in favor of a more social, holistic approach that incorporated a complete sensory experience. Simultaneously, geographer and philosopher Yi-Fu Tuan pioneered the field of humanist geography, which focused on human interactions and exchanges with and within space, including its physical and social

dimensions, by merging geography with philosophy, art, psychology, and religion.[6] Tuan's contributions marked the beginning of substantial involvement by geographers in defining the social and phenomenological territory in spatial terms. Social theorist David Harvey further developed Lefebvre's right to the city by reintroducing discussions about space within his Marxist critique of global capitalism, which, according to him, annihilates space.[7]

Lefebvre approached Tuan's understanding of space as real (physical) and perceived, but he also introduced the third concept of the lived (experienced) space that coexists with real and perceived areas and can be understood through the actions of those who use and inhabit such locales. Cultural theorist and political geographer Edward Soja picked up these threads to reassert space within scholarly discourse and developed the notion of the "third space,"[8] which is simultaneously both real and imagined. Soja further enriched the discussions about physical, perceptual, and experienced dimensions of space by combining his ideas of third space with Michel Foucault's poststructuralist thoughts about "other places" (heterotopias)[9] and with spatial metaphors deriving from postcolonial scholarship advanced by intellectuals such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Edward Said, and Homi K. Bhabha.[10] Smith embraces this postmodernist conceptual legacy; his methods are innovative because they also consider the subjective experience as well as the transcendental qualities of space. In his work, Smith unifies actual with imagined space, taking into account both real and imagined areas as the concrete and virtual locus of structured individual and collective experience.

Smith's major contribution is the reintroduction of a critical analysis of space in anthropological studies of early complex societies.[11] To that end, he carefully chooses the spatial terms that are critical for such analysis. Smith adopts Yi-Fu Tuan's familiar but entangled terms *place*, *space*, and *landscape*.[12] Landscape emerges as a synthesis of spatiality and temporality in the "production of ties that bind together spaces (as forms delimiting physical experience), places (as geographic or built aesthetics that attach meaning to locations), and representations (as imagined cartographies of possible worlds)."[13] Smith's terminology for landscape is related to its use for contemporary capital societies, where studies more commonly emphasize that space is political.[14] For Smith, space materializes "in relations between objects, an ontological revision that demands an account of landscapes as social artifacts that are produced and reproduced through varying dimensions of spatial practice."[15]

Within such significantly expanded horizons of spatial categories and sociocultural transformations of natural land, landscape becomes political as it includes notions of authority, power, perception, symbolism, and social

imagination of historically, economically, and geographically created spaces. As Smith recognizes in his work, in the field of art history the topic of the political landscape has likewise been explored.[16] In 1995, Martin Warnke published a brief study with the same title followed by the subtitle, *The Art History of Nature*.[17] Warnke's research informs that the phrase *political landscape* was first recorded in a report about an exhibition of the *Kunstverein* used to describe a painting by Bernhard Stange.[18] This straightforward and under-theorized study of numerous examples focuses on physical features that make a landscape political, such as boundary markers, monuments, roads, bridges, canals, castles, parks, and gardens. Warnke does not rigorously separate nature and landscape. Although embracing modernist thought that nature in a pure and unspoiled form does not exist, he also adheres to the Western European romantic notion of nature as a universal entity occupying absolute space, which has only been poisoned and devastated by mankind.[19] The layered dynamics of life experiences contradict the static image of Warnke's political landscape as it reduces understandings of cultural forces and processes, which are entrapped into universalist notions. Therefore, Smith's model of political landscapes is crucially different, as it aims to illuminate the temporal layers and spatial relations of the complex dynamics of human actions.

Smith's work on *Political Landscape* shows that he embraces the spatial turn instigated by spatial theorists. By highlighting that politics as social action always happens in space in order to exist, he argues for the spatiality of politics and civil authority through critical examination of political landscapes in their plural spatial-temporal meanings: from the natural environment "transformed by human activities or perceptions" to the "totality of the external world as mediated through subjective human experience."[20] He examines political landscapes both theoretically and empirically by focusing on early complex polities by drawing multiple references from the Classic Maya, Urartian, and Mesopotamian cultures. Throughout his work Smith examines the constellations of political landscapes on various scales, balancing between wider theory and details from material evidence, by employing consistently three major analytical categories: experience, perception, and imagination. Smith defines the experiential category of the political landscape as "an experience of form that shapes how we move through created environments"; perception as "a sensibility evoking responses in subjects through perceptual dimensions of physical space"; and imagination as "an imaginative aesthetic guiding representation of the world at hand."[21]

Smith's work is of special interest for both theoretical and empirical studies of space. His work is a reminder of how empirical studies that engage space,

both in the landscape and human-made environments, can provide a critical understanding of diachronic issues of significance in historical and contemporary worlds. Spatial categories are always important and always idiosyncratic.[22] Thus, Smith opposes approaches commonly used in archaeological, historical, and regional studies that are based on universal, evolutionary, deterministic notions that aim to generalize over studies of particular cultures and privilege time over space. Smith's prospatial approach is significant, for it allows for an examination of specific coherent spatial units.

Because positivistic empirical examination of multifaceted evidence often yields contradictory and inconclusive results, Smith encourages the use of hybrid methodological approaches that go beyond stark conflicts between positivism and interpretivism, essentially based on historicism and subjective studies that include various communicative and phenomenological threads of thought.[23] However, Smith also provides a strong critique of all these approaches when individually applied and is particularly critical of evolutionary and historicist theories that minimize the importance of space.

Smith is primarily concerned with the rise of authority in early complex and primary polities and thus his spatial discourse begins with noting prevailing philosophies of social evolutionism and their avoidance of space as a category of critical discourse.[24] Smith's work is foremost a solid critique of teleological social evolutionism and its treatment of space as an absolute and universal element. In general terms, social evolutionism is understood as the study of human cultural development in terms of categories of increasing complexity. Although social evolutionary theorists have argued that in different parts of the world social evolution may proceed slower or faster, they claim its direction and mechanisms can be universally applied.[25] Some social evolutionists further stipulate that the material dimensions of life primarily condition social transformation, which include economies that can shape belief structures and other cultural expressions.[26] Smith's overriding critique argues that social evolutionism focuses on projected temporal stages in human history and thus undertheorizes the factor of space because, for social evolutionism, space is kept as a constant or an absolute. Moreover, evolutionist theories, much like structuralist positions commonly advocated by some social anthropologists, have trouble accounting for individual contributions. Smith debates various mechanical and organic accounts of absolute space and then summarizes his critique in three major points.[27]

First, space does not exist as an independent object of research. Second, if space were held absolute, then it becomes inaccessible to empirical research. Absolute spaces may be described and inventoried, but no rigorous

understanding of their social lives can be obtained. Third, the absolutist position only examines physical spatial form, leaving out vital dimensions of imagination, place, and memory and how they condition space. Smith critiques location theories, advanced in the 1950s by geographers such as August Lösch and Walter Isard, that generalized spatial, geometric patterns into a geometry of human behavior in space factored with market rationality and efficiency not only as tools for understanding human settlements but also as methods for urban and regional planning.[28] By extension, the physical size of locales was used to measure their hierarchical level, based on a preconceived assumption that primary sites are the largest in area and demographics.[29]

Smith is particularly critical of romantic subjectivism and neo-subjectivism. Romantic subjectivism blossomed in the nineteenth century when early explorers set out to investigate ancient cultures in Egypt and the Near East in order to prove historical accuracy of accounts in the Bible. Smith's primary objections are that romantic subjectivism draws an uncritical and asocial link between people and places, establishing a direct and naïve relationship between a locale and a normative set of beliefs and values, and that it overly aestheticizes form.[30]

Within neo-subjectivism of the twentieth century, communicative and phenomenological strands prevailed. Communicative traditions view space as an active agent that not only passively expresses certain aesthetics but also communicates information about the social world that produced it. From this perspective, people construct spaces that, in turn, shape human behavior. Phenomenological traditions approach built forms as representations of total lived sensory experience.[31] In broad terms, spatial forms stimulate perception resonating with cultural values that project into imagination. Smith's critique of subjective space is twofold. First, neo-subjectivism inadequately considers how spaces accrue meaning and thus conveys a static sense of social process. Second, subjectivist approaches turn space into a reflective personalized category and do not weigh in social practices, making such studies increasingly apolitical.[32]

Instead, as an alternative to the absolute and subjective treatment of space, Smith argues for a relational ontology of human landscape.[33] In his model, the focus of spatial analysis shifts from an attempt to define the essential nature of space to an investigation of the human practices that shape and alter particular social formations. Smith advocates Lefebvre's thesis that space is inherently a social product and that it has to be analyzed through social production. He proposes to investigate landscapes according to three linked dimensions: (1) spatial experience dealing with transport, communication,

land use, administrative and economic divisions in physical space, and other social practices that leave marks on the natural settings; (2) spatial perception addressing the sensual interaction between actors and physical spaces through various sign categories; and (3) spatial imagination, which analyzes pictorial representations, spatial theory, and philosophy.[34]

Smith's relational approach to the study of landscapes is not entirely new in itself. In Maya studies, for example, the complex interactions of Maya polities have widely been explored as geopolitical relations.[35] Yet, Smith cogently leads from a relational account of space to a relational account of politics as the two bases of his model for political landscapes.

LOCALES OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY: CAPITAL (CITY)

In his relational analysis of political landscapes, Smith highlights the role of urban environments, and specifically the role of the city, as a locale of political authority. He recognizes cities as places where elites are located and where their use of physical form instigates the creation and reproduction of constellations of authority, making them primary sites of sovereignty associated with the ruling elite and governmental systems.[36] Indeed, anthropological studies of social evolution are mostly interested in primary states (the first states to develop in the region) in contrast to secondary states (that are considered to reflect influences from primary states rather than active processes of exchanges between primary and secondary states). Smith favors a definition of the complex polity as a political form based on preindustrial modes of production. Such political forms are characterized by pronounced social stratification that is maintained through centralized government institutions that control economic resources by constant threats of legitimate force. He understands the historical formation of the modern state concept in Europe and the United States as a series of shifts and renegotiations in the theoretical construction of government as a personalized or active agentive entity versus a general and universal institution.[37]

The challenges in archaeology and various disciplines that deal with architecture and planning are how to apply contemporary state definitions to materials and physical remains documented in ancient societies. Smith argues that the concept of the state is a useless tool for political analyses of early complex polities for four debatable reasons: (1) its vague definition; (2) archaeologists project current politics and practices of the state back in history by attempting to explain the "archaic" or "primary" state; (3) the concept of the contemporary state is no longer a helpful, critical reflection of contemporary political praxis,

nor can the study of early complex polities as archaic states be geared toward understanding the present; and (4) concepts of the state dissociate it from specific places.[38]

In this volume, the capital city *is* the critical place where we demonstrate how physical spaces and political power structures dynamically negotiate authority in a relational network; the setting where these competitive relationships are constructed or intersected is the political terrain that centers in the capital city. Smith criticizes the conceptual singularity of the city founded on spatial absolutism and on strict Marxist political-economic accounts that "exhaust the analysis of civil authority and governance."[39] He objects to the study of the city as an object and locale but does suggest a pluralization of Lewis Mumford's definition of the city as "a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity."[40] Although there is no simple, singular definition of the city or capital, the authors in this volume use the English word *city*, which condenses multiple physical and sociocultural aspects of polity located in a settlement while at the same time pushing the boundaries of any single term, including the term *city* itself.[41] We start with the understanding that *capital* is a city serving as the seat of government for a country, province, state, county, or other administrative area.[42] In a more general sense, a capital city is the principal locale of its kind (in a region, group, etc.), of the highest importance because it is where political authority is constantly renegotiated and reestablished; hence our focus on the spatial definition and existence of capital cities.[43]

Although we can see how the state as an ideological tool can be used in social evolution to mask modern political and economic practices, there is no compelling need for analysis of ancient governments to have direct links with present political practices besides the inert bias of any researcher for her/his own culture. Therefore, adopting a broad scope of investigations, we invest both terms, *state* and *polity*, with the same meaning, as an organized and socially stratified political community with specific forms of government, and we link them with the capital as the primary place where political authority is concentrated. For this reason, our definition of the state-polity as a political entity remains flexible. We come together by the need to articulate the complexities of politics in space across cultures, not by the need to uphold any single terminology.

More importantly we are interested in reconnecting authority with place and space, and fully embrace the relational approach, which Smith stipulates for an understanding of politics. Smith outlines geopolitical relationships,

dealings between regimes and subjects, ties among power elites and grass-roots social groups, and associations among governmental institutions, all of which shape the political apparatus holding the legitimate power to inter-cede in asymmetrical relationships as the ultimate authority. Quite appropri-ately, Smith differentiates power from authority on the basis that the latter includes a publicly recognized legitimacy to dispense power.[44] Thus, *authority* is the more productive term for examining the gamut of political relations. Authority has a spatial dimension as well; it links the various actors in its geopolitical network as well as a temporal one in the sense that it has to be reproduced and revalidated, and it most often is located to a specific place.[45] Some regimes attach a geographic or cosmologic universality to their author-ity that can never be realized in practical material terms, making it possible for their political territory to be constantly filled-in and sometimes remapped. As the built environment of any political landscape ages, it can become irrec-oncilable with the ideology of many past policies; in such cases, authority has to be periodically renewed. Environmental catastrophes as much as social transformations can likewise alter political landscapes, requiring the redef-inition and renewal of authority. Agents of authority dispersed over space and natural landscapes can likewise express a plurality of sovereign relations that can themselves be socially unstable and shifting, reacting in essence to changing political climate.[46] Ultimately, Smith's model successfully dissects the intertwined relationships generated by the production and reproduction of authority both in space and over time; this was the inspiration and jumping off point for our project.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS VOLUME: WAYS OF UNDERSTANDING THE SPATIAL DEPTHS OF CAPITALS

Because "no one locale presents useful cogent evidence for all dimensions of the political landscape,"[47] and given that there is no single way to exert authority, the selected capitals analyzed here reflect the scholarly interests of the authors in exploring the ways capitals defined political terrain without succumbing to reductionist tendencies based on tightly defined chronological, geographical, or restrictive research agendas. The aim of this project, therefore, is twofold: (1) to present case studies from a variety of divergent cultures that explore the ways politics took spatial form across time and space; and (2) to probe empirically how the production of space is a common tactical process in politics employed by those wishing to govern more effectively, which tests the foundational components of Smith's theoretical approach toward political

landscapes. Smith closely delineates his framework of research by focusing on early complex polities with relatively abundant archaeological and textual references. Here, we have chosen to delineate the framework of this volume by studying capitals as primary locales of authority in relation to set reference points (social constellations) in space where intersecting political practices within their polity (the largest politically organized social unit) take place. Our volume presents a challenge to Smith's framework because, in contrast to Smith, who examines early societies with writing systems and whose approach relies heavily on both textual and archaeological evidence, here we pursue a broader scope, discussing diachronic capitals in different parts of the world. Simply put, this book directly addresses what the subscribed authors trained in different methodologies deem is a need in their respective disciplines: to advance an understanding about the various ways political authority and legitimacy can be established, maintained, and challenged through the use of space within capitals and in their wider political territories.

In chapter 1, Jessica Joyce Christie reconstructs how the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten (ruled ca. 1353–1339 BCE) in the New Kingdom envisioned and materialized a new capital city, el-Amarna, on ground that had not been occupied before. Akhenaten began his reign in the Egyptian city of Thebes, where he demoted the traditional Theban triad of gods and replaced them with the Sun God, Aten. Christie highlights the bond between Aten, who became the single primary god of Egypt, and Akhenaten, who acted as his sole human steward and conduit. This bond between the sole ruler and unique god was materialized in el-Amarna, the city that Akhenaten founded. Primary data about Akhenaten and his capital come from archaeological surveys and excavations, the iconography of documented sculptures and tomb paintings, as well as deciphered hieroglyphic texts on the boundary stelae and writing on the Amarna letters. Christie pieces these information sources together to reflect upon relations between the pharaoh and his god and between the pharaoh and his subjects as those relations were ritually performed in the city of el-Amarna and its surrounded natural landscape; the spatial experience of such performances was designed to accentuate a divine relation.

Akhenaten defined his capital's territorial boundaries by formalized acts of visitation to specific places in the surrounding cliffs, marked by stelae. Christie traces the mapping of the political landscape of Amarna by analyzing the performance context of the boundary stelae, some of which contain long inscriptions that explain Akhenaten's visions of el-Amarna. These boundary carvings also commemorate ceremonial offerings to the Aten. The partial build-out of el-Amarna proceeded close to the Nile River bed along the Royal

Road running north to south and linking multiple palaces, two Aten temples, numerous administrative buildings, and residential sectors. These critical sections of the new capital were further interconnected by official ritual acts linking the ruler Akhenaten to the city and the state patron, Aten. Therefore, the official rituals recorded at the boundary stelae were replicated in multiple urban settings to construct a network of empowered relations between Akhenaten and the Aten, his subjects, foreigners, as well as with the natural landscape of el-Amarna.

Chapter 2 by Gregor Kalas takes the discussion to ancient Rome of the Tetrarchy established in the late third century, whereby the vast territory of the Roman Empire was divided in two sections—eastern and western—under the joint rulership of two senior and two junior emperors to mirror the partition of the Roman world. By using archaeological sources, surviving monuments, Roman texts, and historical documents, Kalas reconstructs the historical slice of Rome set at approximately 300 CE and demonstrates how authorities used spatial renewal to control perceptions of time as a result of territorial control and urban interventions. The types of political relations he investigates are both temporal and spatial, linking the center, Rome, with its past, its future, and its imperial growth. Rituals, monuments, and iconography were very important in cementing the authority and permanence of the Tetrarchy. Kalas also highlights how generic spatial claims to the four world divisions were inserted into the ritual and public space of the capital. Even though the territory and government of the empire were de facto divided, the Tetrarchs' public message was that domains of political authority of the empire operated as one. This vital view drove the performance of rituals and guided the styles of visual culture. The starting point of imperial strategy was to establish a parallel between earthly governance and heavenly order, which was most directly expressed by divine bonds between the two senior emperors and the Roman gods.

Kalas mines additional layers of political authority and its institutions by analyzing imperial panegyric texts and architecture of the two rostra on the Roman Forum. A panegyric oration delivered in 297 CE linked the four emperors with the four sectors of the world, the four seasons, and the four essential elements, which added a new emphasis on the natural order of time cycles and earthly governance with the seasons, suggesting renewal in perpetuity. Such ideological claims were publicly performed in the central area of the Roman Forum, where Diocletian and Maximian remodeled the Augustan rostrum at the west end and added a second rostrum in the east. Even though the two rostra survive in fragmentary form, Kalas offers well-grounded interpretations

of how the four emperors mapped out the geopolitical landscape based upon iconography and spatial context of Rome constructed as a universal cosmogram. Moreover, he shows how around 300 CE urban repairs in Rome, despite its rich preexisting strata, radically transformed political experiences.

In chapter 3, Jelena Bogdanović outlines the transformation of Constantinople consecrated in 330 CE by Emperor Constantine I as capital of the eastern section of the Roman Empire into the geo-religious landscape of the Christian, Byzantine capital. By examining archaeological evidence, historical documents in written and figurative forms, and surviving built structures, Bogdanović reconstructs Constantinopolitan spatial syntax enriched by its performative aspects. In her chapter, she examines the ways authority is linked to architecture and urban and regional planning.

The Constantinopolitan palace (also known as the "Sacred Palace," thus underscoring its inseparable political and religious notions) was both the primary residence of Byzantine emperors and the political and administrative center of the Empire par excellence. Moreover, during its millennium-long history, Constantinople housed several imperial palaces, all today known from fragmentary textual and archaeological evidence, that merit special studies on their diachronic lives within changing locations in the city and on their spatial relations to the cathedral of Hagia Sophia and other foundations. Instead, Bogdanović focuses on places of intersections of public performance and display of political authority. She examines geopolitical relationships between the initial model of Rome, which was renewed and renegotiated in Constantinople as a new spiritual and political center of the Roman-Byzantine Empire.

By framing the geopolitics of Constantinople via imagination, perception, and experience, Bogdanović investigates spatial imagery that expands the city to the image of a Byzantine Empire beyond its historical boundaries and transforms an explicitly political landscape of the impregnably fortified capital into a transcendent spiritual one, protected by the Mother of God and promoted by the regime.[48] A subsequent thread of investigation is on the temporal and spatial depths of such a transformed geopolitical landscape of Constantinople when emulated and ceremonially "authenticated" at alternative sites of authority; that is, in capitals of the emerging states in the Balkans and eastern Europe that embraced the Byzantine version of Christianity. The created constellations of political and divine authorities of Constantinople and of capitals of the neighboring states were closely interlinked with the political-religious ideology of a Christian state embodied in a ruler, generated in *The City*, and constantly renegotiated in the imagination of the educated by means of the performative aspects of the human-made and natural landscapes.

The stage setting of chapter 4 is the Chaopraya River in modern-day Thailand, which engendered three consecutive and competing capital cities between 1351 CE and the present. By examining archaeology and historical documents, Melody Rod-ari analyzes two sets of relations crucial for the production of political landscapes of capitals in ancient Siam. The first deals with the processes of copying early models charged with authority in social memory, and the second with the universal spatial claims of an empowered sacred icon. The first set of relationships focuses on specific places and the architectural landscapes of their institutions, whereas the second invokes absolute space linked to Buddhism. In particular, Rod-ari revives the histories of Ayutthaya (r. 1351–1767 CE) and Thonburi (r. 1768–1782 CE) and then zooms in on how King Rama I (r. 1782–1809 CE) constructed the spatial political milieu of his new capital, Bangkok, by emulating and erasing specific landscape planning and architectural features of the prior two capitals. Her analysis of the spatial syntax of Bangkok includes the canals that were dug around the preexisting settlement, turning it into a moat-encircled island in order to model it after Ayutthaya.

The construction of the Grand Palace complex of King Rama I as the major setting of political authority in new capital was done as a micro- and macrocosmic ideogram. The acreage of land that was set aside for the Bangkok palace was approximately the same as that occupied by the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya. Structurally Rama I's palace was divided into four cosmograms, used for different functions, following its Ayutthaya archetype. During the construction processes in Bangkok, symbolic and physical links between the two capitals came in the form of reused building materials, which revealed dynamics between the urban planning and the regime. Rod-ari's essay shows that King Rama I's claim of political authority over Bangkok was capitalized through the possession of a powerful sacred icon and palladium, the Emerald Buddha. Rama I had captured and reinstalled the Emerald Buddha in the northeastern sector of the palace complex as the physical and political capstone of the legitimacy of Bangkok, intimately linking the icon with political stability. Political authority was underwritten by active performance of the Buddhist faith and, when this weakened, the icon was transferred to a politically more successful and more loyal Buddhist ruler. Moreover, the Emerald Buddha was perceived as one of the jewels of the *Chakravartin*, or Universal World Ruler; its possession and installation within King Rama I's palace allowed him to claim himself Universal World Ruler, extending the geopolitical construction of his empire far beyond the boundaries of Bangkok, Thonburi, and Ayutthaya.

The next three chapters shift the scene to the ancient Americas. Alexei Vranich maps the sacred landscape of the Andean state capital of Tiwanaku, which prospered during the Middle Horizon Period from approximately 600 to 950 CE. Here, Vranich deals with the society that existed since 1600 BCE, as evident in the architectural record. His methodology is deeply grounded in phenomenology, as he addresses how architecture and the planning at Tiwanaku are related to the vision and perception of the polity as a holy entity. The monumental form of Tiwanaku can be understood as a sacred representation of the immutable world that was modified as the polity grew and reached its peak, during the Middle Horizon Period. Vranich examines this apparent paradox as Tiwanaku builders over time aligned their monumental constructions with astronomical bodies and salient mountain peaks, creating potent visual and spatial relations between landscape and architecture, which would be later adopted by the Inka.

The relationship between monuments and the mountainous landscape evaluated by Vranich reveals an impressive spatial dialogue where politics and religion become one; he points out that monumental markers were set to adapt the sacred narrative of creation and cycles of life to their central place in the sociopolitical landscape. A detailed case study of the early sunken court in the *Templete* can be understood as a central locus of authority through the claim to antiquity. Vranich focuses his discussion on how these structures lined up with the mountainous landscape and channeled the vision of people who lived in the city or visited it. Such experiences would have implanted the perception of a Tiwanaku version of the surrounding landscape orchestrated, channeled, and manipulated by the elite.

Chapter 6 stays in South America and leads to the Inka capital of Cusco, situated in the central Andean highlands and remodeled in the fifteenth century by the ninth ruler, Pachakuti. Jessica Joyce Christie highlights the relationships that oscillated between the capital center and the peripheral administrative settlements of a growing empire, which aimed to absorb the world. She lays out the challenges in reconstructing Inka Cusco because the primary source materials from archaeology and ethnography are often contradictory. This chapter presents the state-formation processes in the Cusco Basin and then reconstructs the Inka capital as it was described by Spanish writers and corroborated in part by archaeologists. The mythohistories about the emergence of the Inka dynastic ancestors from sacred rock outcrops, their migrations, and finally the founding of Cusco were shared by Quechua consultants in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and then filtered through colonial Spanish texts. Christie argues that indicative features of Inka

monumental architecture and urban design were replicated in many settlements throughout the Empire, including Chinchero, Huanuco, Machu Picchu, Pampa, Vilcabamba the Old, and Vilcashuaman. Cusco was linked to these outlying centers through a system of roads as well as through ritual and conceptual sight lines (*zeq'es*). Christie suggests that Inka geopolitical landscape was constructed by copying diagnostic features of architecture and urban design authored by Inka rulers in Cusco as the center and micro-model, and by diffusing this model on a growing macro-scale throughout the expanding empire by means of physical roads and conceptual lines. The ultimate ambitious and ever-expanded goal was to mark the world as "Inka." The physical features analyzed here are argued to have acted as the active vehicles of a layered network of center–periphery relations.

Chapter 7 focuses on the Mexica/Aztecs and the establishment of their capital city Mexico-Tenochtitlan in Central Mexico in the fourteenth century. Eulogio Guzmán particularly examines the visual tactics the Mexica employed in the densely occupied area of Lake Texcoco to gain control over contentious inhabitants by constructing their capital on an island in the middle of this lake. He discusses the founding event of Mexico-Tenochtitlan as depicted in imagery, which does not portray historical fact but the ideal view of an ordered world under Mexica rule. Guzmán argues that while construction of the capital was underway, Mexica leaders strategically kept busy networking and consolidating social relations with the numerous groups already established along the shores of Lake Texcoco. The end result was the creation of a shared governing structure, which reflected the political union of social groups in the terrain of the surrounding lakeshore.

The symbolic visual trappings adopted by the alliance members synchronized local natural features, supernatural forces, and government to the Mexica capital as manifested in the most potent structure in the land, the Templo Mayor, designed as a dual temple dedicated to two potent gods, Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. Guzmán argues that the numerous building phases of this structure expressed the agency of Mexica emperors; its physical growth paralleled social, geographic, and economic expansion. Through the constant re-creation of this edifice, the Mexica created an important visual that perpetually commemorated the incorporation of the social landscape in its construction. Mexica political territory was consecrated in all of the architecture and spatial components found at the capital (the Templo Mayor, the Ceremonial Center, and the numerous palaces of Mexico-Tenochtitlan), making it a place where alliances were socially negotiated and from which ideological claims were diachronically projected.

In chapter 8, Anne Toxey incorporates archival documents with her architectural analysis to consider the notion of a local capital and its larger independence within a modern nation. She explores the very unique case of the Capital of the Province of Matera in Southern Italy. Toxey shows that Matera's new status as a provincial capital allowed it to exert considerable political and cultural authority over its immediate surroundings and generate greater allegiance from provincial residents than did the actual capital of the modern-day country, Rome (and previous regional power Naples). Toxey examines how topography dictated urban planning and asserted social standing: an elevated and extended hilltop settlement known as the *Piano* housed the *Civita* or core of the historic city dug into the soft local stone of the hillsides. Immediately below it existed two continuously inhabited cave zones filled with constructed houses known as the *Sassi,* where mostly working peasants and some middle-class workers lived. This geographic model immediately suggests clear-cut hierarchies between a Piano elite lording above and looking down upon Sassi subalterns. A particular question Toxey raises is how the powerless perceive the space of the city and their lack of political authority. Toxey is able to investigate the specific sets of relationships (in large part due to testimonials collected in the last century), which oscillate within two levels: in the spatial realm, between the up, or *Piano*, and the area below, or the *Sassi*; and on the political level, between economic classes that function like power structures as opposed to institutionally defined authority. Toxey probes how the capital designation of Matera altered such relational networks.

Matera's continuous occupation dates to the Paleolithic and though little is known about its early social organization, Matera's social status grew in the seventeenth century as it was designated the area's capital. This new local designation drove the wealthy families who had been living in the cave sectors in luxurious houses to quickly relocate above. The result was a concentration of poorer people in the Sassi, which cemented the social stratification and segregation that constitute a major focus of Toxey's approach. In 1926, the Fascist regime once again changed the status of Matera, now to a provincial capital, and modernization efforts in the Sassi were now driven by the conviction that a capital city had to showcase a civilized lifestyle to the outside world. Toxey examines the improvements in infrastructure and public attention brought to the conditions in the Sassi during the twentieth century, leading to the eventual abandonment of these dwellings altogether by their impoverished residents. She completes her analysis by discussing the contemporary view of the Sassi as an engine for global tourism in the Matera region, where living in the "caves" has now become expensive, denoting a newly inverted status.

Chapter 9 focuses on the Italian capital, Rome, during the Fascist regime. Examining critical analyses of news coverage and photographs in major newspapers and journals in the 1920s and 1930s, Stephanie Pilat explores relations that are temporal and focused on urban interventions in the Imperial Fora and on increasingly violent acts of demolition, in order to highlight Mussolini's political ideology embodied in and through the political landscape of "new" Rome. She demonstrates how, in the process of reframing ideological statements, Mussolini's projects negotiated between "liberating" the ancient ruins of the glorified Roman Empire, on the one hand, and showcasing Fascist revolutionary will and power to modernize, on the other. Pilat's methodology is distinct in that she traces how the representations of these urban projects documented shifting emphasis on the processes of planning, demolishing, and rebuilding. When Mussolini took office, the site of the ancient Imperial Fora had been covered by a working-class neighborhood and an open cow pasture but the Fascist regime demolished this neighborhood and constructed the wide path of the Via dell'Impero diagonally across the orthogonally arranged *fora* and coopted news coverage and visual imagery to highlight the processes of demolition and work in progress to reflect Fascist ideology.

Pilat shows the Fascist regime did not only focus on the *fora*; she points out that the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore was envisioned as a stage set for the Mausoleum of Augustus, as restored to a ruin. Her comparison of the photographs made during the 1920s and 1930s, some dramatically illustrating Mussolini swinging a pickaxe, shows that the later imagery reflects an increase in violence of action as well as an expanded stage threatening to engulf the physical landscape of the entire capital. Pilat argues that the demolition and construction projects and their manipulated visual representations perform and showcase Fascist ideology of work, violence, and action underlined by claims to perpetuity.

In the final chapter (10), Talinn Grigor employs historical documents as well as the urban fabric and public architecture in order to outline the changing political landscape of Tehran, capital of Iran, through the processes of its three major transformations from the 1860s to the 1960s. Grigor traces temporal, social, and spatial relations to showcase how urban transformation mirrored sociopolitical revolutions to argue against subjective generalizations of the relationships between political organization and landscape aesthetics. In Tehran, as in other capitals analyzed in this volume, urban modification within and through the existing landscape were used as vehicles through which authority could be translated into official history to advance political ideals. In the 1860s, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar ordered the widening of city

boundaries and construction of a new set of city walls. A new form of social and economic segregation began to crystallize as the population composed of merchants, clerics, and the lower class held on to the old urban pockets in the south while the aristocracy and new public and foreign constructions moved to the north.

In the 1920s, Reza Shah Pahlavi declared himself king and initiated strategies on multiple fronts to transform Tehran into the secular capital of a modern nation state. This drive toward modernization began with the demolition of the Qajar fortification walls and continued with the leveling to the ground of approximately two-thirds of the royal core area of Tehran. Some demolition zones were left vacant and others were transformed into public squares, wide avenues, municipal parks, and new government buildings. The political landscape engineered by Reza Shah had ideological as well as pragmatic underpinnings: above all it showcased modern architecture and European urban design as markers of progress and provided easy military access to the remaining urban pockets of the city, which had been gradually decentralized. In the 1960s, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi changed this perception by improving the socioeconomic infrastructure and by channeling public imagination about relations between the physical appearance of the capital and the reputation of the monarchy on a global scale with a new master-plan for the city that shifted future expansion toward the east and west. During the revolution of 1978–1979, Shahyad Monument, the wide-open square on which it was built, and Shahreza Avenue, which materialized the new east-west axis, turned into the battleground between the state and two million protesters, an event that reshaped Tehran's political landscape once again and disclosed the direct relationship between sociopolitical tensions and urban topography.

The detailed empirical case studies in this volume are intended to contribute to ongoing efforts among researchers to find a balance between highly abstract philosophical models of the political landscapes of capitals and critical details of material culture that encompass archaeology, urban planning, history, art, and architecture. These essays likewise highlight the relational processes of politics and space that gave voice to various participants in this social construct as spatially performed in the capitals discussed herein.

NOTES

1. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

2. Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 17–24.

3. Doris Bachmann-Medick, "Spatial Turn" in *Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften* [*Cultural Turns: New Directions in Cultural Studies*], ed. Doris Bachmann Medick (Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2006), 284–328.

4. The following presents a few examples of works in the field of art history. For the Americas see George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America* (New York: Pelican History of Art, 1962); Arnold Rubin, *Art as Technology* (Los Angeles: Hillcrest Press, 1989); Emily Umberger and Cecelia Klein, "Aztec Art and Imperial Expansion," in *Latin American Horizons*, ed. D. S. Rice (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993); Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), and *Teotihuacan, An Experiment in Living* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). For the Andes see the works by Tom Cummins, "A Tale of two Cities," in *Converging Cultures* (New York: The Brooklyn Museum and Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 157–170; Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inka History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999); and Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth," *The Art Bulletin* 8/3 (2007): 502–518. W.J.T. Mitchell's analysis of painted scenery in *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) is but one of many examples of spatial analysis pursued in art history for the modern period and there are of course many other examples in western art. See, for instance, for the Aegean and Muslim cultures, respectively; Donald Preziosi, *Architecture, Language and Meaning* (The Hague: De Gruyter, 1979); and Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

5. See also Stuart Elden, "The Production of Space," in *Dictionary of Human Geography*, eds. Gregory D. Johnston, et al. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 590–592.

6. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001 [1977]).

7. David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

8. Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1989), chapters 1, 2, 5, and 6; and Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) *passim*, esp. 29–60.

9. Michel Foucault, "Andere Räume," in *Stadt-Räume*, ed. Martin Wentz (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1991 [1967]), 65–72.

10. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 66–111; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); and Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004 [1994]).

11. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 33–34.

12. *Place* is defined as a specific locale and a segment of space that can be occupied or unoccupied, that can be real or perceived. *Space* is related to that which is occupied by an object's volume or form. Thus, place is a specific location with meanings derived from local sociocultural practices, which is encompassed by space. *Landscape* then becomes assembled places and the links between them, which may be physical or representational. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 32. See also Tuan, *Space and Place*.

13. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 11.

14. See the discussion on the topic presented in Adam Smith and Nicholas David by Sharon Zukin in *Current Anthropology* 36/3 (June 1995): 441–471, esp. 466.

15. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 25.

16. Ibid., 9.

17. Martin Warnke, *Political Landscape. The Art History of Nature* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995). Raymond Williams explores these terms in a more literary fashion in *The Country and the City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

18. Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 7.

19. Remarks, such as "she [nature] remained a true and genuine authority" (Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 145) and "Man's devastating exploitation of nature has put an end to her argumentative force and autonomous authority" (Warnke, *Political Landscape*, 146) make Warnke a modernist who fits elements of analysis into neat categories with little or controlled overlap.

20. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10. See also, Jeffrey Seibert, "Review of Adam T. Smith's The Political Landscape" *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 28 (2004): 400–403.

21. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10.

22. See also the balanced critique of Smith's work and its relation to the works by several social theorists by John M. Steinberg, "The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities," *American Anthropologist* 107/4 (2005): 745–746.

23. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 30–77.

24. For example, Robert M. Adams, "The Origin of Cities," *Scientific American* 203/3 (1960), 153–168, citation on 153–154: "the urban revolution was a decisive cultural and social change that was less directly linked to changes in the exploitation of the environment."

25. For similar critique of social evolutionism see also Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped, Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (Boston: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 37–41 and the lucidly, rational discussion of the evolving neo-evolutionary thought in the social sciences presented in Norman Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8–15.

26. See, for example, Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (New York: Random House, 1969).

27. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 53–54.

28. Ibid., 40, with references to August Lösch, *The Economics of Location* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) and Walter Isard, *Location and Space Economy: A General Theory Relating to Industrial Location, Market Areas, Land Use, Trade, and Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: Technology Press of M.I.T., 1956). By the 1980s various spatial syntaxes and pattern languages were used in numerous disciplines from architecture to urban planning and transportation, and by the 2000s also in information technologies, anthropology, and human geographies. See, for example, Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa, and Murray Silverstein, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Bin Jiang and Christophe Claramunt, "Integration of Space Syntax into GIS: New Perspectives for Urban Morphology," *Transactions in GIS* 6/3 (2002): 295–309.

29. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 41.

30. Ibid., 59–60.

31. Phenomenology as a study in spatial theory was majorly developed by the work of French philosopher Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), blossomed with the work of German Philosopher Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), and was further articulated in LeFebvre, *Production of Space* and Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genus Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1980).

32. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 67–69.

33. Ibid., 31.

34. Ibid., 73–75.

35. Maya scholars already have mapped political ritual staged in a human-made, architectural landscape onto natural landscape features and spatial divisions soaked in mythology. See Wendy Ashmore, "Construction and Cosmology: Politics and Ideology in Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns" in *Word and Image in Maya Culture: Explorations in Language, Writing, and Representation*, ed. W. F. Hanks and D. S. Rice (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 272–286; Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings* (New York: Quill William Morrow, 1990); Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin, *The Chronicle of Maya Kings and Queens* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000).

36. See also, Steinberg, Review of *The Political Landscape*, 745–746.

37. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 80–94.

38. Ibid., 94–102.

39. Ibid., 188.

40. Ibid., 189.

41. For expanded and multiple definitions of the city from those that focus exclusively on its physical aspects as a settlement to those that focus on its sociopolitical aspects as a locus of community, see also Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 37–41.

42. A "capital" is a derivative of the Latin *caput*, meaning "head," quite literally a "head city." It absorbs all aspects of the city, including its citizenship and communities; it ranks first because it houses the leadership institutions of a political territorial unit. See Hammond, *Ancient Cities*, 4. On multiple definitions for capital cities see also Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 13–16.

43. www.oxforddictionaries.com. We approach the broader definition of *capital* offered by Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, 3–43, esp. 13–15, that a capital is a locus of power, but we prefer to use *authority* rather than *power*, because authority dispenses power, and because authority includes notions of agency and can be also associated with "social power." See also Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 33.

44. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 108.

45. Discussions on sovereignty and land are often characterized by the term *territoriality* common to political theorists. See, for example, Dan Philpott, "Sovereignty," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2010 edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/sovereignty/.

46. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 109–110.

47. Ibid., 28.

48. On this concept see also, Smith, *Political Landscape*, 202–210.

1

*Akhenaten's Amarna in
New Kingdom Egypt*

*Relations of Landscape
and Ideology*

Jessica Joyce Christie

A few years after Pharaoh Amenophis IV (ruled ca.1353–1337 in the Eighteenth Dynasty during New Kingdom Egypt) had assumed the highest office in Thebes, he decided to radically reorganize and redirect the Egyptian political and religious system: he left the New Kingdom capital of Thebes and demoted the traditional Theban triad of gods—Amun, Mut, and Khonsu—and their powerful attending priestly classes. Out of this *tabula rasa*[1] he created Amarna as the new capital of his reign, dedicated to the sun disk—the Aten—which he raised to the lone supreme god of Egypt, and to himself as this god's only messenger and earthly incarnation. The new era was initiated by an important act of name changing: Amenophis IV meaning "Amun is content" officially changed his name to *Akhenaten,* or "Beneficial to Aten"; the new capital, the remains of which are known today as Amarna (or el-Amarna or Tell el-Amarna) became *Akhetaten*, or "Horizon of the Aten."

Using the model of "political landscapes of relations" developed by Adam T. Smith,[2] I analyze here the urban design of el-Amarna in the specific landscape setting selected by Akhenaten to discuss the ideological claims that surely underlay his decisions. Following Smith, the methodology reconstructs categories such as experience, perception, and imagination,[3] as well as memorialization, emulation, and authorization, to explore the dynamic relations of dominance and submission that would have been shaped between Akhenaten and

Aten, Akhenaten and his court, Akhenaten and the citizens of el-Amarna, and Akhenaten and official visitors.[4] The methodology focuses on internal relations as they were masterminded by the ruler and choreographed in the natural site setting of his capital, since el-Amarna had few outside referents but was the brainchild of Akhenaten and reflected his vision of an ordered cosmos.[5] Of course el-Amarna/Akhetaten has an extensive body of literature:[6] most of the articles by members of the Amarna project are narrow case studies of particular excavations while the exhibition catalogues aim to discuss Akhenaten and his capital broadly. The new contribution to el-Amarna studies that the application of Smith's model makes is to bring the multivalent information sources together to reconstruct relations among space, time, and human agents, or simply put: to reconstruct life as it was likely lived rather than a slice of life frozen in time.[7]

I begin with some general comments about sacred geography in Egypt and then revive the multiple discourses Akhenaten engineered between the built and ideological landscapes of his capital, Amarna.[8] The visual arts, and in particular rock art embedded in a sacred geography, became an extraordinary tool to dramatize Akhenaten's authority.

SACRED GEOGRAPHY IN EGYPT

In ancient times as well as today, the Nile River has been the central axis and pulsating artery of life for the Egyptian people. It is the primary source of water on which all life forms depend. The Nile originates in the higher regions of Upper Egypt and empties into the Mediterranean in a vast delta, which formed the core of ancient Lower Egypt. Water levels rose and fell in a yearly cycle and at times of inundation, Nile waters deposited thick fertile silt soils in the valley and delta. This cyclical regime was permanently altered with the construction of the High Dam at Aswan in the 1960s. Ancient Egyptians learnt early how to channel water away from the river and irrigate and cultivate large portions of the valley. The Nile River Valley has been a green oasis teeming with life in a dry and stark desert setting since ancient times. The valley is bordered by cliffs on the east and west sides, which rise to varying heights and extend into desert landscapes. The Egyptians called the valley plain with its fertile soils *Kmt*, the Black Land.[9] It was the landscape of the living where people settled and built their villages and towns. The desert was *Dsrt*, or Red Land, and signaled chaos and death. In the western desert, the sun sank each night below the horizon and metaphorically "died"; as a logical deduction, it was thought of as the realm of the dead. In the morning, the

sun rose again from the eastern desert and was thus reborn. In similar fashion, human beings, including their rulers, lived out their lives in the Black Land of the Nile Valley and at death they entered the Red Land to the west. Therefore the valley plain and the desert, the Black Land and the Red Land, east and west, represented dichotomies that were dynamically interconnected. Both poles of the opposites functioned as vital elements in the Egyptian world and were accessed by human beings and gods. It was the sublime task of the Egyptian state personified by the pharaoh to maintain cosmological order (*ma'at*) and to keep all elements in their assigned places. The rationale of state ideology was to set rules and establish rituals that would defend the value of order and balance against the forces of disorder and chaos that continually threatened the Egyptian world in the guise of invaders from the outside, natural disasters, and internal rebellions.

The burden to keep ma'at was passed on from pharaoh to pharaoh. What is of interest here is how Akhenaten performed this task by commissioning a cultural landscape, which he could model to a still-unoccupied natural landscape setting. Which institutions and strategies used by his predecessors did he emulate and which did he completely revise? The case of Akhenaten and Akhetaten is unique in that we still find the direct materialization of what a sovereign thought his capital city ought to be more than 3,000 years ago. Although we will see that the reconstruction of his political landscape leaves many questions unanswered, the case study of el-Amarna serves as a compelling opening chapter in temporal as well as situational terms.

EL-AMARNA

The political and religious reorganization initiated by Akhenaten had a spatial and geographical correlate: he wished to found his own city, a new capital for Aten, which he named *Akhetaten* or "Horizon of the Aten," the remains of which are known today as el-Amarna. Notwithstanding its remoteness and the limited conservation on site, a massive amount of data has been collected at this great city from surveys, archaeological excavations, and analyses of artifacts conducted by the British Amarna Project under the direction of Barry Kemp.[10] Since the 1980s, a large number of articles, book chapters, and books have been published by project members and continue to be forthcoming.

El-Amarna is situated in a broad valley basin on the east bank of the Nile, approximately 9 miles south of the present town of Mellawi (figure 1.1). The course of the Nile River makes a slight bend and, as if they responded in a ripple effect, the cliffs arch back, forming a semicircle that was intended to

Figure 1.1. *Map of the contemporary setting of the site of el-Amarna. (Adapted from Murnane and van Sicklen 1993)*

enclose the city and is referred to today as the Bay of Amarna. Somewhat to the north of the semicircle center, yet still close to its central axis, the cliffs are broken up by a wadi, or desert valley, today called the Wadi Abu Hasah el-Bahri, which leads out into the desert. In 1891, one high-status tomb was discovered some 7.5 miles up this wadi. The tomb had been vandalized but has been attributed to Akhenaten. Although his body was not located, the iconography of the reliefs remaining on the tomb walls and its isolated and calculated location add strong support to the tomb's identification as Akhenaten's.

These landscape features are closely related to the hieroglyph *Akhet*, signifying the eastern horizon, and to a text passage repeated on the two earliest boundary stelae (see below) in which Akhenaten reports on his "discovery" of the building site. Akhet is the principal glyph in the toponym *Akhetaten* and it strongly resembles a graphic sectional view of two cliffs connected by a depression, upon which rests the Aten sun disk. Cyril Aldred first observed that when viewed from the area of the Great and Small Aten Temples, sunrise over the wadi takes on this very form in the physical landscape (figure 1.2).[11]

JESSICA JOYCE CHRISTIE

Figure 1.2. *View from the Aten Temples to the eastern cliffs with the wadi resembling the Akhet glyph at sunrise. (Adapted photograph by Brian Garrett)*

Thus the rebirth of Aten, the Sun, is performed daily and in perpetuity along the east-west axis of el-Amarna. It now becomes evident why Akhenaten would have chosen the wadi as his ideal tomb location. In death, he permanently united with and became Aten and therefore daily sunrise repeats his rebirth and stages his immortality.

A text passage from the two earliest boundary stelae sketches out an event possibly related to the founding of the capital:

> Regnal Year 5, fourth month of the growing season, day 13.
>
> On this day, one was in Akhetaten, when his majesty appeared on the great chariot of electrum, just like the Aten when he rises on the horizon and fills the land with his love, he having made a good journey to Akhetaten, his place of the primeval event . . . which he made for himself, his horizon in which his circuit comes into being, where he is beheld with joy while the land rejoices and all hearts exult when they see him.[12]

This text passage clearly links the city of Akhetaten to the rise of the Aten and the "primeval event" of his cycle, which implies the location of the initial

rise of the Sun and the initiation of his rebirth. Silverman et al. further discuss the "great offering" of food items, animals, and agricultural products "in front of the mountain of Akhetaten."[13] They interpret the texts that Akhenaten performed a ritual chariot ride from the central city to the wadi and upon his return made the lavish offering to Aten in the fifth year of his reign. He may have entered the sacred wadi for the first time and experienced a symbolic communion with his god, which convinced him to build his capital in the Bay of Amarna and his tomb further up the wadi. This chariot ride was repeated one year later on its anniversary day as well as in subsequent years. Alternatively Akhenaten may have made his offering at the foot of the cliffs, which is the only location in the Bay of Amarna that matches the descriptive term "in front of the mountain of Akhetaten." I will argue below that this primeval founding offering became the core event depicted on the boundary stelae and in numerous relief scenes gracing public buildings in the Main City.

Site selection may further have been influenced by seeking a compromise between the desire for a new and unused space unspoiled by an earlier history and the political need to link Akhenaten in some form to royal ancestors. Janet Richards discusses physical markers of the Egyptian landscape that the first dynastic rulers selected and contextualized in their funerary setting.[14] Richards argues that similar landscape features were sought by later rulers, including Akhenaten, and were set into an ideational landscape layered with political and religious metaphors. She describes North Abydos, which contains several cemeteries with tombs dating to the beginnings of the dynastic era at approximately 3100 BC. These cemeteries are situated on the west side of the Nile at a location where the cliffs sweep back in the form of a crescent enclosing low desert. The low desert rises to the cliffs in horizontal layers of plateaus and escarpments and is split by a broad and shallow wadi leading to the cliffs of the high desert. Richards argues that the ancient Egyptians would have viewed the opening of the wadi in the cliffs on the western horizon as the gate to the underworld and would have used the plateaus and escarpments as theatrical stages for the display and enactment of rituals.[15] By permanently residing in this topographic setting, these early dynastic rulers laid claim to this land and converted neutral and atemporal space into an empowered human place, using Christopher Tilley's terms of phenomenological landscape study.[16] Over the next two millennia, Abydos obtained national renown for housing the tomb of Osiris, the god of the death and vegetation. The sloping sides of the wadi frame his tomb when viewed from a distance.

As noted, these same landscape features are found at el-Amarna, albeit on the east side of the Nile, and are dedicated to Aten, the god of the living and

of rebirth. The reverse definition of the sacred geography must be emphasized if Akhenaten was indeed aware of the Abydos model. A similar topography further exists at other Egyptian sites, such as Deir el Ballas and Thebes,[17] between the Archaic mastabas of North Saqqara and Abusir,[18] and probably others.

Richards argues that the topographical setting at el-Amarna may have been the chief factor motivating Akhenaten to construct his capital at that particular location.[19] Although the components of the natural landscape can be experienced even by the contemporary visitor, the written information Akhenaten has left us about himself in the long texts he commissioned emphasize that his primary perception was oriented toward his personal god, the Aten, and that the bay topography itself most likely came second. Upon first entering the Bay of Amarna and looking east, he perceived a connection between the landscape features and the rise of Aten. The ritual chariot ride and the initial offering cemented his perception into the imagination that the wadi constituted the sacred geography in which Aten, the Sun, first rose and where he would unite with Aten in life, death, and perpetual rebirth. This condenses the essence of Akhenaten's ideology and his capital was constructed around this experienced, perceived, and imagined landscape.

El-Amarna was not confined to the east side. It extended west to Tuna el-Gebel on the western bank of the Nile, which encompassed most of the agricultural land required to feed the city population. The complete terrain of the city was marked by sixteen rock stelae carved into the high cliffs that encircled the capital and on one level functioned as its boundary stones. The stelae rise to a height of about 29.5 feet (9 m) in the form of flat, elongated rectangles with rounded tops, which project out from the cliff surfaces (figure 1.3). The lower two-thirds of each stela are covered with a long hieroglyphic inscription. The upper third displays a central image of the sun disk Aten with his personified rays. Under the rays, Akhenaten, his wife Nefertiti, and their daughters are assembled in varied groupings bringing offerings to Aten. Their figures are carved in a sunken low-relief style characteristic of the Amarna Period: the body outlines curve and are sunk into the rock while the body volumes swell out in convex masses. Many stelae are accompanied by high-relief statues of Akhenaten and his family arranged on both sides of the stelae bottoms. The stelae were first professionally documented by W. Flinders Petrie in the 1890s. He named each one with an English capital letter, leaving gaps in the sequence to allow for future discoveries. Petrie's list included A, B, and F on the west bank at Tuna el-Gebel and J, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, U, and V for the east bank.[20] Shortly after Petrie, the boundary stelae were independently

Akhenaten
Nefertiti
Daughters

Royal Family
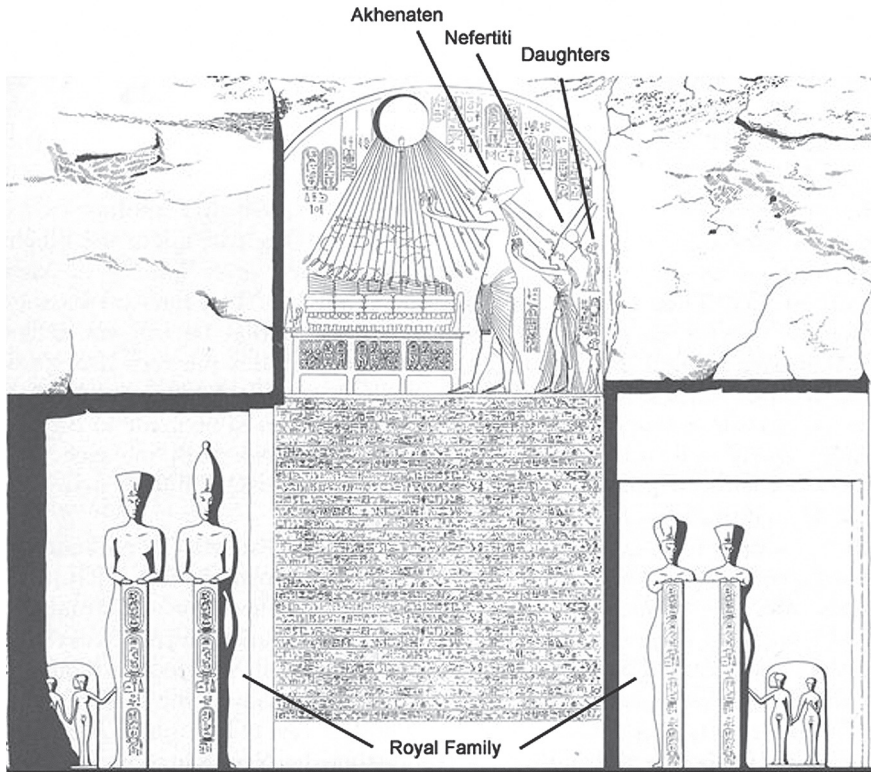
FIGURE 1.3. *Boundary Stela N, drawing. (Adapted from www.amarnaproject.com)*

investigated by the French Egyptologist Jean Daressy and a German expedition led by Georg Steindorff. Since then, Stela X has been added by Norman de Garis Davies in 1901 and Stela H by H. Fenwick in 2006.[21] Davies's publication counts as the most thorough and authoritative documentation of the stelae in the first half of the twentieth century.[22] The most recent academic full documentation and translation of Akhenaten's boundary monuments was published by William J. Murnane and Charles C. van Sicklen.[23] My discussion below builds on their work and my own field observations.

The boundary stelae are chronologically ordered according to their texts, which contain two main proclamations made by Akhenaten: the first was given in the fifth year of his reign and the second was made in the sixth year and repeated in his eighth year of office. The first or Earlier Proclamation[24] was written on Stelae K, M, and X and was partially quoted in conjunction with Akhenaten's hypothetical chariot ride above. Since this text contains vital

information about the founding of Akhetaten, I cite all its understood passages in an endnote to this chapter.[25] The text has the nature of a formula because it uses repetitive sentence structure and was repeated three times in similar variants. It begins with the appearance of Akhenaten on his chariot and the offering event (see above) without explicitly describing a ritual chariot ride within the territory of Akhetaten. He then addresses his court and explains that no human but solely Aten had advised him to build Akhetaten in the Bay of Amarna. He mentions the opening in the eastern cliffs caused by the wadi as the special place Aten had made for himself. Akhenaten continues to describe major buildings in the capital: houses and temples for Aten and palaces for himself and his wife Nefertiti. He speaks of a royal tomb to be made in the eastern mountain designated as the eternal resting place for himself, Nefertiti, and their daughter Meritaten, and of tombs prepared for some of the priests. The style of the written and perhaps spoken words reflects that Akhenaten conceptualized his land and by extension the world as centered in Akhetaten from which the cardinal directions were defined. The second or Later Proclamation from year 6 recorded on Stelae A, B, F, J, N, P, Q, R, S, U, and V extends the limits of Akhetaten and reemphasizes the dedication of all the enclosed land to Aten. It was repeated in regnal year 8. This text constitutes the key document that offers clear structural concepts about the design of el-Amarna in its natural setting. It is indeed a unique case in architectural history that researchers have access to textual sources over 3,000 years old that closely reflect the vision of a patron, that have partly survived the ravages of time, and that can be translated by epigraphers. I reference each section and cite the essential passages explaining the layout of el-Amarna in full below (see appendix 1.A.

Of the sixteen boundary stelae total, I have documented seven that I briefly discuss here. Stela X designates the northern limit of el-Amarna and marks the point where the cliffs close back in on the Nile River, leaving only a narrow desert strip. It is squarely aligned with Stela A on the west bank (figure 1.4). On the map, the connecting line slopes down from Stela A, which sits further north and defines the northern boundary of the capital.[26] Stela X and Stelae M and K, which mark the southern limit, were the original Year 5 boundary stelae, probably set up first by order of Akhenaten. They contain the text passages of the Earlier Proclamation. Stela X sits up in the cliffs overlooking the Nile Valley. In comparison to other boundary stelae, the monument is in a medium state of preservation (figure 1.5). The lower rectangular area has partly disappeared and the text is terribly eroded. In the top figurative panel, the Aten disk is clearly recognizable and the outlines of the heads of Akhenaten
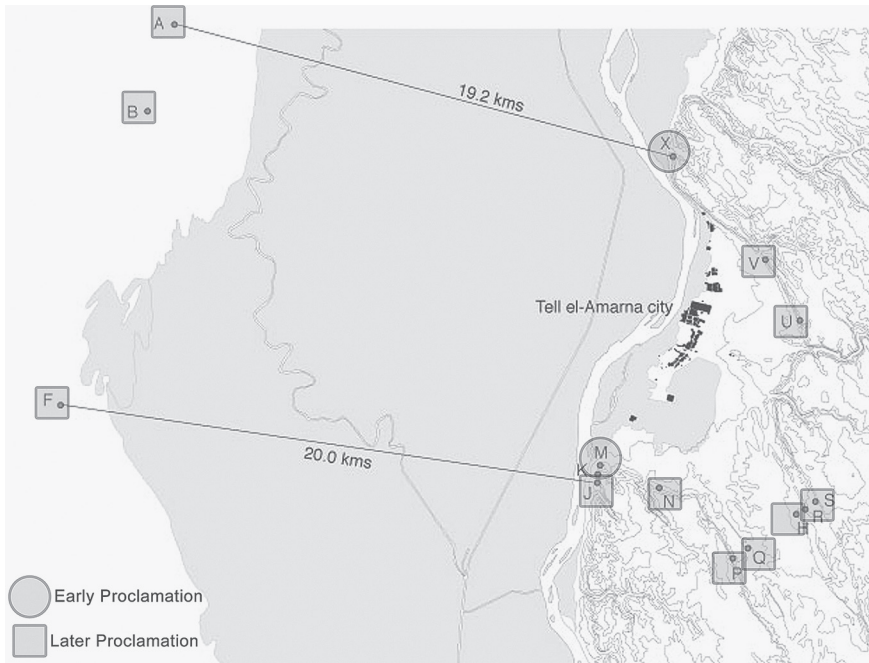
FIGURE 1.4. *Map of boundary stelae marking the territory of el-Amarna. (Adapted from www.amarnaproject.com)*

and Nefertiti appear to the left, bathed in the rays of Aten. There is no evidence of statues accompanying this monument.

Stela M is situated in the south where the cliffs close the Bay of Amarna more tightly than in the north. This stela constitutes the second in the set of the original Year 5 boundary markers. The form of Stela M is well visible but its details are badly eroded except for the Aten disk and its handed rays at the very top. There are no traces of statues. Stela M is immediately followed by boundary stelae L, K, and J, all of which are accessed on a continuous ledge in the cliffs. Stela L constitutes an abbreviated version of a boundary stela. It is a rectangular tablet with text, lacking sunken relief and three-dimensional imagery. Stela K is in a better state of preservation. The rays of the Aten growing fingers, an offering table, and the body outlines of two or three figures are easily identified. The weathering pattern on the surface appears to be different from that seen on Stelae M and J. The picture plane of Stela K retains a smooth layer whereas the other stelae show deep erosion pockets. This could imply that the carvers treated the surface of Stela K in some form. Stela K was

Figure 1.5. *Boundary Stela X in situ. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

accompanied by statues. Stela J is poorly preserved today. Only fragments of the body outlines of some of the main figures, part of the sun disk, and sections of hieroglyphs remain recognizable. No three-dimensional statues stood

by its sides. Stela J roughly aligns with Stela F on the west bank to define the southern limit of the capital (figure 1.4).

Stelae V and U occupy the cliffs north of the Royal Wadi. Stela V has almost completely crumbled away and only disjointed hieroglyphs are recognizable. Stela U, on the other hand, is one of the best-preserved boundary stelae. It sits just north of the entrance to the Royal Wadi and can be easily reached by road. This location could suggest that it marked the destination of Akhenaten's first west-east chariot ride and the site of his grand offering to Aten during the founding events of the city. The text, however, renders the Later Proclamation from Year 6 and therefore it is more likely that Stela U constructed a place where the founding rituals were reenacted. The monument measures 7.6 m from top to bottom. The top panel displays the expected sun disk with its anthropomorphized rays extending to Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and daughters and to the numerous stacked offerings they brought. The main rectangular portion of the stela is taken up by the long inscription. Statues of royal family members framed the sides of Stela U. Today a level space has been created in front of the monument and it is likely that a stage-like area existed during Akhenaten's time where offerings to Aten were repeated. Looking west from the elevated point of Stela U, the vast spatial extent of the Bay of Amarna can be experienced, reflecting Akhenaten's ambitions, if a full build-out had been achieved.[27]

Another group of stelae was carved at a distance of several kilometers from the southern cliffs into the desert. This group is composed of Stelae S, R, H, Q, and P. The locations of these monuments define a tract of land behind the arc of the cliffs. So far, no evidence has been found of what Akhenaten envisioned there. Stela N was encountered isolated at a shorter distance from the edge of the southern cliffs and behind the south stela group M, L, K, and J. I have investigated Stela R. The monument has been badly damaged by attempts of looters to cut out rectangular sections. In the top panel, part of the offerings and the profile legs of the royal figures remain visible; below, disjointed text segments are clearly recognizable. Stela R was accompanied by statues.

Three boundary stelae A, B, and F were set up at the cliffs on the west bank of the Nile, overlooking the floodplain that provided the agricultural zone of el-Amarna. Stela A is very well preserved and can easily be visited from the existing road. The top panel still displays the complete iconographic formula of the offering scene in Akhenaten's characteristic style (figure 1.6, left): the deeply sunken relief of the Aten sun disk hovers above with his shallow-fingered rays extending below. The figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti stand on the right side in profile view, reaching their arms toward the Aten. Behind

them appear two of their daughters. The royal family members are represented in strict traditional hierarchical scale. The carving style, on the other hand, is characteristic of the Amarna Period: this means it prefers (1) curving lines over vertical and horizontal lines and (2) sunken relief on outside monuments to produce an animated play of sunlight and shadow.

A table overloaded with rich offerings stands in the central axis below the Aten disk. The left side of the top panel, both sides of the sun disk, and the long rectangular register below are filled with lengthy inscriptions recording the Later Proclamation. Stela A was joined by sculpted figure groups. The Amarna Project recorded parallel lines of stones delimiting an ancient road leading up to the monument in 1975 (figure 1.6, right). These lines have been destroyed by the masonry balustrades and stairway constructed for tourists. Nevertheless their documentation provides invaluable evidence for the ritual use of the boundary stela. An ancient access road or ramp confirms that the monument did not lie isolated and forgotten but was periodically visited. Stela A functioned as the northwestern boundary marker in the Later Proclamation.

Stela B is situated a short distance south of Stela A in the western cliffs. The right side of the rounded top panel is well preserved, whereas its left side has been destroyed by natural weathering processes (figure 1.7). The sun disk and Akhenaten and Nefertiti are sunk into the rock surface whereas the anthropomorphized rays of the Aten and the figures of the daughters are less deeply carved. The lengthy hieroglyphic text of the Later Proclamation fills the middle section and the lower rectangular register. Stela B is still framed by multiple statues. On the left side (from the viewer's perspective), the remnants of two tall and two small standing figures are clearly defined and on the right side, another pair of tall standing figures is visible. They surely represent the royal family. Stela F was placed further south and roughly aligns with Stela J on the east bank, together forming the southern boundary of el-Amarna.

These stelae framed and outlined the space of the capital (figure 1.4). Although lines drawn between Stelae X and A in the north and Stelae J and F in the south do not run precisely east-west, the aerial distance is almost equivalent: 19.2 km in the north and 20.0 km in the south.[28] Other scholars have mapped out that the boundary stelae, the temples, and the royal tomb formed a series of rectangles that are multiples or fragments of the proportions of the Great Temple of Aten in the city center.[29] In this manner, el-Amarna was defined as a temple to the Aten on various scales rather than as a city.[30] Further measurements have indicated that the distance between Boundary Stelae X and M equaled four times the distance between the temples of Karnak and Luxor at Thebes, the processional route established by Amenhotep III for the Opet festival, and that

Figure 1.6. *Boundary Stela A, Tuna el-Gebel. Left: Boundary Stela A. (Photograph by Brian Garrett) Right center: Modern stair access to Boundary Stela A, 2008. (Photograph by Brian Garrett) Right: Ancient lines of stones marking access path to Boundary Stela A. (Adapted from www.amarnaproject.com)*

distances between some of the buildings in the Central City were also based upon the processional routes from Karnak.[31] It would appear that conceptualizing the built landscape as a proportional unit may have constituted one of Akhenaten's important design elements. However, proportions, measurements, and alignments in ancient Egypt should not be approached through the lens of accuracy practiced in Western science. In the eyes of ancient Egyptians, such spatial relations were primarily visual: it was most important that they could be experienced and perceived rather than quantified.[32]

It remains unclear whether it was Akhenaten's original vision to build out the entire Bay of Amarna. As indicated earlier, this turned out to be impractical since wells had to be cut too deep more than about one mile inland from the river. Water had to be carried to any settlement situated closer to the cliffs, such as the Workmen's Village. Therefore el-Amarna was organized along a wide north-south avenue placed close to the transition point between the fertile valley and the desert. It extended from the northern to the southern ends of the bay (figure 1.8).[33] All the major government buildings commissioned

Figure 1.7. *Boundary Stela B. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

by Akhenaten, such as the Aten temples, palaces, administrative facilities, and storehouses, stood fronting this road. It was the main route the court would have used when attending functions in various sectors of the capital and it is therefore called the Royal Road. The land east of the Royal Road was not uniformly flat but was divided into a series of plateaus by dry but deep gullies. The main sectors of the capital occupy these extensive plateau formations.

Moving from south to north along the Royal Road, we briefly discuss these sectors.[34] The South Suburb and the Main City constituted primary residential zones, where most of the commoner population lived. The Central City contained the Aten temples, the main palace, and all official state buildings and formed the core of Akhenaten's capital (figure 1.9). All of its buildings stand in a general alignment with the Royal Wadi in the east. The Central City constructs the space where the Royal Road intersects the east-west solar axis and thus provides the stage where the ruler and the god symbolically interacted in worldly matters.

Most of the central buildings were deliberately destroyed by King Horemheb at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty in a reaction against Akhenaten and his
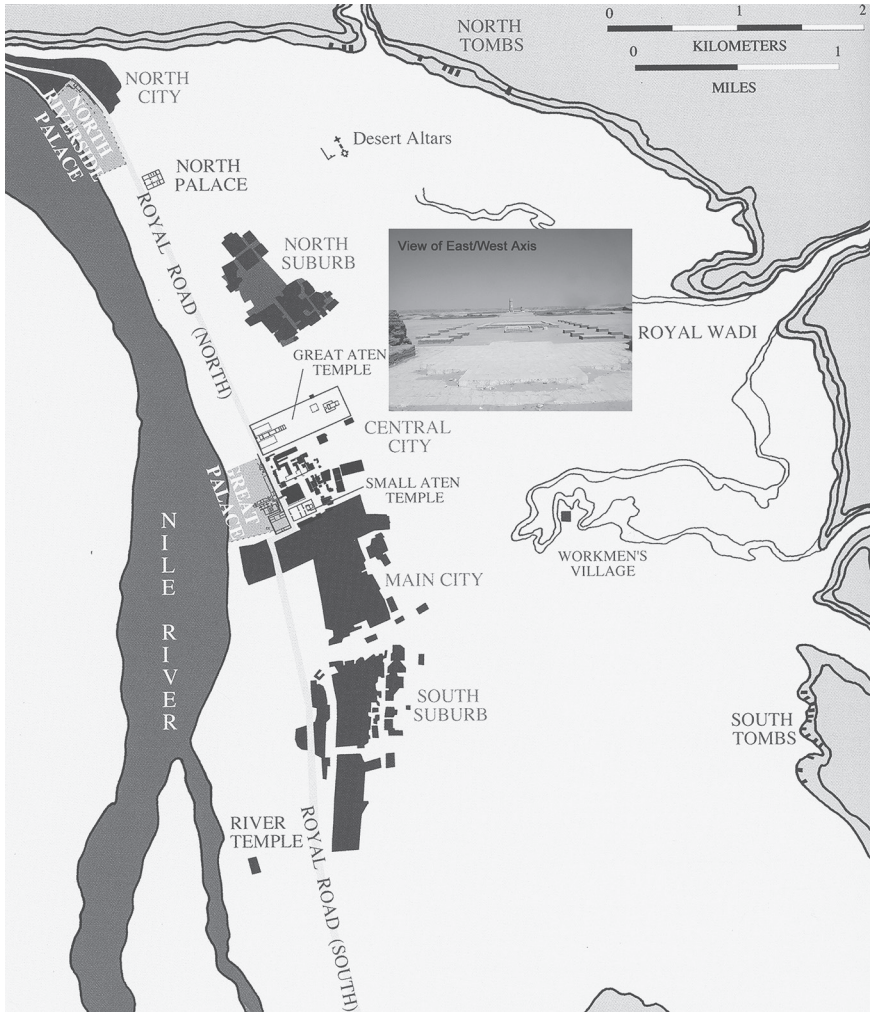
Figure 1.8. *Map of the ancient capital el-Amarna. (Adapted from Silverman et al. 2006)*

policies. Nevertheless, decades-long and painstaking fieldwork by Egyptian and British archaeologists has recovered many fragments, restored certain sectors, drawn up detailed plans, and created a digital model of Akhenaten's Amarna (www.amarnaproject.com). The structures of primary importance were the Great Aten Temple and the Small Aten Temple, separated by the King's House and the Great Palace. The Great Aten Temple is a massive, rectangular, walled enclosure measuring 900 feet wide and 2,500 feet long, with
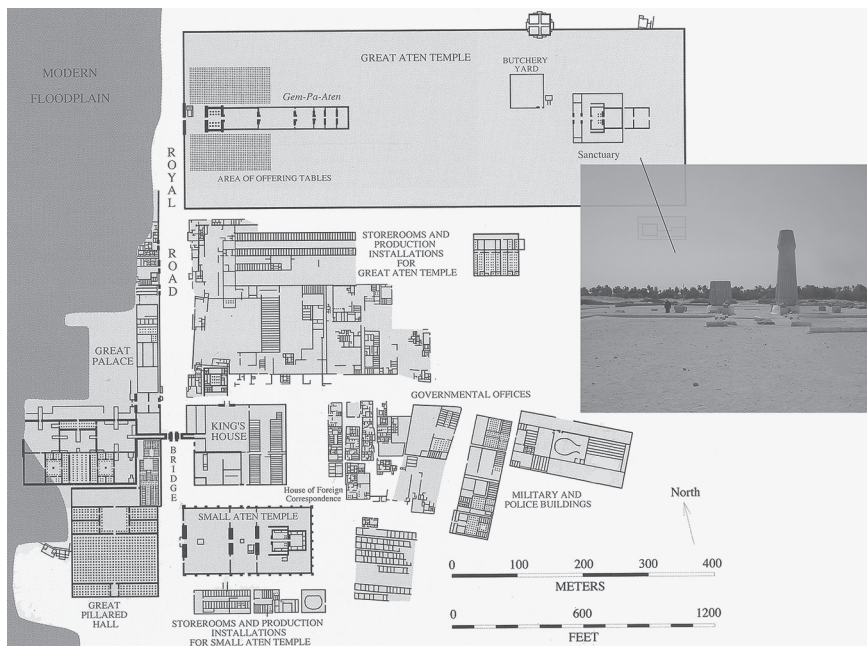
FIGURE 1.9. *Plan of the Central City of el-Amarna. (Adapted from Silverman et al. 2006)*

one entrance from the Royal Road on the western short side (figure 1.9). Upon entering, the visitor passes through a series of courtyards of diminishing sizes and accessed through pylons. Although pylon façades are a traditional element of New Kingdom temple architecture, the row of freestanding courtyards defining the east-west axis, which the pylons introduce here, is entirely unroofed and known as the Gem-Pa-Aten (the Aten-Is-Found). It was one of Akhenaten's grand innovations to omit roofs so that the interaction with the Sun deity could be more direct and personal. In conventional New Kingdom temples, on the other hand, architectural spaces became more enclosed and darker as the visitor advanced toward the sanctuary, which housed a statue the god inhabited. This kind of spatial experience can still be felt at the temple reconstructions at Karnak, Edfu, or Philae. Aten, on the other hand, was present in the direct rays of the sun.[35] The Gem-Pa-Aten was filled with altars and flanked by grids of hundreds of open-air offering tables. Outside the southern perimeter wall, extensive production facilities, such as bakeries, and storerooms were located to provide the massive quantities of gifts to Aten. In the eastern part of the enclosure stood a butchers' yard and a T-shaped

sanctuary housing statues of the royal family. The Great Aten Temple probably remained unfinished because the large middle section of the enclosure was never built out.

The Small Aten Temple constitutes a much smaller rectangular enclosure that, like the Great Aten Temple, opens toward the Royal Road through pylons. It houses a total of three pylon façades, and a T-shaped sanctuary with statues of royal family members. Storerooms and manufacturing facilities to produce the large-scale offerings for Aten were situated south of the enclosed compound. It is noteworthy that neither Aten temple contained an actual shrine to house a cult image of the god, as one would expect to find in traditional New Kingdom temples. As Silverman et al. reason, "the object of worship was not a statue but the visible sun in the sky."[36] Akhenaten had three-dimensional portrait statues made of himself but his god was only depicted as the sun disk with fingered rays in sunken relief as seen on the boundary stelae. Thus the primary presence of Aten was in the form of the sun as he rose and set daily on the eastern and western horizons of Akhetaten. This vision fundamentally guided the practices that constructed el-Amarna as an ideological performance stage.

The Great Palace runs along the western side of the Royal Road and was designed in a north-south orientation. This same orientation has been documented in the North Riverside Palace. Silverman et al. view the north-south direction as a symbolic axis of royal authority that parallels the flow of the Nile and intersects with the east-west axis of the rising and setting Aten.[37] The southern end of the Great Palace is marked by a vast pillared hall. To the north extend multiple open courtyards once graced with colossal figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. A distinctive architectural feature in the Great Palace as well as in the Aten temples was an extensive use of raised platforms and podia accessed by walled ramps with decorated balustrades.[38] The scenes on the balustrades depicted the royal family worshipping the Aten and bringing offerings similar to those described on the boundary stelae as well as a repetition of cartouches with the names and titles of Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti. These decorated ramps choreographed ritual movements and we will return to them in the discussion of el-Amarna as a performance stage.

Most Egyptologists understand the Great Palace as the main building in which Akhenaten would have conducted the political and administrative functions of his court.[39] The Great Palace was connected with the King's House situated between the two Aten temples by a bridge spanning the Royal Road. The King's House lacks public courtyards and is composed of smaller more private spaces. Its eastern section exhibits two long rows of storerooms. It is

generally interpreted as a temporary residence of the ruler where Akhenaten and his family would have been housed while involved in state business in the Central City.

To the east of the King's House and the Small Aten Temple, the foundations and remains of numerous complexes associated with government functions have been mapped. Most outstanding is a compound characterized by small intricate rooms, which can positively be identified as the House of Royal Foreign Correspondence because its stamped bricks show this name in hieroglyphs. The important Amarna letters, a corpus of about 350 documents written on clay tablets and detailing international royal correspondence, were discovered here in the nineteenth century.[40]

The primary residential zones of el-Amarna were the Main City, the South Suburb, and the North Suburb (figure 1.8). They were filled with large walled estates and tracts of smaller houses, reflecting social hierarchies. Some of the areas of habitation were never fully completed; in particular, the northeastern edge of the North Suburb.

Egyptologists reason that the actual residence of Akhenaten and the royal family was probably not in the Great Palace but in the North Riverside Palace located in the North City at the far northern end of the Bay of Amarna. This palace and the whole North City lie badly destroyed but archaeologists have identified a large rectangular complex with bastioned enclosure walls and a painted gateway on the west side of the Royal Road. They interpret it as the residential palace of Akhenaten in contrast to the Great Palace, which is seen as the palace of public affairs of the state.[41] Another possibility is that the northern and southern palaces were seen as metaphors for the historical division of Egypt into the north (Lower Egypt) and the south (Upper Egypt), regions unified at the dawn of the dynastic age. The north-south division runs like a trope through Egyptian history and is commonly referenced in royal architecture and iconography, for instance, the North and South Palaces in the funerary complex of Djoser at Saqqara. Akhenaten may have continued this tradition.[42]

South of the North City stands a third palace, known as the North Palace. It is the best preserved and documented of all the royal buildings at el-Amarna and thus presents the unique opportunity to learn details about Egyptian palace design in the New Kingdom. The North Palace stands east of the Royal Road. It was designed as a rectangular walled enclosure. Its short side fronts the Royal Road and provides the only entrance. The visitor enters into a central courtyard, the rear side of which is defined by a massive decorated pylon. The pylon leads to a large pool that reached a depth of 14 feet. The royal residential area extends behind the pool. Many of the courtyards and

structures flanking the central axis on the north and south sides seem to have had administrative and storage functions. Interestingly, in the northern buildings, material evidence was found indicating that they housed domestic animals, such as sheep, goats, gazelles, cattle, and birds. This evidence consists of mangers decorated with animal imagery and tethering stones. The quarters of the royal family along the east side of the palace complex were beautifully decorated with wall murals. A scene displaying birds in marshes in a vibrant blue, green, and red color scheme was found in a small room surrounding a sunken garden that was fed by a water conduit from the central pool. The excavators interpreted the courtyard with the sunken garden as an aviary.[43] A throne on a dais marked the terminus of the central axis of the North Palace. It was approached through a stone portico and two pillared rooms of diminishing sizes. There is evidence that the North Palace belonged to Meritaten, the ruler's oldest daughter, by the end of Akhenaten's reign. Her name glyph appears on a doorjamb, carved over an earlier royal name.

The three palaces discussed raise stimulating questions about similarities and differences with regard to their design, location, and usage. Although our material data are limited, a distinction between the Great Palace as the setting for state business and the North Riverside Palace as Akhenaten's primary residence seems valid. The North Palace stands out because it sits east of the Royal Road, is oriented east, and it mixes design features related to the display of political authority with animal yards and water and garden areas. Perhaps it had a more ceremonial character and constituted a micro- materialization of one of Akhenaten's hymns to Aten.[44] The axial design including the pylon and leading up to the throne dais is shared with New Kingdom temples. As indicated above, in the temple, the central axis terminates in a small and dark sanctuary where the statue of the deity resides. At Akhetaten, the image of the god has been replaced by the living pharaoh. From this perspective, design criteria for temple and palace overlapped and could not be strictly separated: the house of Aten was also the house of Akhenaten and vice versa.[45]

The final royal building to be mentioned as one of the significant building blocks of the urban design of el-Amarna is the so-called Maruaten, marking the southern end of the Royal Road. Its full name was Pa-Maru-en-Pa-Aten, or "The-Viewing-Place-of-the-Aten," and it contained one of the two sunshades belonging to Meritaten. The overall complex consists of two rectangular brick enclosures. The core of the main enclosure is a large artificial lake with a stone causeway leading into the water from the northwest. Similar to the North Palace, planted garden areas surrounded the lake. Excavators identified skeletal remains of greyhounds in a small building abutting the

northwestern enclosure wall. Storerooms in a long structure on the northeast side of the lake contained wine jars with labels naming various institutions at el-Amarna that had supplied the wine.

The best preserved and probably the most potent ritual constructions of the Maruaten occupied the eastern corner of the main enclosure. A small island crowned by what was likely Meritaten's sunshade shrine and a T-shaped altar was created with a surrounding moat. Northeast of the moat extended formal garden plots as well as eleven T-shaped interlocking tanks. Segments of the pavement surrounding these tanks were recovered, showing painted plaster scenes of various water plants and birds. As in the North Palace, the spatial layout of the Maruaten, its furnishings, occupants, and iconography are suggestive of a celebration of the living world dependent on Aten.

EL-AMARNA AS DYNAMIC, SETTLEMENT-CENTERED, POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Having set the stage of the natural and man-built environment, I now turn to el-Amarna as the performance ground of multiple levels of political relations oscillating between the poles of dominance and submission. First, anybody entering ancient and contemporary el-Amarna is struck by the experience of vastness of space framed by the arc of the cliff and the barren inhospitable desert land. Akhenaten's capital with population estimates ranging from 20,000 to 50,000 claimed more of this plane space than the present-day villages yet much remained to be filled and settled. While the ancient Egyptians might have perceived this opposition between constructed place and unfilled space as a limitation of Akhenaten's means, most contemporary visitors are filled with the sensation that this barren desert still escapes the dominance of civilization.

Imagination was channeled through the more subtle tools of media, iconography, architectural and spatial layout, and analogies.[46] I reason that the boundary stelae constitute key monuments to an understanding of Akhenaten's strategies. They exhibit a standardized format and the top register depicts the described offering scenes. These offering scenes were repeated in many places throughout the Central City. Ian Shaw examined thirty to forty surviving fragments of balustrades and parapets from el-Amarna, which are typically decorated on both sides with sunken reliefs of the royal family making offerings to the Aten.[47] These balustrades framed ramps and steps leading up to altars that were surrounded by parapet walls. This succinct architectural arrangement marked a distinctive feature of Akhenaten's temples to Aten.

Ramps and stairways lined by balustrades in general were not new and had been used in other New Kingdom temples, such as the Mortuary Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. The majority of these fragments with known proveniences came from the Great Temple, the Great Palace, and the Maruaten. In the architectural context, the double-sided balustrade was widely employed in el-Amarna, lining processional routes as well as ramps and stairs leading to altars, podia, daises, and thrones. Although their physical settings have not survived, painted renderings have been documented in a number of el-Amarna elite tombs: in a scene from the tomb of Panehsy, the royal couple has ascended balustraded steps and stands on a podium in front of a laden offering table (figure 1.10, top); in the tomb of Meryra I, there is an image of presumably the Great Stele in the Sanctuary of the Great Temple[48] placed on a platform and approached by an access with balustrades; in one scene from the tomb of Meryre II, the royal family is seated on a dais under a lavishly decorated canopy and is receiving foreign tribute. Two ramps provide access to them and the principal one appears to have a low balustrade (figure 1.10, bottom).

Given the pervasiveness of this theme of an elevated place of power approached by lined stairs or ramps, it seems reasonable to include the boundary stelae in this pattern. As noted above, at least Stela A exhibited material evidence of an access road (figure 1.6, right). Most probably all were approached by the king, his family, and his escort at scheduled ritual times and would have had a small gathering area. The offering scenes in the top register of the stela panels repeat the iconography of the balustrades and the ramp and podium is formed by the natural setting in the cliffs. Thus the act of approaching the higher powers of the ruler, Akhenaten and his god, the living Aten, was performed on multiple levels: (1) on the two-dimensional panels, the royal family brings offerings to Aten; (2) in the architectural setting of platform thrones and steps as documented in the Great and Small Aten Temples and in the Great Palace, subjected people approached the ruler with tribute items or the ruler offered to his god; and (3) at the boundary stelae at the periphery of el-Amarna, the king enacted his most personal and intimate offering to the Aten.[49] These performances at the boundary stelae were multilayered, as they repeated the original eastern offering during the foundation of the capital, and due to their liminal locations away from the manmade landscape, interaction with the Aten was most direct. From this perspective, the void open area between the city and the cliffs takes on meaning as boundary space.

The ritual movements to the boundary stelae radiated from the center of el-Amarna to the northeast, east, southeast, southwest, and northwest. The
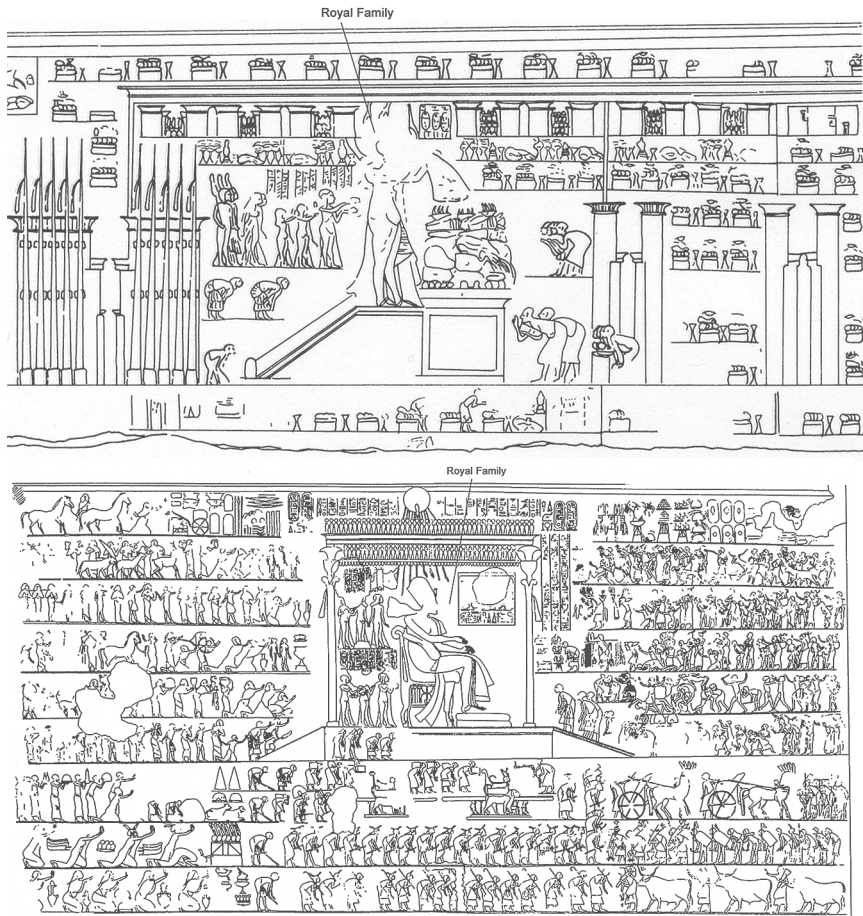
Figure 1.10. *Ramps and stairs with double-sided balustrades leading to altars, and daises as royal settings for offering and tribute events. Top: Scene from the tomb of Panehsy. (Adapted from Shaw 1994) Bottom: Scene from the tomb of Meryre II. (Adapted from Murnane 1995)*

east-west direction was surely the most significant because it connected Akhenaten's tomb, Stela U, the foundation offering highlighted in the Earlier Proclamation, and the Small Aten Temple.[50] This approximate east-west axis was counterbalanced by the north-south Royal Road that, we assume, was primarily used by Akhenaten and his extended family, accompanied by their immediate court officials, to travel from his residences in the North Riverside Palace and North Palace to his place of state and religious business in the

Great Palace and in the Great and Small Aten Temples. Both axes intersected precisely in the Small Aten Temple where Akhenaten's personal discourse with the Aten in the Central City took place.[51] It has been noted that Akhenaten merged with the Aten and became a living god during festival performances.[52] In this manner, he replaced the traditional god statue that was carried in processions through the public audience according to ancient Egyptian religious protocol. This constituted one of the subtle nodes in which Akhenaten built upon traditional ritual practices but channeled the focal point into his own person. It has been reconstructed from texts and certain scenes on the walls of the elite tombs at el-Amarna that the king's progress down the Royal Road, seated upon his chariot and followed by court members, was performed as glamorous noisy pageantry: his avenue was lined by jubilating subjects pushing to see him above the crowd and extending their arms toward him. In a similar fashion, they would greet the rising Sun Disk each morning to receive his light and revitalizing energy.

The core of the city was marked by this intersection of the east-west trajectory of the Aten Disc and the north-south processional route of the king at the Small Aten Temple. Here the king engaged in more private interaction with his god and then proceeded to attend to the secular business of the state in the Great Palace and of public religion in the Great Aten Temple. At the end of the day, the Sun Disk sank into the western horizon and Akhenaten departed back north to his North Riverside Palace.

On a geopolitical level, the Royal Road paralleled the Nile River and thus symbolically extended to north and south Egypt. North and south Egypt, materialized by the vast, low-lying, fertile delta and the barren desert hills, respectively, had a long history in the iconography of pharaonic Egypt since their mythohistorical unification under King Narmer around 3000 BCE.[53] Most pharaohs portrayed themselves as rulers over both—north and south, or Lower and Upper Egypt—as iconographically referenced by wearing two different crowns or by binding the papyrus and lotus plants (symbols of Lower and Upper Egypt, respectively), or by structural allusions within architectural layouts. Akhenaten surely shared these ideas but also redefined them: by counterbalancing his secular north-south axis/Royal Road with the religious east-west axis of Aten, he first of all projected spatial claims to the confines of Egypt and probably to the "Horizon of the Aten"/Akhetaten, which encompasses the world. Second, by intersecting the two axes in the Small Aten Temple, he localized their center, metaphorically claiming universal rule from the heart of his capital. This localization may have had another political component: el-Amarna is situated in Middle Egypt, between Upper and Lower

Egypt, whereas previous capitals had clearly been positioned in the north or south divisions (Old Kingdom Memphis in Lower Egypt and New Kingdom Thebes in Upper Egypt). Akhenaten seems to have reinterpreted the spatial relations between Upper and Lower Egypt, perhaps by laying equal claims on both. He articulated them in the Earlier and Later Proclamations from regnal years 5 and 6 (see above) in which he described Akhetaten as a fixed place, delimited by the boundary stelae, but the bounty of resources and landscape features it purports to harbor encompasses the world.

CONCLUSIONS

The above reconstruction of el-Amarna presents the extraordinary example of a political landscape that was ordained by a god and executed by a ruler as his earthly agent. The texts of the Earlier and Later Proclamations record the Aten god's instructions and their interpretation and execution by Akhenaten.[54] The surviving remains on the ground make it possible to evaluate what Akhenaten actually built versus what he proclaimed to construct. The architectural, sculptural, and textual evidences provide intriguing mosaic tesserae that allow us to piece together the political landscape of el-Amarna, a direct mirror image of Akhenaten's ideology that fused his personal religion as the main ingredient, with state business as a secondary add-on.

Claiming to follow the commands of the Sun Disk, Akhenaten shaped a cultural landscape devised to cement the following power relations:[55]

Aten and Akhenaten

The relationship between Aten and Akhenaten may be characterized as an undulating engagement of merging and separating into Father and Son. The natural setting of the capital was supposedly selected by Aten, and his daily rise projected his name along the eastern horizon. Akhenaten devised an urban layout that structured his processional and ritual movements to approach the Aten. Most potent was the east-west axis between the Royal Wadi and the Aten temples, which he activated with public chariot rides and the great eastern offering most likely commemorated on Stela U. The ultimate and permanent union between Aten and Akhenaten was orchestrated to occur at death and with his burial in the Royal Wadi, from where he would rise in Aten in perpetuity.

It seems reasonable to suggest that Akhenaten periodically repeated his ritual approaches and offerings to Aten at all the boundary stelae, away from

the urban core where his communion with the Father was more direct and personal. On a microscale, his interaction with the Aten Disk through bountiful offerings was repeated on altars, shrines, podia, and thrones throughout the city, as evidenced by the offering scenes on the balustrades, parapet walls, and tomb paintings. Most of these offering reliefs known today come from the Great Aten Temple and the Great Palace but some have been recorded in private houses of the citizens of el-Amarna.

The special dynamics between Akhenaten and Aten must still be further explored through linguistic analogies and issues of representation. The word *akh* ("beneficient") in his name has more complex connotations: it may refer to a spiritual state of luminosity, transfiguration, and personal union with the god and can signify spirit beings.[56] It is derived from the term for "radiant light" written with the crested ibis in hieroglyphic texts.[57] From this perspective, Akh-enaten and his city, Akh-etaten, shared a liminal aspect that positioned them from the material world toward the realm of the divine.

This link between Akh-enaten, Akh-etaten, the Aten god, and shining qualities had a material correlate in the faïence and glass production at el-Amarna. Texts dating to the reign of Amenhotep III describe the Aten as "dazzling" and "gleaming," using the Egyptian word *tjehen*. A related word *tjehenet* means faïence.[58] El-Amarna became a major center of faïence and glass production as well as for inlays of special stones needed for sculptural works. It is tempting to suggest a correlation between the shimmering, dazzling, visual characteristics of these materials and the radiance of the Aten. Faïence-making had a long history in Egypt but glass working was a new technology during the Eighteenth Dynasty and Egyptian artisans were probably eager to explore it. At the same time, we assume that artistic production was to a large degree state controlled and Akhenaten likely promoted the faïence and glass industries and inlay sculptures to serve his ideological agenda.

Aten, on the other hand, was humanized on many levels in the repertoire of his representation. Traditional Egyptian gods were generally defined as invisible beings represented in the iconography through human and animal symbolism; in contrast, Aten was understood as the visible sun disk. From about year 9 of Akhenaten's reign on, Aten's name was written inside two cartouches, a format normally reserved for the royal couple. Further, the Aten-disk received the protective cobra (*uraeus*), the most prestigious emblem of royalty displayed on the king's headdress. In these ways, Aten was brought to life in the human world and Akhenaten assumed a certain divine status facilitating the union of the god and the king, of sky and earth, which was so succinctly dramatized at the boundary stelae.

As pharaoh, Akhenaten ruled, of course, over all Egyptians and we do not know the mechanisms he used to recruit people to follow him to the new capital.[59] In Smith's terms,[60] a subject always surrenders some portion of will to somebody else, an act that generates authority and ultimately leads to political constellations. Of course we cannot know the precise mechanisms of subjectivity Akhenaten employed to forge various loyal subject groups. In the following, I briefly review the archaeological data from residential sectors that offer insights into links of individuals and social groups to the sovereign political regime.[61]

Archaeological excavations have documented a great number of residences in the Main City, in the North and South Suburbs, as well as in the Workmen's Village (figure 1.8). These sectors grew organically, as opposed to the planned-grid layout of the Central City. Excavations of private houses did not find any consistent correlation between architectural forms and distances to the city core: large houses abut smaller ones and some of Akhenaten's high officials identified in inscriptions and tomb scenes, for example, the vizier Nakht and the High Priest Panehesy, lived in residences far away from the Great Palace and must have commuted to their place of employment in chariots. Not all elites and nobles had big houses, but regardless of size the form of the el-Amarna house is very much consistent: the "standard villa" of el-Amarna was mostly built of mud brick. It featured a central square living room with a bench along one wall and one or more wooden columns on stone bases supporting the ceiling. This central room was surrounded by private living quarters, reception rooms, and storage spaces. The walls were whitewashed with a type of plaster. Many houses were several stories high and were fenced off by a perimeter wall.[62]

Especially interesting has been the discovery of dwellings and workshops belonging to artisans. In 1912, a German archaeological expedition exposed the remains of a large mansion-style home and studio situated near the more modest dwellings and workshops of other craft specialists. Inside this elite residence, investigators retrieved an artifact incised with the name *Tuthmosis*. Based on this evidence, the owner has been identified with the sculptor Tuthmosis. During further excavations, researchers found a storage room containing large numbers of works of art, including the renowned painted limestone bust of Nefertiti. Analysis of these artworks allows insights into artistic processes and royal commissions at el-Amarna.[63]

The architectural layouts and settlement patterns of the North Suburb, Main City, South Suburb, and Workmen's Village do not suggest the firm

hand of the state. It seems that individuals and particularly members of the upper classes enjoyed the liberty to make some choices as to where they wished to reside and which house size would suit them. Analyses of interior furnishings and artifacts recovered from domestic compounds have provided further insights into elite lives and their negotiated power relations with their ruler.

With regard to domestic religion, Anna Stevens has investigated altars, niches, cupboards, lustration slabs, domestic reliefs, and inscriptions, as well as portable objects such as offering tables, basins, shrines, vessels, statues, and stelae in private houses.[64] Approximately forty altars have been identified in Amarna private houses in the Main City, the Central City, the North Suburb, and possibly in the Workmen's Village. Most notable is the elaborate altar encountered in the residence of Panehesy, First Servitor of the Aten, situated in the Central City.[65] This altar represents one case of the altar platform accessed by balustraded ramps discussed earlier, and the front face of this altar displays scenes of the royal family worshipping the Aten. Although this is the only altar of this form so far identified in a private house, it establishes evidence that the theme of Akhenaten's offering to the Sun Disk was transposed from the public ramped and balustraded altar platforms and throne daises to the interior of elite residences. This is clearly one level of state control in which the ruler has inserted himself into the private family setting as the living personification of the state god who must be worshipped. Most of the remaining altars were built of mud brick. Many have the form of a rectangular platform approached by steps or a ramp that may have been framed by balustrades in a few examples.

Further, scenes of worship of the royal family and Aten as well as prayers to the Aten were found in painted reliefs associated with niches and doorways in residential areas. Numerous statues of royal family members and stelae bearing incised images of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, their daughters, and the Aten come from domestic contexts. Interestingly, a small number of painted scenes showing the royal family were discovered in the Workmen's Village, the zone of lower-class Amarna citizens.[66] Thus Akhenaten was present in many households in visual form. His images materialized his essence and functioned as intermediaries his subjects were invited to invoke when they wished to address the Aten Disk.[67] At the same time, archaeologists retrieved numerous non-royal figurines, statuettes, and images: fertility figurines; depictions of such divinities as Thoth, Ptah, and Taweret; sacred animals; private individuals; and vessels with Bes figures, Hathor heads, or modeled cobras.[68] The material evidence suggests that ritual activities on multiple levels were

carried out in many houses and active domestic cults in general. Religious-ritual life on a household level appears to have interwoven state-mandated practices with family and lineage traditions and ancestor worship. From this perspective, I see a negotiated power discourse between Akhenaten and his citizens, which permitted the continuance of some religious family customs side-by-side with the official worship of the royal family and the Aten.[69] This allowance of religious freedom was probably counterbalanced by required attendance at the pageantry of Akhenaten's daily chariot rides along the Royal Road and his communion and identification with the Aten Disk at the Aten Temples. Another valid consideration may be that Akhenaten's understanding of the Aten as the life force of all living things may have projected a sense of egalitarian unity, at least on a conceptual spiritual level.[70]

Akhenaten and Foreigners

Consensus in the literature is that foreign relations were not Akhenaten's priority business. The main source about international relations during the Amarna Period are the Amarna letters, a series of about 350 documents of international state-level correspondence written on clay tablets in a cuneiform script.[71] The texts span roughly 30 years from the reign of Amenhotep III to the early years of Tutankhamun. These unique records were found by accident in 1887 by a villager digging for mudbrick in the ruins of el-Amarna. The structure that housed the letters was excavated four years later by Flinders Petrie.

The Amarna letters have been organized into two general categories: one relates communications between the Egyptian pharaoh and his contemporary peers; the other addresses interactions between these rulers and their vassals. Collectively the first category of Amarna letters sketches a picture that the reign of Amenhotep III was stable and relatively peaceful. Egypt was wealthy due to booming trade and a continuous flow of tribute. Amenhotep III was on good terms with the other powerful rulers in the ancient Near East and they all treated each other as equals.

Akhenaten inherited this state of affairs. Nevertheless, during his reign, problems between neighboring peer leaders arose and intensified, allied rulers petitioned Akhenaten for troops, and vassal governors who controlled Egyptian territories to the north begged for more resources. Apparently Akhenaten ignored many of these requests. His strategy seems to have been to maintain Egyptian territorial possessions and deal with his vassal governors as necessary, rather than engaging in proactive military campaigns. Akhenaten's lack of interest in military matters is reflected in the iconography at el-Amarna.

Scenes of the fighting pharaoh towering over a prostrate enemy or riding to battle in his chariot so common in other New Kingdom temples on pylons and interior walls are strikingly absent from el-Amarna.[72]

Foreigners are shown in non-militaristic contexts. The tribute ceremony rendered in the elite tomb of the Royal Scribe, Steward, Overseer of the Two Treasuries, Overseer of the Royal Harem displays a great number of individuals, foreigners as well as Egyptians, carrying tribute items to the royal family presented on a podium accessed by ramps (figure 1.10b). Foreigners clearly came to el-Amarna to bring or exchange tribute, depending on their status. A diplomatic letter from the ruler of Assyria states that many emissaries complained Akhenaten made them wait for hours in full sunlight in his unroofed governmental buildings intended to physically introduce them to his new god, the Sun Disk.[73]

This essay has demonstrated that el-Amarna was designed to be both a political capital and a ceremonial city.[74] It was constructed into micro- and macro-units of space that broadcast the interweaving power relations between Akhenaten and Aten down to the household level, throughout the city, and to the rest of Egypt. The ideological landscape was grounded in the natural setting of the Bay of Amarna and el-Amarna/Akhet-Aten became a miniature version of the cosmogram conflating the pharaoh and the Sun God:

> Now within these four stelae, from the eastern mountain to the western mountain, is Akhet-Aten itself. It belongs to my father . . . who gives life forever, with mountains, deserts, meadows, new lands, highlands, fresh lands, fields, water, settlements, shorelands, people, cattle, trees, and all other things that Aten my father will let be forever.[75]

APPENDIX 1.A

The Later Proclamation

    I. Dateline (= regnal year 6, IV Prt 13) . . .

   II. Titulary of the king

  III. Titulary of the queen

  IV. Public appearance of the king, journey to the site of Akhet-Aten . . .

   V. Journey to the southeastern mountain of Akhet-Aten

 VI. The Royal Oath:
    A. Preamble

B. The borders of the city's territory are defined by means of the six principal boundary stelae.

"As for the southern stela which is on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it is the stela of 'Horizon of the Orb', the one beside which I make my stand. I shall not go past it to the south forever and ever. Make the southwestern stela across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' exactly!

"As for the intermediate stela on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it is the stela of 'Horizon of the Orb', the one beside which I make my stand on the mountain of the orient-(side) of 'Horizon of the Orb'. I shall not go past it to the orient forever and ever. Make the intermediate stela which is on the western (side) of 'Horizon of the Orb' across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' exactly! I shall not go past it to the west forever and ever.

"As for the northeastern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' by which I make my stand, it is the northern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb.' I shall not go past it downstream forever and ever. Make the northwestern stela which is on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' across from it exactly!

C. Dimensions of Akhet-Aten

"Now, as for 'Horizon of the Orb', starting from the southern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' as far as the northern stela, measured between stela to stela on the eastern (*var*. western) mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it makes six *iter*, one and three-quarter rods and four cubits.

"Similarly, starting from the southwestern stela of 'Horizon of the Orb' to the northwestern stela upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it makes six *iter*, one and three-quarter rods and four cubits similarly, exactly!

D. Dedication of this territory to the god

"As to the interior of the four stelae, starting with the eastern (*var*. "western") mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb' as far as the western (*var*. "eastern") mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', it is 'Horizon of the Orb' in its entirety. It belongs to my Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever—consisting of hills, flatlands, marshes, "new lands", basin lands, fresh lands, fields, waters, towns, banks, people, herds, groves (and) everything that the Orb, my father, has made and caused them to come into existence forever and ever.

VII. Guarantees

    A. The oath shall not be ignored, but will remain permanently on the boundary stelae

"I shall not ignore this oath that I am making for the Orb, my father forever and ever, but it shall remain upon a tablet of stone at the southeastern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the intermediate stela that is on the eastern mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the northeastern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the southwestern (*var.* northwestern) border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly the intermediate stela which is on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly, it shall remain in 'Horizon of the Orb' on a tablet of stone at the southwestern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

"Similarly upon the northwestern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

    B. The boundary stelae shall be maintained and repaired as needed

"It shall not be obliterated. It shall not be washed (away). It shall not be hacked out. It shall not be (white)washed with plaster. It shall not go missing.

"If it does go missing, if it disappears, if the tablet on which it is falls down, I shall renew it again as a new thing in this place in which it is."

XIII. Repetition of the Oath in regnal year 8, I Peret 8

  IX. The Colophon

    A. Preamble to the new Royal Oath

    B. Reaffirmation of the borders that are defined by the six principal boundary stelae

"As my Father, THE ATEN—given life everlastingly forever—lives: regarding the six stelae that I have established at the boundaries of 'Horizon of the Orb'—the three stelae that are on the orient mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', together with the three stelae across from them, which are on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'— let the southern stela that is on the orient mountain be opposite the southern stela that is across from it on the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Let it be the southern boundary of 'Horizon of the Orb', while the northern stela, which is on the orient mountain

of 'Horizon of the Orb', is opposite the northern stela that is across from it, upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Let it be the northern border of 'Horizon of the Orb'. Similarly, the intermediate stela which is on the orient mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb', opposite the intermediate stela that is across from it, upon the western mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'.

C. Reaffirmation of the god's ownership of Akhet-Aten

"Now, regarding the territorial extent [*literally* "breadth"] of 'Horizon of the Orb', mountain to mountain, starting from the eastern horizon of the sky [to] the western horizon of the [sky], it shall belong to my Father, THE ATEN, given life everlastingly forever—consisting of its mountain(s) (and) desert lands, consisting of [its marshes and "new lands", as] well [as] consisting of its sustenance, consisting of its birds, consisting of all its people, consisting of all its herds, consisting of everything which the Orb has brought into being and on which his rays shine, consisting of everything [that is] in the . . . of 'Horizon of the Orb'. [They] belong to my Father, the living orb, to (be) the Estate of the Orb forever and ever. Their entirety is offered to His Ka, and his brilliant rays receive them." (Murnane and van Siclen III, 1993), 99–104, 196

NOTES

1. Psychologists have long argued that human beings cannot create anything without reference to something that came prior and recent research has focused on physical and religious elements Akhenaten indeed adopted and emulated from his predecessors; see M. Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," in *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun*, ed. R. E. Freed, Y. J. Markowitz, and S. H. D'Auria (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 72–79; M. Mallinson, "Akhetaten—Nothing Comes From Nowhere," in *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*, ed. S. Ikram and A. Dodson (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2009), vol. 1: 223–240.

2. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

3. Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 73–75.

4. Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 75–77.

5. The case of el-Amarna is strikingly different from that of other capitals discussed in this volume, which were copied and emulated in other locations (see Constantinople, Cusco), had to negotiate political and spatial relations with neighbors (see

Tenochtitlan), or experienced changing geopolitical relations as they grew and were altered over time (see Rome, Matera, Tehran).

6. Most important are the many publications by scholars associated with the British Amarna project referenced at their meticulously updated website www.amarna project.com. Two major exhibitions about Akhenaten and el-Amarna have generated richly illustrated catalogues with chapters that contextualize the current state of knowledge for wider public audiences: R. E. Freed, Y. J. Markowitz, and S. H. D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamun* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999); David P. Silverman, Josef W. Wegner, and Jennifer Houser Wegner, *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006).

7. The latest publication by Barry Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and Its People* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012) is doing this. The primary referent in this chapter remains the natural and political landscape.

8. Ideology is here understood as an interweave of political ambitions and spirituality.

9. Janet Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley," in *Archaeologies of Landscape*, eds. Wendy Ashmore and Bernhard Knapp (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 85–91.

10. www.amarnaproject.com. This updated website and its extensive links constitutes a treasure trove of most of the information currently available about el-Amarna. Most noteworthy are a three-dimensional model of a large section of the city of el-Amarna produced for the 1999 Amarna exhibition held in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston as well as the extensive bibliography. Most excavation data are accessible (though not via the website) in Barry Kemp, ed., *Amarna Reports I–VI,* Occasional Papers 1, 2, 10, Occasional Publications 4–6 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1984–1987, 1989, 1995). A brilliant summary of the current understanding is Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti.*

11. Cyril Aldred, "The Horizon of the Aten," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 62 (1976): 184.

12. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 45.

Since this records the essential founding event of el-Amarna, the full text of Sections I and IV of the Earlier Proclamation are given here:

I. Regnal year 5, IV Peret 13 (a): Live the Good God, who rejoices [in Ma'at], Lord of heaven, lord of [earth]; the [great living] o[rb who illumi]nates the two banks (b); (my [?]) Father (c), THE ATEN; the great living orb who is in jubilee within the [House] of the Orb (d) in 'Horizon of the Orb'.

IV. On this day, when One was in 'Horizon of [the Orb],' his Majesty [appeared] (o) upon the great chariot of electrum, like the orb when He

rises in His horizon and fills the land with the [lo]ve [and pleasantness (?) of] the Orb (p).

Setting [off] on a good road [toward] 'Horizon of the Orb' (q), His place of the primeval occurrence, which He made for Himself that He might set within it daily, (and) which His son Waenre made—His great monument, which He founded for himself; His horizon, [in which the circuit] comes into being (r), He being [behe]ld with joy (s), the land being in rejoicing (and) every heart in exultation when they see Him.

There was presented a great oblation to the Father, THE ATEN, consisting of bread, beer, long- and short-horned cattle, calves, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, all sorts of fresh green plants, and everythi[ng] good in f[ront of] (t) the mountain of 'Horizon of the Orb'; [and there was caused the o]ffering (u) of a [go]od [and pure] libation (v) on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferkheprure-Waenre.

After this were performed the rites of the Orb (w), who was [satis]fied (x) with what was done for Him. One rejoiced, and the heart [of this god (?)] was joyous [concerning] 'Horizon of the Orb' with exuberant delight (y), while resting over [His] place so that he could be glad concerning it and concerning the raising up of His beauty [in it daily and in the course of every day (?)] (x). And his [Majes]ty was in the presence of his Father THE ATEN, the rays of the orb being upon him in life, stability, [dominion, health and joy (?) (aa) fore]ver and ever. (William J. Murnane and Charles C. van Sicklen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1993], 35–37)

13. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 46–48.

14. Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes," 85–91.

15. Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes," 91–95.

16. Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 8.

17. Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes," 95.

18. Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 83.

19. Richards, "Conceptual Landscapes," 95–98.

20. http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/boundary_stelae /index.shtml, accessed August 17, 2013.

21. www.amarnaproject.com.

22. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, vol. 5, *Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund 1908. Reprinted by the Egypt

Exploration Society, 2004). Davies covered all monuments known at his time and recorded their architectural features as well as their inscriptions.

23. William J. Murnane and Charles C. van Sicklen, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993).

24. See Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* vol. 5.

25. In the first proclamation Akhenaten sets out his intentions. It is dated to his regnal year 5, 4th month of winter, day 13:

> 'On this day, when One (Pharaoh Akhenaten) was in Akhetaten, His Majesty [appeared] on the great chariot of electrum . . . Setting [off] on a good road [toward] Akhetaten, His place of creation, which He made for Himself that He might set within it every day . . . There was presented a great offering to the Father, The Aten, consisting of bread, beer, long- and short-horned cattle, calves, fowl, wine, fruits, incense, all kinds of fresh green plants, and everything good, in front of the mountain of Akhetaten . . .'

The king addresses his gathered courtiers:

> 'As the Aten is beheld, the Aten desires that there be made for him . . . as a monument with an eternal and everlasting name. Now, it is the Aten, my father, who advised me concerning it, [namely] Akhetaten. No official has ever advised me concerning it, not any of the people who are in the entire land has ever advised me concerning it, to suggest making Akhetaten in this distant place. It was the Aten, my fath[er, who advised me] concerning it, so that it might be made for Him as Akhetaten . . . Behold, it is Pharaoh who has discovered it: not being the property of a god, not being the property of a goddess, not being the property of a ruler, not being the property of a female ruler, not being the property of any people to lay claim to it . . .'
>
> 'I shall make Akhetaten for the Aten, my father, in this place. I shall not make Akhetaten for him to the south of it, to the north of it, to the west of it, to the east of it. I shall not expand beyond the southern stela of Akhetaten toward the south, nor shall I expand beyond the northern stela of Akhetaten toward the north, in order to make Akhetaten for him there. Nor shall I make (it) for him on the western side of Akhetaten, but I shall make Akhetaten for the Aten, my father, on the east of Akhetaten, the place which He Himself made to be enclosed for Him by the mountain . . .'
>
> 'I shall make the "House of the Aten" for the Aten, my father, in Akhetaten in this place. I shall make the "Mansion of the Aten" for the Aten, my father, in Akhetaten in this place. I shall make the Sun Temple of the [Great King's] Wife [Nefernefruaten-Nefertiti] for the Aten, my father, in

Akhetaten in this place. I shall make the "House of Rejoicing" for the Aten, my father, in the "Island of the Aten, Distinguished in Jubilees" in Akhetaten in this place . . . I shall make for myself the apartments of Pharaoh, I shall make the apartments of the Great King's Wife in Akhetaten in this place.'

'Let a tomb be made for me in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten. Let my burial be made in it, in the millions of jubilees which the Aten, my father, has decreed for me. Let the burial of the Great King's Wife, Nefertiti, be made in it, in the millions of yea[rs which the Aten, my father, decreed for her. Let the burial of] the King's Daughter, Meritaten, [be made] in it, in these millions of years. If I die in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in these millions of years, let me be brought back, that I may be buried in Akhetaten. If the Great King's Wife, Nefertiti, dies in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in these millions of years, let her be brought back, that she may be buried in Akhetaten. If the King's Daughter, Meritaten, dies in any town downstream, to the south, to the west, to the east in these millions of years, let her be brought back, that she may be buried in Akhetaten. Let a cemetery for the Mnevis Bull [be made] in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten, that he may be buried in it. Let the tombs of the Chief of Seers, of the God's Fathers of the [Aten . . .] be made in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten, that they may be buried in it. Let [the tombs] of the priests of the [Aten] be [made in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten] that they may b[e bur]ied in it.' (www.amarna project.com)

26. On the ground, the two stelae are out of sight from each other. Topographically, Stela X more precisely aligns with Stela B on the west side yet they cannot define the northern border since such a scenario would leave Stela A outside the city limits (figure 1.4). We begin to see that the clear and mathematically structured layout of el-Amarna as articulated by Akhenaten in his oaths does not match the realities on the ground. We have to treat it as an idealized construct, as Akhenaten's imaginative vision of his capital that is partly materialized.

27. A full build-out of the Bay of Amarna would have been very difficult due to problems with water supply. The main sources of water in the city were wells dug down from the desert surface. The farther that buildings were situated away from the Nile floodplain, the deeper the wells had to be cut in order to reach the water table. It proved impractical to extend the settlements much more than half a mile into the desert (Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 57; Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 53–55).

28. www.amarnaproject.com, Amarna the Place, Boundary Stelae.

29. Dominic Montserrat, *Akhenaten History: Fantasy and Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21–23.

30. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 50.

31. Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," 75–76.

32. See also Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 37–39.

33. For an alternative reconstruction of the Royal Road, see ibid., fig. 2.1.

34. My discussion of El-Amarna city follows Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 57–91, unless noted otherwise.

35. Charles Gates, *Ancient Cities* (London: Routledge, 2003), 114.

36. Silverman et al, *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 61.

37. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 63. See also David O. Connor, "City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt," *Cahier de recherchés de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'egyptologie de Lille*, *Encyclopedie universitaire* 11, 11 (1989), 86.

38. Ian Shaw, "Balustrades, Stairs and Altars in the cult of the Aten at el-Amarna," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 80 (1994): 109–127.

39. See David O'Connor, "City and Palace," 73–74, for a synopsis of the literature about Egyptian royal palaces up to his time.

40. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 66.

41. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 68–69.

42. Jelena Bogdanović alerted me to this possibility.

43. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 71–77.

44. Paraphrased by Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 77–79.

45. See also David O'Connor, 1989.

46. See, for example, Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 156.

47. Shaw, *Balustrades, Stairs and Altars*, 109–127.

48. Shaw, *Balustrades, Stairs and Altars*, fig. 5.

49. Another architectural parallel may exist in the balconies of the Great Palace from which the royal family made ceremonial appearances that cast them in the aura of divine cult images (Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 23). The iconography and setting of the boundary stelae may have been perceived like palace balconies by the attending court audience.

50. The precise east-west axis forms a straight line from the Royal Wadi to the Small Aten Temple (see Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, fig. 4.4). The more general and symbolically charged east-west direction includes Stela U and the Great Aten Temple.

51. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 50.

52. Silverman et al, *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 93–103; David O'Connor, 1989, 86.

53. See, for example, the analysis of the "Palette of Narmer" by Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 149–152.

54. Alternate scholarly approaches have emphasized that during the New Kingdom before Akhenaten, urbanism in Egypt was in a state of change: old crowded towns were abandoned and relocated to new spacious sites on level ground on the adjacent flood plains (for instance, Memphis). From this perspective, el-Amarna would not be unique but simply constitute one example of this changing form of urban design. Barry Kemp, "The City of el-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Urban Society in Ancient Egypt," *World Archaeology* 9/2 (1977): 123–139, esp. 126.

55. Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 75–77.

56. Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 21. For example, the dead whose bodies had been made permanent through mummification became *akh*-spirits. Thus Akhenaten's new name implied bodily integrity and his liminal status as intercessor between humans and their gods.

57. Lehner, *Complete Pyramids*, 24.

58. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 117–120.

59. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 105, allude to evidence that people from cities throughout Egypt were forced to relocate at el-Amarna.

60. Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 182.

61. See, for example, Smith, *Political Landscapes*, 182–183.

62. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 105–107; Kemp, *The City of el-Amarna*, 123–139.

63. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 107–115.

64. Anna Stevens, "The Material Evidence for Domestic Religion at Amarna and Preliminary Remarks on Its Interpretation," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89 (2003): 143–168.

65. Stevens, "The Material Evidence," 145–146.

66. Stevens, "The Material Evidence," 149–158.

67. Dominic Montserrat warns that art historians have often misinterpreted the realistic el-Amarna style showcasing Akhenaten and his family as snapshots of royal life and biographical documents. Those scenes on stelae set up on shrines in private houses were clearly religious objects where residents would approach the king and his wife as intermediaries to petition a favor from the Aten (Montserrat, *Akhenaten History*, 44–45).

68. Stevens, "The Material Evidence," 158–159.

69. It is intriguing to note here that Akhenaten's loyalty to Aten was not absolute. He himself integrated older deities into the Aten worship: up to year 9 of his reign, he and his wife Nefertiti frequently identified themselves with and presented themselves as Shu, the god of air, and Tefnut, the goddess of moisture. Shu and Tefnut occupied the space between earth and sky and were believed to greet the rising sun. Such qualities made them fitting analogies for the royal couple and traditional deities to be memorialized (Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 37–38).

From a human psychological perspective, it would have been a daunting task and nearly impossible to alter the religious mindset and the hearts of the populace in a short decade. Some scholars have argued that the social base of Akhenaten's religious reforms may indeed have been narrow and that he primarily targeted the audience of his expanded court (Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 23, 37). These elites and official visitors would have been the individuals privileged to view the non-public monuments and knowledgeable to read the texts and comprehend their ideological claims.

70. Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," 75.

71. See, for example, Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 147–159.

72. I have located one example from the "House of Rejoicing of the Aten." This building once had painted pavements depicting naturalistic scenes of animals frolicking in their habitat juxtaposed by bound enemies of Egypt. Both nature and foreigners were symbolically conquered as people walked on the pavement (Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, 45).

73. Silverman et al., *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun*, 40–41.

74. Mallinson, "The Sacred Landscape," 72.

75. Excerpt from the Later Proclamation after M. Lichtheim (trans.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 51.

2

*"Memorials of the
Ability of Them All"*

*Tetrarchic Displays in the
Roman Forum's Central Area*

Gregor Kalas

INTRODUCTION

In late ancient Rome, local senators set up portrait statues of emperors in the Roman Forum while senatorial portraits were heavily concentrated in the Forum of Trajan, since both spaces granted lasting political benefits to those depicted in the images.[1] By the late fourth century, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus spoofed aristocrats seeking excessively formal statues that seemed to express yearning for prestige rather than for senatorial virtue. Ammianus hints that Rome's aristocrats unwittingly caused cultural stagnation, since statues potentially preserved elite social hierarchy for generations to come. "Some of these men eagerly strive for statues, thinking that by them they can be made immortal, as if they would gain a greater reward from senseless bronze images than from the consciousness of honorable and virtuous conduct."[2] Such overwhelming concern for lasting fame at the expense of righteous pursuits in Ammianus's account raises questions about political representations in urban public space and how the decoration of a city made the generations of aristocrats and rulers appear to be everlasting. The desire for persistence extended to emperors whose portrait statues dominated the civic areas of late antique cities. This essay examines the interplay of portraits representing rulers and the politics of city space by examining the imperial portraits inserted into the Roman Forum around 300 CE, when an innovative form of

rulership inscribed a new cyclical pattern of imperial rule onto the main civic area of downtown Rome.

Public space played an important role in presenting the dynamics of elite status during the later Roman Empire. In his *The Political Landscape*, Adam T. Smith analyzes what he characterizes as "geopolitical landscapes" in which the author distinguishes between our modern historical accounts that chart the development of ancient societies and the brilliant use of cityscapes by premodern political authorities to shape audiences' views of both space and time.[3] Ancient cities, considered as "landscapes" in Smith's account, provide material clues to both social control and political decisions, since the physical residue at a site retains the traces of a ruler's decisions.[4] With the phrase *political landscapes*, Smith sets forth an interest in popular perceptions of authority that explain the everyday workings of ideology as mapped onto cities.[5] Specifically, Smith investigates the politicization of ancient landscapes, analyzing Mesoamerica, Mesopotamia, and Transcaucasia by looking at urban adaptations that resulted in altered temporal patterns. One of Smith's important insights concerns the possibility that a governing power might have shaped the landscape indirectly, often without having demanded specific urban interventions.[6] In other words, new political ideologies often suggested widespread public participation, resulting in material expressions that were not specifically intended by rulers to advance their agendas. Even though Smith does not specifically address Roman civilization, his concern for the ways authorities exploited perceptions of time to signal themes of territorial control sheds light on the late antique Mediterranean. The pages to follow assess how four co-reigning emperors, or Tetrarchs, transformed popular concepts of temporal patterns in downtown Rome through the outdoor displays of artworks depicting emperors.

During the last decade of the third century, the Tetrarchic emperors Diocletian and Maximian divided the empire in two and designated themselves as senior emperors, called *augusti*, each ruling over one of the two realms and each choosing a junior emperor as a *caesar*, or successor. This new system of governance by Tetrarchs expanded imperial authority and thereby interrupted the drive by senatorial aristocrats to regain power and prestige. After introducing a highly regulated scheme of joint rulership, the Tetrarchs arranged a group of statues in the Forum to illustrate their new system of imperial succession, effectively mapping concepts of periodic renewal onto urban public space.

Tetrarchic campaigns reshaped the Roman Forum. In specific, the late antique Forum displayed Tetrarchic authority using column monuments with

inscriptions and sculptural reliefs presenting the political and ritual goals. The inscriptions that accompanied the column monuments and portraits of emperors in the Forum were intended to remain on view for generations and thus the epigraphic texts indicate that public areas were believed to promote political stability. The Tetrarchs, in a sense, politicized the landscape of Rome by featuring imperial monuments in the busiest areas of the city and by generating innovative ceremonial practices. Monuments honoring the Tetrarchs reconfigured the ways audiences perceived emperors in the city.

In the third century Rome underwent a tumultuous succession of short-lived emperors prior to the reign of Diocletian. The empire's crisis during this period dispelled all illusions that either the social order or imperial governance could survive without profound structural reform. Diocletian reorganized the administration by dramatically expanding the number of prestigious offices in the empire. Many of the newly appointed officials came from outside the senatorial ranks, even though there was no intention of depriving Rome's senatorial elite of their hold on esteemed positions. Instead, with the goal of eliminating the opportunities for potential rivals to gain power in the large provinces, the Tetrarchs divided the empire into smaller provinces governed by civilian "vicars." Civilians replaced the military officers as those who collected taxes and paid soldiers, allowing Diocletian to prevent the commanders from instigating uprisings in the command of troops whose loyalty had been bought with the payouts.[7] The Tetrarchic emperors, therefore, guaranteed the longevity of imperial rule by eliminating those conditions that had once fostered usurpation. An important political shift occurred in 293, when the senior emperors, Diocletian and Maximian, appointed their first two junior *caesares*, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, with an elder ruler governing each half of the divided empire together with the chosen successor. Although the *caesares* were chosen by merit and the sons of rulers were ruled out as candidates for the imperial posts, the appointed junior successors acquired sacred power identified as that of either Jupiter or Hercules.[8] The *caesares* and the *augusti* devoted energies to strengthen the imperial jubilee ceremonies that, while rooted in earlier precedents, were altered during the Tetrarchic age so as to coordinate the schedules of the anniversaries for all four emperors. By practicing the rites of renewal together during jubilees, all of the co-ruling Tetrarchs appeared unified and imperial succession took on an almost routine pattern in the ritual schedule for the anniversaries. The Tetrarchic ceremonies are examined here in order to understand how the installation of column monuments in the Roman Forum honoring Diocletian and Maximian articulated time's renewal within city space.

The Tetrarchs primarily maintained control over the vast Roman Empire due to the movements of the necessarily itinerant rulers as they traveled to meet military challenges at territorial borders. Yet a significant feature of Tetrarchic policy was the shift of imperial residences away from Rome. After expanding the size of the imperial bureaucracy and increasing the number of provinces, the Tetrarchs instigated a growth in assemblies and rituals centered upon elite officeholders in all corners of the empire.

In late antiquity, the location of the Roman Forum, bounded by the Palatine Hill, the Capitoline Hill, and the Imperial Fora, ensured the zone's purpose as a meeting place. The paved piazza at the center of the old precinct attracted large audiences who gathered there to hear speeches from the platforms known as the Rostra (figure 2.1: 1, 2). In Rome, a tribune, an outdoor stage for public oratory, was equipped with numerous prows of ships taken in naval battles so that these many prows, or *Rostra*, prompted Romans to identify the speaker's platform as a Rostra. Only occasionally did imperial processions and formal addresses by emperors occur in the late antique Forum, since the fourth-century rulers resided outside of Rome for the most part. Given the rare appearances of emperors in Rome, statues of emperors acquired even greater significance. These artworks surrounded all the edges of the central piazza and some lined the main processional thoroughfare, the Via Sacra (figure 2.1: 8, 9). This display strategy can inferred from other locations, particularly the old forum of Cuicul (Djemila, Algeria).[9]

Profound cultural shifts in Rome, encompassing administration, ceremonies, religion, and elite social structure, provide a context for understanding the monuments honoring Diocletian and Maximian in the Roman Forum. The first generation of Tetrarchs renovated many of the structures in the Forum in addition to fostering the creation of monuments presenting their new concept of eternal rule. In particular, the Tetrarchic decoration of the Forum supported the cycles of ritual celebrations that defined a persistent rhythm of imperial governance. Diocletian and Maximian renovated buildings in order to advertise their concept of reconstituted time, which remained influential well beyond the end of the first Tetrarchy in 305 when these two senior emperors retired.

RHETORIC AND RENEWAL

The surviving panegyric texts praising the four imperial members of Diocletian's Tetrarchy feature important concepts of renewed time. An oration read aloud at Trier in 297 to celebrate Constantius Chlorus, the *caesar* of
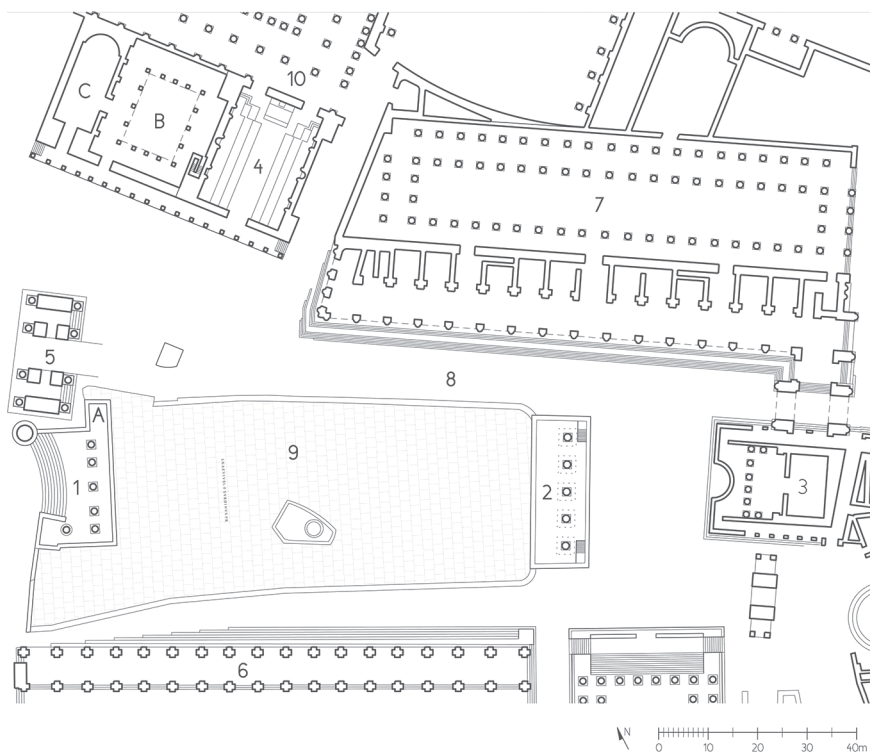
Figure 2.1. *Plan of the Roman Forum: 1: western Rostra; 2: eastern Rostra; 3: Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar; 4: Curia Senatus (Senate House); 5: Arch of Septimius Severus; 6: Basilica Julia; 7: Basilica Aemilia; 8: Via Sacra; 9: central area of the Roman Forum; 10: Forum of Caesar; A: the so-called Rostra Vandalica; B: atrium in the senatorial complex; C: Secretarium Senatus. (Drawing D. Tyler Thayer)*

the western empire, establishes a link between Tetrarchic rule and the natural sequence of the seasons. The unidentified panegyrist establishes a parallel between the four emperors and the four seasons. To argue for the relevance of the seasonal patterns to the significant temporal events celebrated by the two *caesares*, Constantius and his cohort Galerius, the author mentions that both celebrated the accession to imperial rule (*dies imperii*) on March 1, 293. The first day of March marked the traditional New Year's day. Political events, thus, precisely coincided with seasonal cycles commencing in March, since imperial anniversaries occurred on the first day of spring. "O season, at which it is rightly believed that all things were born, since we now see everything

made strong in the same season [spring]. O kalends of March, as once you marked the beginnings of the revolving years, so now you mark those of eternal emperors. How many ages, most invincible rulers, do you generate for yourselves and for the state by sharing the guardianship of your world?"[10] Even if the Julian calendar, used in 297, featured the New Year of 1 January, celebrations known as *natalis martis* on 1 March continued during late antiquity and appointing the *caesares* on the March date imbued the moment of imperial accession with a potential for renewal.[11] A cycle of imperial celebrations merged the ritual acts of regeneration with the desire for a lasting form of rulership. Joint dates of accession such as the concurrent appointments of Constantius and Galerius pointed toward the perfect coordination among the Tetrarchs. In fact, the conceptual unity further required that each individual emperor issue laws in the name of all four.[12] The new concept of unity among jointly reigning emperors tied to the joint accession dates was intended to install a lasting group of rulers whose ranks could be refreshed with successive appointments.[13] Finally, jubilees renewed the initial moment of accession, such as when Constantius and Galerius celebrated the five-year anniversary of joint rulership (*quinquennalia*) in 297.

The four Tetrarchic emperors jointly ruled a single empire; it was separated into distinct administrative sectors and yet these were unified by the conceptual harmony among the rulers. All four emperors were praised together in the panegyric delivered in 297 where the division of the world into four emerged from the natural appearance of four seasons and the four essential elements. Addressing Constantius directly, the orator states: "Indeed all the most important things depend upon and rejoice in the number of your divinity, for there are four elements and as many seasons of the year, a world divided fourfold by a double ocean, the *lustra* which return after four revolutions of the sky, the sun's team of four horses, and Vesper and Lucifer added to the two lamps of the sky."[14] The references to the morning star, Lucifer, and the evening star, Vesper, allude to the daily cycle of celestial events. The two stars transported by the chariot pulling the sun across the sky set forth that the two *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, experienced renewal on a daily basis by comparison to the rising sun. Natural groupings of four give the four Tetrarchs coherence when they follow the "four revolutions of the sky," since the elements of air, earth, fire, and water total up to four and there are even the four land masses.[15] Nature, thus, grants to the four emperors the semblance that they adhere to a divine order.[16]

To sort out the spheres of governance, Diocletian ruled in the east together with the *caesar* Galerius while in the west Maximian served as *augustus* with Constantius as *caesar*. Despite the territorial division, the emperors presented

an image of the two divided realms operating as one. Their unity was entirely conceptual, not necessary based on blood ties. Indeed, Diocletian broke the chain of dynastic succession by denying the birthright of emperors' sons to gain imperial positions and he appointed new *caesars* in 305 who were unrelated to the current members of the imperial college.[17] Further, all four acquired the victory title earned by a single emperor.[18] In 305 Diocletian and Maximian retired jointly, allowing their junior successors to receive promotions in unison. Even though the initial pair of senior rulers preferred joint retirements to coordinate the moment of accession for the next two, the Tetrarchic emperors, after attaining positions of power, did not select precise terms for the imperial offices. The clear priority was the semblance of togetherness among the rulers as projected in coins, inscriptions, and public monuments.[19] As a result, the first generation of Tetrarchs regulated the cycle of time by orchestrating and celebrating joint appointments. But those who joined the imperial college were not dynasts. Objections from Constantius's son Constantine and Maximian's son Maxentius to their initial exclusion from the Tetrarchy caused them to dismantle the non-hereditary system. It fell apart in 306.

Diocletian and Maximian had attempted to prevent such a crisis by establishing a parallel between earthly governance and the heavenly order. During the first Tetrarchy, Diocletian adopted the pseudonym of Jupiter and Maximian named himself after Hercules in anticipation that the divine identities would remain permanent even as the particular imperial officeholders changed. In Tetrarchic politics, the emperors reinstated among mortals the system that had always operated under Jupiter and Hercules.[20] During the first Tetrarchy, the accomplishments of Maximian renewed the power of Diocletian in the official orations and this reciprocity ultimately restored authority to the immortals, Jupiter and Hercules.

None of the Tetrarchs resided in Rome, refusing to live in the traditional locus of power and thereby preventing one individual ruler from appearing as if he were holding the topmost position. Clearly, all of the emperors had to remain on the move to defend borders at the empire's periphery and they shifted their residences accordingly.[21] Yet, in deference to the local senatorial traditions in the ancient capital, the Tetrarchs did not advertise the demotion of Rome. No longer the sole residential capital of the empire, Rome benefited nonetheless from architectural projects with the structures built up or restored and with proper credit accorded to the current emperors. Thus, even as the Tetrarchic rulers pursued globalization that transferred power to other cities, the co-ruling emperors exploited building activities to announce the benefits of renewal in Rome.

In the texts of the panegyrics, the Tetrarchic ideal of renewal is shown to establish a parallel between the natural order of seasons, on the one hand, and patterns of earthly governance, on the other. Since the Tetrarchs postponed the rituals of triumph until they could be conducted in unison during imperial anniversaries, the cycle of jubilees became critical events in providing a fixed schedule for each duo or foursome of victors to celebrate together. This type of triumph, commemorated each decade, required new types of monuments for the Tetrarchic Roman Forum.

THE TETRARCHIC ROMAN FORUM

The emperors Diocletian and Maximian resurrected the prestige of Rome by updating public space and sponsoring architectural reconstruction projects. Thanks to the Tetrarchic renovations of the preexisting Rostra originally installed under Augustus at the west end of the Forum square, the Tetrarchs strategically articulated that they had updated the early days of the principate. Diocletian and Maximian also set up a row of five freestanding columns to support statues on the western Rostra. By adding a second, matching Rostra at the east end of the Forum's paved central area with its own five-column monument, the Tetrarchs paired the two statue groups as the backdrops for the imperial jubilees through which they regularized time (figure 2.1: 1, 2).

There was a pressing need to rebuild much of the Forum at the outset of the Tetrarchy.[22] At the end of emperor Carinus's reign in 283, a tragic fire damaged much of the Roman Forum. During the following decade, senatorial assemblies could not be held in the ruined Curia Julia. Also, judges could not preside over law courts in the devastated Basilica Julia and Basilica Aemilia. By 300 Diocletian and Maximian had repaired the Augustan Rostra, the Senate House (Curia Senatus), the Basilica Aemilia, and the Basilica Julia (figure 2.1).[23] There is evidence that the Tetrarchs expanded the Senate House by integrating the senatorial assembly hall into a complex featuring a courtyard and senatorial meeting rooms inserted into the narrow halls (*tabernae*) to the west of the Curia (figure 2.1: 4, B, C).[24] To supplement the senatorial compound, Diocletian and Maximian turned the Forum's central area into a site for imperial messages by linking the Augustan Rostra at the piazza's west end with the newly inserted Rostra at the eastern edge of the square (figure 2.1: 1, 2). Diocletian and Maximian used images to connect their political innovations with their architectural conservation projects. These ideological messages about synchronized rulership were reinforced in Tetrarchic oratory.

What were the ritual implications of architectural restoration that Diocletian and Maximian pursued in the Roman Forum? When activated during imperial ceremonies, the two Tetrarchic Rostra with towering columns holding up statues suggested that the monuments reinforced the cycle of rituals by symbolizing divine temporal patterns. The key Tetrarchic event in Rome was the twenty-year jubilee celebration in November 303 for which the *augusti* Diocletian and Maximian arrived in person. That ceremony also celebrated a jubilee for both *caesares*, Constantius and Galerius, who were acclaimed *in absentia* after they postponed by a year their tenth anniversary of rule. The Tetrarchic Rostra monuments featured statues referring to the unity among the four Tetrarchs. After all, the first generation of Tetrarchs rebuilt the Forum and thereby received honors for establishing the newly conceived empire. In sum, the Tetrarchs announced through the renewal of the Forum's buildings that Rome had been fundamentally revived with the introduction of the rule by four emperors.[25]

Diocletian and Maximian added meaning to their reconstruction projects by suggesting that they had reversed the degradation that had occurred over time. The fire of Carinus had probably eliminated most of the statues and inscribed statue bases that had appeared in the Forum prior to 283. As a result, statues honoring Tetrarchic emperors set forth new trends and, plausibly, new epigraphic habits. Inscriptions attest that portrait statues continued to be set up during the fourth and fifth centuries by senatorial patrons using such terms as *reddere* ("to restore; to give back") and *restituere* ("to restore; to replace; to put in its former place").[26] The terms used in the inscriptions connected physical restoration projects in the Forum with the wider accomplishments of Diocletian and Maximian. Clearly, the Tetrarchs linked architectural renewal with the empire that flourished once again. In fact, architectural conservation together with the affiliated displays of statuary provide a crucial lens through which to discern how the jointly ruling Tetrarchs pioneered a late antique manner of reinstating the past.

REMAKING THE ROMAN FORUM'S CENTRAL AREA

The buildings restored by Diocletian and Maximian brought new vitality to the Roman Forum together with defining the paved central area as a precinct for imperial messages framed by the two Rostra with their column monuments. The new Tetrarchic installation of a tribune, or speaker's platform, at the east end of the Forum square replaced an old tribune once integrated into the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar (figure 2.1, 2, 3).[27] Across the Forum square, the old
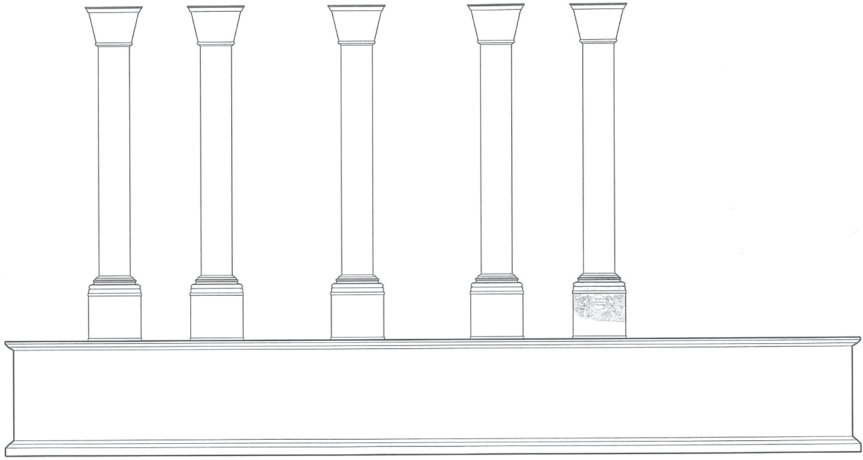
FIGURE 2.2. *Reconstruction of the five-column monument on the western Rostra. (Drawing by D. Tyler Thayer)*

western Rostra was widened by an addition so that it would correspond approximately to the width of the new eastern tribune (figure 2.1: A).[28]

Diocletian and Maximian made the western Rostra into the platform holding Tetrarchic column monuments that supported statues alluding to the *augusti* and the *caesares* together with their divine namesake, an arrangement exemplified by the western tribune (Figure 2.2). It is appealing to consider the display at the western Rostra as framing a view toward the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline Hill for those standing in the Forum square. Facing in the opposite direction, audiences looking at the eastern Rostra saw columns rising above a platform through which they could observe the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar. An explanation for arranging the two Rostra in this way is that together they demonstrated the concord among rulers while presenting an appearance that a pair of senior *augusti* and a pair of junior *caesares* on each monument operated as coordinated groups of four. Clearly, the column monuments emphasized Tetrarchic ideology. Indeed, the surviving inscriptions indicate that the two Rostra were the backdrops for jubilee rituals through which the imperial anniversaries were synchronized.

Prior to Diocletian's Tetrarchy, the Rostra had affirmed the imperial tradition without specific links to anniversary ceremonies. Julius Caesar started to transfer the speaker's platform from the Comitium near the Senate House to the western edge of the Forum's central area. Augustus than completed the project and added the other speaker's platform emerging from the front of

the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar. The Forum square, bracketed at that time by the Rostra at the west end completed under Augustus and the other Rostra to the east honoring Julius Caesar, created a precinct that celebrated Augustus's family ties to Caesar, his uncle and adoptive father.[29]

Diocletian and Maximian celebrated the imperial past by reusing the Augustan Rostra. Their creation of a link between the widened western Rostra and the new eastern tribune drew upon the earlier affiliation between Augustus and Julius Caesar that had used the two older Rostra. This update to Augustus's tribune identified Diocletian and Maximian as those who reinstated the revered Augustan age, now operating under the new Tetrarchic principles of collegial rule.

TETRARCHIC COLUMN MONUMENTS

Only one base survives from the two Tetrarchic five-column monuments in the Roman Forum. This fragment of a column installation provides clear proof that the Tetrarchic monument was the backdrop for both victory celebrations and imperial anniversaries. On one side, the background features shields and pieces of armor arranged as markers of triumph with two kneeling figures in the center as conquered individuals, all referring to a military victory (figure 2.3: A). Also, two winged figures as personifications of Victory carry an oval shield featuring the inscription marking the imperial anniversary: "to the caesars, good fortune on the ten-year jubilee" (*CAESARUM DECENNALIA FELICITER*).[30] Given that the *caesares* Constantius and Galerius had postponed celebrations of their tenth anniversary to align with the twentieth jubilee of the *augusti*, the inscription plausibly commemorated the first two junior emperors of the Tetrarchy. Yet there is no mention of either emperor by name, an anomaly given the function of most inscriptions to honor individuals. By referring to the ten-year jubilee of unspecified *caesares*, this terminology allowed the five-column monument to commemorate any ruler with the title of caesar holding office for ten years. As a result, the installation at the Rostra looked forward to additional anniversary celebrations that were to extend into future generations.

Another side of the Decennalia base shows an imperial figure, presumably one of the *caesares*, ritually sacrificing at an altar (figure 2.3: B). A relatively small winged Victory crowns the *caesar* as a youthful figure presents a box and another youth plays pipes nearby, while Mars stands to the left in a helmet. The personification of *Roma* is shown enthroned to the far right under the bust of Sol, the sun god, whose crown resembles rays of light.[31] This image of
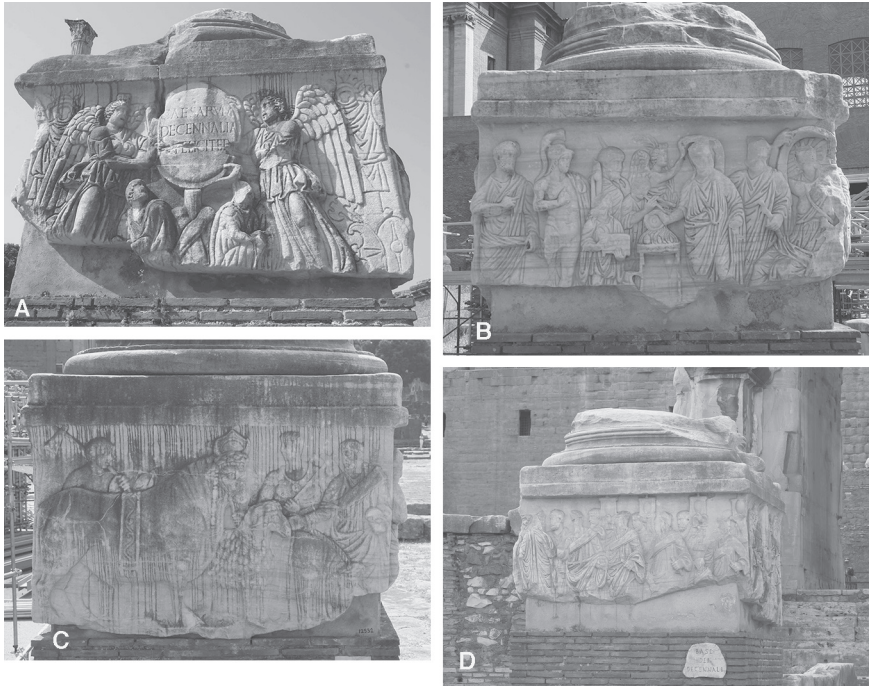
Figure 2.3. *Rome. "Decennalia" column base. A: inscribed face; B: relief with sacrifices at an altar; C: suovetaurelia relief; D: relief with procession. (Photos Gregor Kalas)*

the junior emperor presenting a ritual offering at the altar together with Mars, *Roma,* Sol, and Victory links the emperor's triumph with the lasting favor of the deities. An additional sculptural relief on the base presents a pig, a sheep, and a bull—with sacrificial attendants behind them—as the animals destined for a specific sacrifice known as the *suovetaurilia* (figure 2.3: C). Offering the three animals was done to mark ritually the fulfillment of vows by *caesares* and *augusti* and to prepare for another ten years of rule.[32] The carved column base features a final image of officials on a procession with four of them holding banners, presumably in honor of the four emperors (figure 2.3: D). Taken together, the reliefs on the plinth connect triumph, sacrifice, vows, and the simultaneous celebration of imperial anniversaries for all four rulers. The desire for persistence in Tetrarchic politics was expressed in the collegiality and synchronicity of jubilee celebrations. The reliefs reinforce the unity of the four rulers by suggesting that all four emperors received honors at once and by depicting the cyclical renewal that took place during jubilees.

Figure 2.4. *Arch of Constantine, relief of Constantine and officials on the western Rostra with the five-column monument, Rome. (Photo Gregor Kalas)*

A fourth-century relief from the Arch of Constantine records the enthroned imperial statues that were placed at the corners of the Rostra (figure 2.4).[33] The Constantinian relief further illustrates the imperial retinue addressing the public from a position on top of the platform, behind which appears a row of five columns supporting statues. Now-lost inscriptions from other column bases from the Rostra were rediscovered during the Renaissance. One commemorates a twenty-year anniversary and states, "to the *augusti*, good fortune on the twentieth jubilee"; the other was inscribed: "to the emperors on their twentieth jubilee."[34] Taken together, all of the epigraphic testimony points out that the column bases marked the twentieth anniversary observed by Diocletian and Maximian in Rome on 20 November 303; as was the custom, the event came nineteen years after the date of accession. Ten-year celebrations for Constantius and Galerius, commemorated customarily at the end of the ninth year, were supposed to have occurred in 302, but their anniversary was indeed celebrated in 303. They did not physically arrive in Rome for the occasion. Schedules, nonetheless, were rearranged so as to unite the

anniversaries of all four emperors and to strengthen the Tetrarchic ideology of synchronicity.[35] The manipulation of dates further implies that just as each individual Tetrarchic victory was shared by all four emperors, so did the entire college benefit from the commemoration of a jubilee earned by one or more of the group. This tradition was set in motion as soon as Diocletian appointed Maximian in 285; the former began his imperial reign in 284. Maximian was promoted to an *augustus* in 286, and both appointed the *caesares* to imperial posts in 293. The five-column monument attests that Maximian effectively altered the date of his accession to 284 while the *caesares* put off their anniversary for a year so that the celebration for all four occurred on the same day.

The five columns assembled at the western Rostra featured the unified college of Tetrarchic *augusti* and *caesares*. In the relief from the Arch of Constantine, a statue is shown to rest upon each of the five columns (figure 2.4). Visual distinctions between the central statue as shown in the relief and the four flanking representations prompted H. P. L'Orange to conclude that Jupiter's image stood on the central column.[36] Since one of the now-lost plinths is documented as bearing the inscription mentioning the twenty-year jubilee of the emperors, VICENNALIA IMPERATORUM, the western Rostra installation must have commemorated all four emperors by retrospectively celebrating the twenty years of rule by the *augusti* while a vow was taken in anticipation of another twentieth jubilee to be celebrated in the future by the *caesares*.[37] Martina Jordan-Ruwe presents the argument that the statues representing the *augusti* were exhibited on the inner columns while statues of the *caesares* stood on the outermost columns.[38] The Tetrarchic column monument should be distinguished categorically from a triumphal arch such as the one commemorating Septimius Severus in that the platform provided the venue from which the emperor addressed the people and did not accommodate the movement through an arch of a triumph procession. The five-column monument, thus, focused on the imperial anniversary rituals more than military celebrations due to the emphasis on the peaceful succession of *caesares* who were slated to receive promotions as *augusti* after fulfilling their vows. Finally, the surviving inscriptions from the column bases disavow any signs that the monuments featured the names of emperors, perhaps as an indication that there were new identities for these Tetrarchic rulers, with each claiming to be an avatar of either Jupiter or Hercules.

The architectural transformation of the western Rostra in the Roman Forum occurred for the optimal presentation of the columns. Patrizia Verduchi noted that the late antique modifications to the Augustan Rostra prove that the Tetrarchic columns stood directly on top of rather than behind the platform,

Figure 2.5. *So-called Rostra Vandalica, a late antique addition to the western Rostra in the Roman Forum, Rome. (Photo Gregor Kalas)*

as had previously been hypothesized.[39] The projection extending the Augustan Rostra slightly to the north widened this platform to accommodate a larger entourage of speakers and eventually the full width of the tribune was adorned with an inscribed text (figures 2.1: A and 2.5). Four inscribed fragments survive from a lengthy inscription for the Rostra. Christian Hülsen deemed the extension as the "Rostra Vandalica," contending that the addition and the inscription both commemorated a victory over Vandals during the reign of emperors Leo and Anthemius (467–474).[40] Only one individual is specifically identified in the damaged inscription: Iunius Valentinus, an urban prefect who held this office at an unknown time, probably after 456.[41] No specific reference is made to the victory over Vandals. Indeed, the widening needs to be dissociated from the installation of the inscription, since the inscribed blocks for the frieze were not restricted exclusively to the northern extension. In fact, the tribune's addition was constructed prior to 334, because a Constantinian equestrian statue base produced in that year juts out on top of the base for the tribune extension and thus the equestrian monument was made after the addition to the Rostra

Figure 2.6. *Equestrian statue base of Constantine overlapping the base of the western Rostra projection (the so-called Rostra Vandalica) in the Roman Forum, Rome. (Photo Gregor Kalas)*

(figure 2.6).[42] Furthermore, the measurements of the inscribed blocks—whose lengths add up to almost 10 m across—extended approximately across the entire width of the Rostra.[43] The Tetrarchic construction of the second speakers' platform on the east side of the Forum provides an interpretive context for the widened Augustan Rostra. It is likely that Diocletian and his colleagues ordered the lengthening of the western platform as an attempt to match roughly the dimensions of the corresponding Rostra set up on the opposite side of the Forum's central area.

Diocletian and Maximian restored buildings in downtown Rome to reinforce the idea that they brought back the divine order of the gods, since they united the personae of the emperors with statues of divinities, probably Jupiter and Hercules, in the five-column monuments. Regionary catalogs identify three Rostra (*rostra tria*): the western Rostra, the Rostra in front of the Temple of the Deified Julius Caesar, and the eastern Rostra (figure 2.1: 2).[44] A surviving portion from the eastern Rostra rests upon the Forum pavement across from the northeast corner of the Basilica Julia. Additional remains from the eastern Rostra had been jettisoned by Pietro Rosa, director of the Forum's

excavations in 1872–1874.[45] The surviving structure retains the holes that had once received the ships' prows. Evidence from the chronology of the brick-work together with testimony of a brick stamp identified as from the reign of Diocletian allowed Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani and Patrizia Verduchi to conclude that the Tetrarchs built the eastern Rostra.[46]

Considered as a pair, the two five-column monuments anticipated repeated jubilee rituals after 303, each of which was intended to synchronize one team of Tetrarchic *augusti* with their appointed successors. The matched sets of Tetrarchic column monuments designated Rome as the stage for impe-rial anniversaries every ten years, which can be gleaned from the surviving inscriptions articulating the celebration of *decennalia* and *vincennalia* rites at the Rostra. Further, the Roman tribune monuments differ significantly from the isolated four-column monument honoring the Tetrarchs in Alexandria.[47] In Rome, the two sets of five-column monuments presumably did not iden-tify the portraits in inscriptions; the surviving texts specifically omitted the emperors' names. Thus, the pair of Tetrarchic Rostra in Rome articulated the hope for an everlasting set of transitions of future *caesares* to be promoted into positions as *augusti*. The near divination of each emperor allowed each to chart an imperial career path by means of the links to the gods; religious rituals con-firmed authority while also aligning the joint anniversaries. Implicitly, sena-tors of Rome were shut out of the process of affirming imperial appointments. Indeed, Diocletian, in violation of precedent, had never asked the Roman senators to ratify his own nomination as emperor. Diocletian put imperial succession in the hands of the gods, as was indicated by the elevated images of generic rulers standing atop column monuments who symbolically lifted the Tetrarchic *augusti* and *caesares* to the celestial realm, where they achieved permanence in an everlasting imperial order.

Perhaps as Tetrarchic emperors enacted the divinity of Hercules and Jupiter, the Tetrarchic column monuments emphasized the partial erasure of the rul-ers' individual identities. It is likely that the four imperial statues surmounting the columns at the two Rostra were not portraits, but rather images of the emperor's genius, or spirit.[48] There was, in fact, a golden statue of the *Genius Populi Romani*, the divinized spirit of the Roman people, on top of the Rostra that Aurelian (r. 270–275) had placed there.[49] Diocletian and Maximian were honored in an inscription—presumably situated directly on the Rostra plat-form and not linked to a column—that was for this statue of the *Genius Populi Romani*.[50] The Tetrarchic inscription accompanied the restoration of Aurelian's *genius* of the Roman people and thereby presented Diocletian and Maximian as protectors of Rome's citizens. Given the location of the Tetrarchic statues

on top of the columns, the images were to be seen from far below, where the individual features of a likeness could not be perceived. In Tetrarchic group portraits from other cities each senior *augustus* looks like an elder version of the junior *caesar*, as can be witnessed in the Venetian porphyry statue group originally from Constantinople (figure 2.7). The generic and relatively undifferentiated group conveyed that the younger rulers acquired authority and power from their elders. The non-particularized porphyry images erased signs of individuality so as to transform the figures into roles linked to Hercules or Jupiter. It is likely that the images on top of the columns in Rome similarly avoided particularized physiognomy, thereby illustrating that the *genii* of the emperors depicted on top of the columns were a counterpoint to the *genius* of the Roman people displayed below on the platform.

The Tetrarchs shifted away from the military components of victory processions by delaying triumph celebrations after battle to coincide with the rituals celebrating five-, ten-, or twenty-year jubilees. The ceremonial arrival of Diocletian and Maximian into Rome was the only opportunity they had to personally use the two Rostra. Speeches played a significant role in a jubilee ritual and they were pronounced in front of the Tetrarchs' five-column monuments; other themes such as those associated with triumph were implicated at the Rostra as well.[51] The specific oration that addressed the Tetrarchs on that day in 303 does not survive. Panegyrics presented elsewhere praised the Tetrarchic emperors as the ones who refounded the empire. This idea was presented to Maximian with an oration composed in 291 for presentation in Trier on the birthday of Rome, April 21I. The panegyrist addresses Maximian directly: "You honor Rome's birthday in that you celebrate the foundation of that city as if you yourself were its founder. In truth, O most sacred emperor, one might justifiably call you and your brother the founders of the Roman Empire, for you are what is almost the same thing, its restorers (*restitutores*) and although this is the birthday of this city, which marks the origin of the Roman people, it is the first days of your rule which mark the beginning of its salvation."[52] This text presented in Trier anticipates the Tetrarchic theme pertinent to the jubilee of 303 that the two emperors had restored Rome.

The senators of Rome expressed their disfavor with the first Tetrarchy. These aristocrats remained aloof and voiced bitter complaints to Diocletian and Maximian in 303, according to Lactantius, despite the architectural rebuilding projects through which the Tetrarchs had provided assistance to Rome.[53] The apparently vociferous complaints muttered by Romans during Diocletian's visit of 303 caused Lactantius to report that following the celebrations the emperor was "unable to bear the freedom of speech practiced by the people

FIGURE 2.7. *Porphyry statue group of the Tetrarchs, façade of the Basilica of San Marco, Venice. (Photo Nino Barbieri)*

of Rome."[54] There is no documentation of the specific senatorial gripes, but the aristocrats must have been offended by the Tetrarchs' failure to request the Senate's ratification of the imperial appointments. The augmented power of Tetrarchic emperors effectively silenced the senatorial voices that could have toned down the authoritarian impulses of Diocletian and Maximian.[55] Finally, senators could have been offended by the rituals that, without senatorial approval, put the living rulers into the positions of gods.

JUBILEE RITUAL IN ROME

Diocletian and Maximian arrived into the Roman Forum in 303 for the twentieth jubilee appearing as unapproachable rulers who were shielded from the public by their court officials. Audiences must also have been taken aback by the Tetrarchs' regalia. Fourth-century documents reveal that Diocletian was innovative in wearing purple-dyed bejeweled silks while carrying the insignia of an emperor. Eutropius characterizes Diocletian's garments as those of someone acquiring the trappings of divinized rule in that the Tetrarch "commanded that he be worshipped, where all previous emperors had been greeted . . . He ornamented his shoes and robes with precious jewels."[56] This manner of self-presentation was at odds with a longstanding tradition that a ruler should behave in Rome as if equal in status to the senators.

The choice of a jubilee as the only occasion for Diocletian and Maximian to arrive in Rome signals that the Tetrarchs used the ritual in the traditional capital to renew the city's past. Redeeming lapsed time had been ritualized by emperors during the centuries preceding Diocletian's reign. Indeed, emperors traditionally took vows (*vota*) at the moment of accession so as to anticipate a decade of ruling continually, a period identified as the *susceptum*. The *solutum*, the fulfillment of the vow, was a moment that restituted the initial time of the vow. During the third century, most emperors had not occupied the office for ten years and consequently typically failed to reinstate the past.

The anniversary in 303 of joint rule for the Tetrarchs signaled the completion of the previously declared vows (*vota soluta*) to govern continually.[57] Presumably Diocletian and Maximian anticipated future jubilees to be celebrated in Rome. In the context of joint rulership among a college of four emperors, Diocletian and Maximian could ensure the longevity of rule and thereby they were more apt to fulfill the oaths, given that the collegial rulers all operated under the same vow. One emperor, performing the rites of renewal ten years after the initial vow, would be able to fulfill the vow to benefit the other *augusti* and *caesares,* who received consecration of the oath at the same

time. In addition, Diocletian's introduction of joint rule as a means of ensuring the longevity of his reign projected a desire for everlasting permanence in that newly appointed emperors could fulfill the *solutum* vows that had already been taken.

Diocletian and Maximian must have ritually progressed in Rome along the triumph route that led them into the city from the north. They proceeded through the Arcus Novus, a now-dismantled triumphal arch that commemorated Diocletian and Maximian.[58] One of the sculptural reliefs still exists and shows two female personifications supporting a shield upon which a third figure inscribes, "VOTIS X ET XX."[59] This refers to the vows taken on the tenth jubilee in the hope that the oath would be fulfilled at the twentieth anniversary and resembles the presentation of the inscription within a shield on the *Decennalia* base. This seems to have accompanied a now-lost inscription, stating "VOTA X ET XX," which corresponds to the *suscepta* vows taken as an oath in the hope of reaching the twentieth anniversary (to be earned after another decade of rule).[60] The epigraphic testimony from the Arcus Novus emphasizes that the vows taken by Tetrarchic emperors were ritually commemorated in processions for the purposes of synchronizing the imperial reigns.

The jubilee celebrations of 303 allowed Diocletian and Maximian to acquire honors from the victories achieved by the *caesares*. An important decision took place in Rome, where the two *augusti* decided to mark the apex of their careers by planning their joint retirement, which Eutropius tells us occurred "after a magisterial triumph over many nations."[61] Thus, the anniversary event featured vanquished troops representing those humiliated in various battles, including those subdued by the *caesares*. Constantius and Galerius shared in the honors of the procession despite their absence from Rome, as the *augusti* took the *solutum* for all four rulers. In 303 there was an emphasis on celebrating the major military success of Galerius over the Persians that took place in 298; yet additional victories were folded into the event as well. Panegyrics for earlier imperial rituals attest that the emperors had awaited an appropriate anniversary event for the triumph celebration.[62] The procession of 303 paraded a range of conquered people whose vanquished appearance in front of the two *augusti* reinforced that these senior rulers shared credit for triumph with the absent junior emperors. Another fourth-century document records that the conquered Persians were obliged to march along in the procession and the text also mentions the subjugation of war prisoners from other nations. The same source documents the precious silver and gold that was distributed to the public after the emperors paraded through the streets with "thirteen elephants, six drivers, and two-hundred and fifty horsemen."[63] The animals from distant

lands symbolized the varied territories conquered by the Tetrarchs. The anniversary celebration of 303, then, presented the Tetrarchs as always dominating the whole world.

Diocletian and Maximian celebrated the jubilee together in Rome as if the ritual were a modified—and shared—victory procession. Eutropius mentions that the captured children, wives, and sisters of the defeated Persian general proceeded in front of the imperial chariot with the two emperors riding together in a single vehicle. On that very day, Eutropius further implies, the rulers decided to abdicate jointly.[64] After the cortège ascended the Capitoline Hill to reach the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the emperors conferred about the joint abdication, apparently. A later source indicates that Maximian "lamented having taken an oath to him (Diocletian) in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline."[65] While the exact phrase of the oath that Diocletian and Maximian took on the Capitoline is not specified, this was the only meeting of the two where the emperors could have mapped out their plan for a joint retirement. Explicitly, the arrival in Rome was for the jubilee, according to Lactantius. Diocletian at the time felt his health was diminishing. Describing Diocletian, Lactantius asserts, "when good fortune had deserted him, Diocletian proceeded at once to Rome in order to celebrate there his *vicennalia*."[66] The ambiguous evidence that Diocletian intended to discuss joint retirement plans with Maximian demonstrates that conflating a triumph procession with a jubilee underscored the synchronizing impulse that also was at play.

The two Rostra in the Roman Forum functioned as lasting installations that synchronized the celebrations of the first Tetrarchs and anticipated that additional jubilees would regularize the cycles of collegial rule. The eight imperial figures elevated upon columns from the two facing Rostra at either end of the Forum depicted the alternation from one Tetrarchic college to another in two groups of four. Column monuments and statues, then, offered a permanent representational scheme for rulers living outside of Rome, leaving a lasting memorial in the traditional capital.

THE TETRARCHIC LEGACY

The retirement of Diocletian and Maximian had the unintended consequence of hastening the demise of the first Tetrarchy. In 306 Maxentius took control of Italy as a usurper. Subsequently, troops in Britain hailed Constantine as a caesar, but his appointment was not ratified by the legitimate emperors. Diocletian's lack of success in ensuring the continuity of a non-dynastic

college of emperors after 306 does not diminish the extraordinary influence of his reforms, particularly in orchestrating administrative changes and the division of the empire into eastern and western sectors. In Rome, Diocletian and Maximian introduced temporal renewal as the theoretical basis for restoring public buildings and updating urban space, which persisted long after the first Tetrarchy. To advertise the temporal cycles, Diocletian and Maximian used the Tetrarchic monuments on top of the Rostra at either end of the Forum's central area as new interventions juxtaposed to preexisting features that effectively transformed the plaza from a site demonstrating aristocratic hierarchies to a precinct supporting the cyclical renewals of the past. The images on top of the columns in the Forum allowed Diocletian and Maximian to make amends for the absence of emperors from Rome by creating a permanent representation of their ideology of rule in place of their physical presence. Also, the Rostra monuments implied a new spatial paradigm in the open-air place for public assemblies, which the Tetrarchic ideology regularized by likening the four emperors to the cycles of the seasons. Adam T. Smith's theory of *politicized landscapes*—a term capturing the architectural, geographic, spatial, and urban dimensions of complex societies—sees the imprints on cities and territories as profoundly ideological. Smith further analyzes landscapes by taking into account the evolving concepts of time that emerged with urban transformations, thereby analyzing how historical societies produce temporal concepts through spatial practices. In noting that restoration projects or similar interventions revised the past, Smith establishes that rulers occupied territories by taking possession of the history inscribed in that space. Of course, Rome offered preexisting strata that conditioned the way the city was experienced. Yet the Tetrarchic reconfiguration of the old Augustan Rostra together with Diocletian's project that superseded the Rostra of Caesar's Temple both provide clear instances in which repairs shaped political experiences.[67] In the end, the original Tetrarchic system could not fully coordinate succession and the non-hereditary rulership by an imperial college fell apart. Despite their failed ambitions, the Tetrarchs did produce urban planning successes that promoted the late antique ideology of collegial rule. In sum, the Tetrarchic emphasis on imperial ideology failed in its specifics, but promoted restored time as a key imperial message of the Forum's central area.

Even two centuries after Diocletian's rule, the idea that legitimacy was acquired through the preservation of Rome was generally accepted. During the sixth-century Gothic Wars, the Byzantine general Belisarius reportedly issued an impassioned plea for preserving Rome as a city whose built fabric could dictate its own destiny. At the time, Belisarius was about to recapture

the city from the Ostrogoths under the king Totila. Aware that Rome could be controlled politically by protecting the built infrastructure, Belisarius aimed to deprive his adversaries of the privileges they might acquire by taking possession of Rome's architectural heritage. In an account of the conflict, Procopius describes a persuasive letter crafted by Belisarius to discourage Totila from setting Rome on fire. Belisarius' words staved off destruction by implying that a leader could achieve fame only by protecting the trajectory of history that was built up in Rome. Burning Rome, by contrast, would taint a ruler's reputation forever. Procopius quotes from the letter.

> The destruction of beauty which already exists would be naturally expected only of men who lack understanding, and who are not ashamed to leave to posterity this token of their character. Now among all the cities under the sun Rome is agreed to be the most noteworthy. . . . Little by little have they [previous rulers of Rome] built the city, such as you behold it, thereby leaving to future generations memorials of the ability of them all, so that insult to these monuments would properly be considered a great crime against the people of all time.[68]

Procopius implies that Totila hesitated to destroy Rome for the same reason that made the theft of building materials illegal: such acts would turn the perpetrators of harm into despised tyrants.[69] Totila never did burn Rome to the ground, even though the city indeed suffered from numerous sieges during the Gothic Wars. Generations following in the wake of Belisarius could chart their own paths to success, Procopius implies, by preserving the "memorials to the ability of them all" whose representations remained intact.

Procopius may only have had only the vaguest inklings about Diocletian's projects in the Roman Forum. Nonetheless, public displays in Mediterranean cities illustrated that generations of rulers inherited the trajectory of the past by restoring buildings. In short, Procopius registers the lasting influence of the Tetrarchic idea of retrofitting the Forum, where memories of Rome's earliest foundations could be renewed and dramatically reformulated through the zone's transformation.

CONCLUSION

The ideology of Diocletian and Maximian became physically palpable by contextualizing exhibitions of statues and monuments in the restoration of buildings and in the installations of column monuments at the Rostra. Reworking Rome's historical monuments into advertisements for joint rulership, the first Tetrarchy instigated a novel approach to the Forum that

made collegial rule appear as if it were inherited from illustrious predecessors. Specifically, Diocletian and Maximian transformed the tradition of the solitary column monument into a serial display under the Tetrarchs that located emperors under the temporal stewardship of Jupiter and Hercules. Rites of renewal regulating the succession of each pair of *augusti* and *caesares* were to be celebrated at ten-year intervals, as the Tetrarchs implied by installing the Forum monuments. Diocletian and Maximian used these Rostra and anticipated that generations to come would do the same.

NOTES

The following abbreviations are used in this chapter:

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Theodor Mommsen et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1862–present).

MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1892–present)

MGH AA *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1881–present)

PLRE *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A.M.H. Jones et al., 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1992).

1. The analysis presented here draws upon the more lengthy discussion in Gregor Kalas, *The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity: Transforming Public Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 23–45. For the displays of emperors and senators in late antique Rome, see Robert Chenault, "Statues of Senators in the Forum of Trajan and the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012): 103–132.

2. Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.8: *ex his quidam aeternitati se commendari posse per statuas aestimantes eas ardenter adfectant quasi plus praemii de figmentis aereis sensu carentibus adepturi, quam ex conscientia honeste recteque factorum.* Translation from John C. Rolfe, ed. and trans., *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 39.

3. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 112–148.

4. Smith, *The Political Landscape*, 8–10.

5. Smith, *The Political Landscape*, 11–12.

6. Smith, *The Political Landscape*, 16–17.

7. Lactantius notes the administrative changes, *De mortibus persecutorum* 7.2, 8.3. The number of provinces is documented in the *Verona List*; see Timothy D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press: 1982), 195–208. For the military reforms, see Roger Rees, *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric, AD 289–307* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26–27. See also Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie: Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft?* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987).

8. For an overview of Tetrarchic principles and the adoption by each ruler of a divinized identity associated with either Jupiter or Hercules, see Roger Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 54–58.

9. Gerhard Zimmer, *Locus datus decreto decurionum: Zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen im römischen Afrika* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989), 54–63.

10. *Panegyrici Latini* VIII (V) 3.1–2 (C.E.V. Nixon and Barbara S. Rogers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994, 544; translation from p. 112): *O tempus quo merito quondam omnia nata esse credantur, cum eodem nunc confirmata videamus! O kalendae Martiae, sicuti olim annorum uoluentium, ita nunc aeternorum auspices imperatorum! Quanta enim, inuictissimi principes, et uobis et rei publicae saecula propagatis orbis uestri participando tutelam?*

11. Michele R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 109–110. It is clear that 297 marked the *quinquennalia*, or fifth anniversary, usually celebrated in year four, of Constantius and Galerius, who became caesars on 1 March 293.

12. Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government, AD 284–324* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); Corcoran, "The Tetrarchy: Policy and Image as Reflected in Imperial Pronouncements," in *Die Tetrarchie. Eine neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation*, ed. Dietrich Boschung and Werner Eck (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006), 31–61.

13. The sequential patterns of the first Tetrarchy are explored in Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie*, 115–127. For the imperial adoption of the temporal concepts tied to the highly conceptual deity Aion, see Andreas Alföldi, "From the *Aion Plutonius* of the Ptolomies to the *Saeculum Frugiferum* of the Roman Emperors," in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. K. H. Kinzl (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 1–30.

14. *Panegyrici Latini* VIII (V) 4.2 (Nixon and Rogers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, translation from 114): *Quippe isto numinis uestri numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent, elementa quattuor et totidem anni uices et orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano et emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia et quadrigae Solis et duobus caeli luminibus adiuncti Vesper et Lucifer.*

15. Rees, *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric*, 108–115.

16. John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 49; Barbara Saylor Rodgers, "Divine Insinuation in the 'Panegyrici Latini,'" *Historia* 35 (1986): 69–104.

17. Severus and Maximianus Daia joined as caesars in 305. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 18.2–5, recounts that Diocletian initially wished to appoint relatives of the currently reigning Tetrarchs, but Galerius dissuaded him from doing so.

18. Barnes, *New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, 27.

19. Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie*, 117–127; Wolfram Weiser, "Die Tetrarchie—Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation auf Münzen und Medaillons," in *Die Tetrarchie: Eine neues Regierungssystem*, ed. Boschung and Eck, 205–220.

20. In an oration celebrating a victory by Maximian in 289, a panegyrist draws a parallel between Maximian's triumph and Hercules's labors. Addressing Maximian after his victory over the Bagaudae, the orator states: *praecipitanti Romano nomini iuxta principem subiuisti eadem scilicet auxilii opportunitate qua tuus Hercules Iouem uestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriae parte iuuit probauitque se non magis a dis accepisse caelum quam eisdem reddidisse.* From *Panegyrici Latini* X (II) 4.2 (Nixon and Rodgers, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, 525).

21. Barnes, *New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, 47–87.

22. Franz Alto Bauer, "Stadt ohne Kaiser: Rom im Zeitalter der Dyarchie und Tetrarchie (285–306 n. Chr.)," in *Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike: Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst*, ed. Therese Fuhrer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 3–85.

23. The buildings destroyed in the fire are documented in Chronographus anni 354, 146 M (MGH AA, IX): *His* (Carino et Numeriano) *imperantibus fames magna fuit et operae publicae arserunt: senatum, forum Caesaris, basilica Iulia et Graecostadium.* Repairs are attested in Chonographus anni 354, 148 (MGH AA, IX): *His* (Diocletiano et Maximiano) *imperantibus multae operae publicae fabricatae sunt: senatum, forum Caesaris, basilica Iulia, scaena Pompei, porticus II, nymfea tria, Iseum et Serapeum, arcum novum, thermas Diocletianas.*

24. Carlos Machado, "Monuments and Memory in the *Forum Romanum*," in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, ed. William Bowden et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 161–166; Eugenio La Rocca, "La nuova immagine dei fori imperiali. Appunti in margine agli scavi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 108 (2001): 180; Carla Amici, *Il Foro di Cesare* (Florence, 1991), 143–154; S. Rizzo "Indagini nei fori imperiali: Oroidografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, templus Pacis," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 108 (2001): 228–229. One inscription, CIL.VI.40726, survives from Maximian's interventions in the Forum of Caesar; see Johannes Lipps, "Zur Datierung der

spätantiken Portikus des Caesarforums. Literarische Quellen und archäologischer Befund," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 114 (2008): 389–405.

25. Olivier Heckster, "The City of Rome in Late Imperial Ideology: The Tetrarchs, Maxentius, and Constantine," *Mediterraneo Antico* 2 (1999): 717–748.

26. See the equestrian monument of Constantius II, with the inscription characterizing the emperor as, "*RESTITUTORI URBIS ROMAE ADQUE ORB[is]*" (CIL. VI.1158). Emperors Arcadius and Honorius received praise for ending an uprising in Libya, (CIL.VI.1187): "*VINDICATA REBELLIONE/ ET AFRICAE RESTITUTIONE LAETUS.*" The inscription, CIL.VI.41381, honors Aëtius for victories: ". . . *[o] B IURATAS BELLO PACE VICTORIAS ROMANO IMPERIO/ REDDIDIT. . . .*"

27. Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani and Patrizia Verduchi, *L'area centrale del Foro Romano* (Florence: Olshki, 1987), 156; Patrizia Verduchi, "Rostra Diocletiani," *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* 4 (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 217–218; Filippo Coarelli, "L'edilizia pubblica a Roma in età tetrarchica," in *The Transformations of* Urbs Roma *in Late Antiquity*, ed. William V. Harris, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 33 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 29–30.

28. Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike*: *Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Stadten Rom, Konstantinopel, und Ephesos* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 21–24; Giuliani and Verduchi, *L'area centrale*, 62–65; 156.

29. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. A. Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 79–82; Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 196–200.

30. CIL, VI, 1203. This base was discovered in 1547 in front of the Curia. H. P. L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal auf dem Forum Romanum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 53 (1938): 1–34, originally connected the surviving Decennalia base with the Tetrarchic monument; see also Heinz Kähler, *Das Fünfsaulendenkmal für die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum*, Monumenta Artis Romanae 3 (Cologne, 1964).

31. The figures of *Roma* with Sol is commonly interpreted as indicating the persistence of Rome; see Henning Wrede, "Der genius populi Romani und das Fünfsäulendenkmal der Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 181 (1981): 111–142, especially 122–123; Martina Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument: Zur Geschichte der erhöhte Ausstellung antiker Porträtstatuen*, Asia Minor Studien 19 (Bonn: Habelt, 1995), 105.

32. André Chastagnol, "Aspects concrets et cadre topographique des fêtes décennales des empereurs à Rome," in *L'urbs: Espace urbain et histoire*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 98 (Paris: Boccard, 1987), 493–497.

33. Mary T. Boatwright argues that Marcus Aurelius was figured in the statue on the left and Hadrian was represented in the one on the right, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 104; L. Richardson Jr., "The Tribunals of the Praetors of Rome," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 80 (1973): 232–233, suggests that the left statue depicted M. Salvius Julianus.

34. CIL, VI, 1204: *AUGUSTORUM VICENNALIA FELICITER;* CIL, VI, 1205: *VICENNALIA* IMPERATORUM; Max Wegner, "Gebälk von den Rostra am Forum Romanum," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 94 (1987): 331–332.

35. Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie*, 125–126.

36. H. P. L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal," 28.

37. CIL, VI, 1205. Frank Kolb, *Diocletian und die erste Tetrarchie*, argues that the inscription refers to all four emperors by reflecting on the fulfillment of the vows by the *augusti* while anticipating the fulfilled vows of the caesars. H. P. L'Orange, "Ein tetrarchisches Ehrendenkmal," 23 f., argues that all four emperors were shown on the four sides of the lost plinth due to a vague description from the Renaissance describing figures on the reliefs as priests, perhaps in a mistaken identification of *sacerdotes* who actually represented rulers. The sixteenth-century description of the plinth was written by F. Albertini: *non longe a tribus columnis hoc anno* [1509] *multa marmora efossa fuere cum ingenti basi marmorea, in qua erat haec inscriptio forma circulari (vicennalia imperatorum) cum litteris incisa. Ab alia parte visebantur sacerdotes sculpti taurum sacrificantes*; the document was reprinted by Heinz Kähler, *Fünfsaulendenkmal*, 41, n. 68.

38. Martina Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument*, 106–107.

39. Patrizia Verduchi, "Le tribune rostrate," in *Roma: Archeologia nel centro*, Lavori e studi di archeologia 6 (Rome: De Luca, 1985), vol. 1: 29–33.

40. Christian Hülsen, "Iscrizione di Giunio Valentino, prefetto della città nel secolo V," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 10 (1895): 58–63. CIL, VI, 32005: *Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris) [Leone et Anthemio pp. Aug(ustis) Ulpi]us Iunius [Va]lentin[us praef(ectus)] urb[i]*. Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 24, points out that the date of the prefecture of Iunius Valentinus remains uncertain.

41. PLRE, II, 1140 (Valentinus 5).

42. Giuliani and Verduchi, *L'area centrale*, 64.

43. Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 25.

44. For the fourth-century regionary catalogues, see R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 81, Rome, 1940, vol. 1: 113 and 173. Augustus's funeral orations were given from two rostra, the western one and the Temple of the Deified Julius; see Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56: 34–35

45. Giuliani and Verduchi, *L'area centrale*, 153–156.; Filippo Coarelli, *Il foro romano (II). Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (Rome: Quasar, 1985), 318–321, argues that an Augustan Rostra preceded the late antique construction at the east end of the Forum square and situated at a point slightly to the west of the Temple of the Deified Julius.

46. Giuliani and Verduchi, *L'area centrale*, 156 and fig. 222; for the brick stamp: CIL, XV, 1650. See also Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani, "Una rilettura dell'area centrale del Foro Romano," in *Présence de l'architecture et d'urbanisme romains*, ed. R. Chavallier, Actes du Colloque, 12–13 décembre 1981, Paris, 1983, 85; Verduchi, "Le tribune rostrate."

47. Monuments with columns were discovered at Antinoopolis and other Egyptian cities; see Wolfgang Thiel, "Die 'Pompeius-Säule' in Alexandria und die Vier Säulen Monumente Ägyptens," in Boschung and Eck eds., *Die Tetrarchie. Eine neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation*, 249–322.

48. Hans-Georg Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1969), 44 and 88–89; Henning Wrede, "Der genius populi Romani," 121–123.

49. Chronography of 354 (MGH Chronica Minora I [1892], 148–149): *genium populi Romani aureum in rostra posuit.*

50. CIL.VI.36975=40714 (vol. 8: 4532), with a find spot in the Roman Forum: *[Genio p]OPU[li Romani] / [Dioclet]IANUS E[t Maximianus] / [invi]CTI AU[gusti].*

51. Hendrik Dey, "Art, Ceremony, and the City Walls: The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late Roman West," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010): 21–23; Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 22–25; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 252–258; Daniëlle Slootjes, *The Governor and his Subjects in the Later Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 105–128.

52. *Panegyrici Latini* X (II) 1.4–5 (Panegryic of Maximian), in *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, ed. Nixon and Rodgers, 523–524, translation from 54–55: *Iure igitur hoc die quo immortalis ortus dominae gentius ciuitatis uestra pietate celebratur, tibi potissimum, imperator inuicte, laudes canimus et gratias agimus, quem similtudo ipsa stirpis tuae ac uis tacita naturae ad honoradum naturalem Romae diem tam liberalem facit, ut urbem illam sic colas conditam, quasi ipse condideris. Re uera enim, sacratissime imperator, merito quiuis te tuumque fratrem Romani imperii dixerit conditores: estis enim, quod est proximum, restitutores et, sic licet hic illi urbi natalis dies, quod pertinet ad originem populi Romani uestri imperii primi dies sunt principes ad salute.*

53. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 17.1–2.

54. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 17.2 (Lactantius, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Samuel Brandt and George Laubmann, part II, fasc. 2 [Leipzig: Freytag, 1897], 190): " [Diocletianus] . . . *quibus sollemnibus celebratis cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat.*

55. Dirk Schlinkert, *Ordo senatorius und nobilitas: Die Konstitution des Senatsadels in der Spätantike* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996), 171–172.

56. Eutropius, *Breviarium,* 9.26: *Diocletianus . . . . . Diligentissimus tamen et sollertissimus princeps et qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerit adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur. Ornamenta gemmarum vestibus calciamentisque indidit. Nam prius imperii insigne in chlamyde purpurea tantum erat, reliqua communia.*

57. Harold Mattingly, "The Imperial *Vota.*" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 36 (1950): 155–195; Mattingly, "The Imperial *Vota*," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 37 (1951): 219–268; Adam Gutteridge, "Some Aspects of Social and Cultural Time in Late Antiquity," in *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, ed. William Bowden et al., 569–601.

58. Specified as situated in Region VII, see Arvast Nordh, ed., *Libellus de regionibus urbis Romae* (Lund: Gleerup, 1949), 82.

59. The fragment now in the Villa Medici, Rome, was discovered on the Via del Corso in Rome near S. Maria in Via Lata together with other fragments now in the Boboli Gardens, Florence. See Sandro De Maria, *Gli archi onorari di Rome e dell'Italia Romana* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1988), 197–200.

60. The phrase VOTA X ET XX shortens the phrase, *vota soluta X et vota suscepta XX.* This inclusion of this phrase on the Arcus Nova is argued by André Chastagnol, "Aspects concrets et cadre topographique des fêtes décennales des empereurs," 501–504.

61. Eutropius, *Breviarum* 9.27.2, ed. Franciscus Ruehl (Leipzig: Teubner, 1887), 70: *post triumpham inclitum, quem Romae ex numerosis gentibus egerant.*

62. The panegyric read to Maximian in 291 notes that the ceaseless series of battles forestalled celebrations, stating the following, *Panegyrici Latini* XI (3) 4.3 (*In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, ed. Nixon and Rodgers, 534): *sic interim meritorum conscientia triumphatis, dum triomphos ipsos semper uincendo differtis.*

63. Chronography of 354 (MGH Chronica Minora I [1892], 148): *sparserunt in circo aureos et argenteos . . . regem Persarum cum omnibus gentibus et tunicas eorum ex margaritis numero XXXII circa templa domini posuerunt. elephantes XIII, agitatores VI, equos CCL in urbem adduxerunt.*

64. The joint abdication is folded into Eutropius's description of the ceremony in Rome. The single chariot comes up in the description of the family of Narses, the Persian general whom Galerius conquered. Eutropius, *Breviarum* 9.27.2 (ed. Franciscus Ruehl [Leipzig: Teubner, 1887], 70): *Tamen uterque uno privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediae Diocletianus, Herculius Mediolani, post triumpham inclitum, quem Romae ex numerosis gentibus egerant, pompa ferculorum inlustri, qua Narsei coniuges sororesque et liberi ante currum ducti sunt.*

65. *Panegyrici Latini* VI (7) 15.5–6 (*In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*, ed. Nixon and Rodgers, 580): *puduit imitari, huic illum in Capitolini Iovis templo paenituit.*

66. Lactantius, 17.1 (Lactantius, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Samuel Brandt and George Laubmann, part II, fasc. 2 [Leipzig: Freytag, 1897], 190): *Hoc igitur scelere perpetrato Diocletianus, cum iam felicitas ab eo recessisset, perrexit statim Romam, ut illic uicennalium diem celebraret.*

67. Smith, *The Political Landscape*, 72–79.

68. Procopius, *Gothic Wars*, 7.22.8–11 in *Procopius*, vol. 4, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing (Cambridge, MA, 1962), 345–347.

69. Dale Kinney, "Spolia. Damnatio and Renovatio Memoriae," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 128.

Strategically located on a peninsula on the European side of the narrow Bosphorus strait that connects the Mediterranean and the Black Seas (by way also of the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles), Constantinople, the capital city of the medieval Roman Empire that we know as the Byzantine Empire (324–1453), was the largest and most thriving urban center in the Old World.[1] The city was founded by the first Roman Emperor who embraced Christianity, Constantine I (d. 337), as the eponymous capital outside historically dominant urban centers and as the alternative to the city of Rome. This chapter outlines the physical production of the geopolitical landscape of Constantinople. By highlighting the critical elements of Constantinopolitan spatial configuration this essay questions how the geopolitical landscape of Constantinople was then emulated at alternative sites of authority, in related capital cities of emerging medieval states that adopted Byzantine cultural values and its Orthodox version of Christianity —in medieval Bulgaria, Rus', and Serbia (figure 3.1).[2]

Scholarly considerations of geopolitical landscapes often exclusively examine competing territorial orders at the expense of religious understanding of space.[3] Because medieval societies were focused not only on major political and military events but also on religion, here, the geopolitical landscape is closely intertwined with geo-religious concepts of space. Constantinople was founded as the "New Rome," yet it had its own urban development that embodied the long-lasting,

The Relational Spiritual Geopolitics of Constantinople, the Capital of the Byzantine Empire

Jelena Bogdanović

Figure 3.1. *Late antique and medieval capital cities mentioned in the text.*

even if elusive, idea of the imperial Christian capital and, thus became a new prototype of a capital city in its own right. In this essay, the geopolitics of Constantinople is contextualized via experience, perception, and imagination—the three major categories that Adam T. Smith uses in his model for the study of political landscapes.[4] The spatial concepts associated with topography and faith-based developments were embodied in distinct architectural accomplishments, which confirmed their importance through ceremonies performed within the city, and provide a major platform for the study of the spiritual geopolitics of Constantinople. Such an understanding of Constantinople reduces the complexities of the actual city to the memorable image of it as the Christian capital, as a symbol of the Christian microcosm. A question is then posed about the mechanisms that expanded the city to the image of the Byzantine Empire within and beyond its geographical and historical boundaries. Specific emphasis is placed on the role of a ruler as a leader but also as a perceived architect and planner, and divine authorities (the Christian God and the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God) as the perceived creators and designators of these capital cities as actual places.

THE CITY: REFRAMING THE GEOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPE
AND ESTABLISHING A NEW PROTOTYPE

Constantinople emerged as a new capital city after the institution of Tetrarchy (the governmental principle based on the co-equal rulership of four emperors), when each ruler literally needed a capital as the place of display of his reign.[5] Through borrowing administrative, political, and civic references to the Roman Empire previously reserved only for the city of Rome, which embodied the archetypal capital city,[6] each new capital gained Roman imperial authority. At the same time, Rome became the urban prototype that each new capital emulated. This novel concept of Tetrarchy introduced critical changes regarding the understanding of the capital city as a unique construct of ancient, universal, and sacred nature,[7] while the place and spatial reality of each imperial capital became open to imaginative constructs in order to advance the overarching idea of the capital city.

For more than 1,000 years, contemporaries knew Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, via various relational terms—New Rome, Second Rome, Queen City, royal city, great city (megalopolis).[8] To affirm its presumed long-lived legitimacy, the fourth-century elite occasionally associated the city with New Troy as "the legendary ancestral home of the Romans in the East."[9] As it became the capital of the Christian Roman Empire,

Constantinople became a sacred capital city in its own right. Known in sources as New Jerusalem, Constantinople was associated with the Heavenly Jerusalem both spiritually and physically as the Byzantines brought sacred relics to their capital.[10] With such multiple intertwinings of political and religious notions, the Byzantines most often called their capital simply *the City* (*Polis, Πόλις*).[11] This ancient Greek term *polis* also unified the notions of *urbs* and *civitas* for the city-state.[12] Magdalino explains that the Byzantines reserved the term *the City* not only for their capital, but also for the entire empire, which was not identified with its territory or ruling dynasty but with its capital city.[13] The concept of *the City* and its pervasive associative meanings spread among other cultures.[14] Even the Chinese used a phonetic counterpart of the Greek for the City—*Fulîn* via *Polin*, *Polis*—to denote the Byzantine Empire.[15] All these terms emphasized Constantinopolitan civic, ideological, and religious values but also the spatial and physical characteristics of the capital, both real and desired.[16]

The making of Constantinople as the "Other Rome" enriched its identity through and in contrast to the ancient and pagan Roman imperial landscape. The physical reality of Byzantine Constantinople remains obscure due to its complex and long history; few texts survive that can adequately document urban transformations over time, and perhaps there are so few because of the Byzantine religious concept of eternity that contradicted historicity and emphasized the city's geo-spiritual rather than geohistorical reality.[17] A modern understanding of the physical and cultural landscape is usually framed through mapping, which becomes in its own right a construct for intertwining geography, human presence, and memory.[18] The only known surviving map that presents the Roman Empire and also shows Constantinople is the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century copy of the late antique original (figure 3.2).[19] This map confirms at least two critical facts for understanding Constantinople as a new prototype of the medieval capital city. Constantinople started as a disembedded capital—the center of political administration was outside the historically dominant urban centers.[20] The apparent scarcity of other cartographic maps from the Byzantines points to their cultural refocus from a geohistorical to a religious understanding of space.[21]

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows the tripartite world known to the Romans and the geographic totality of the empire on three continents— Europe, Asia, and Africa clustered around the Mediterranean Sea. The Byzantines, who identified themselves as Christianized Romans, would adopt and transform this view about the world. Seas, major rivers, lakes, and land masses reveal topographical features of the territories of the empire. Roman settlements

Tabula Peutingeriana, 4th-5th c

Rome   Antioch   Constantinople
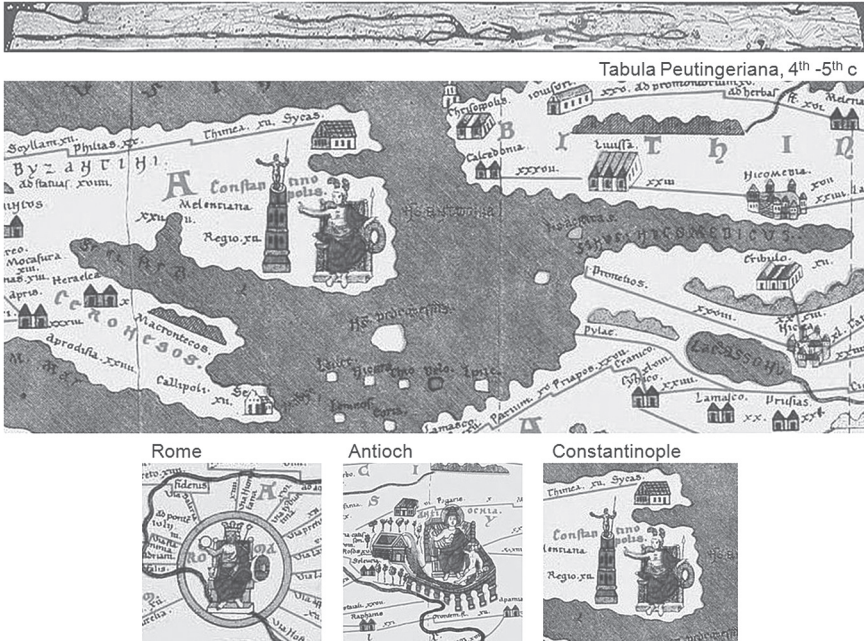
FIGURE 3.2. *The Tabula Peutingeriana, a medieval copy of a Roman road map, revised in the late fourth or early fifth centuries. Details: Constantinople and environs, Rome, Antioch, and Constantinople. (Facsimile edition, image in the public domain: "TabulaPeutingeriana" by Conradi Millieri, Ulrich Harsch Bibliotheca Augustana; licensed under public domain via Wikimedia Commons, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/ File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg#mediaviewer/File:TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg)*

are interconnected by a road-network with marked distances between settlements, and represented by functional place symbols, frequently twin-towered buildings and fortifications for larger sites. The three most prominent cities—Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch—are represented by personifications or "individualized city portraits" (figure 3.2). However, no major road leads to Constantinople. Moreover, the city is marked by a triumphal victory column, and not by city-walls and monumental architecture as in Rome and Antioch. Here in the Byzantine territory, the symbol for Constantinople, a city relatively uncontested and recently reclaimed as opposed to the more established urban landscapes of Rome and Antioch with their long pagan and governmental traditions, seems inserted into the map. This uniquely surviving image supports the historical fact that Constantinople emerged as the product of

new imperial and religious identities in the fourth and fifth centuries, most likely at the time of the revision of the original map.[22]

Within a wider geographic framework, Constantinople was strategically located almost in the geometric center of the territories of the vast empire it controlled: it was in close proximity to all three continents by sea or by land, and was open to commercial, economic, and political exchanges (figure 3.2).[23] The geographic location of the city on the tip of the peninsula also allowed for the possibilities of either its expansion or its complete isolation.[24] The mountain ridges along the west-east axis were over time topographically enclosed by the expanded system of city walls. Similarly, roads and aqueducts not only provided urban counterparts to passages and rivers, but also enhanced the network of economic possibilities and settlement incentives.[25] The cityscape, framed by the still-standing city walls and the partially preserved monumental public and religious buildings on the tops of the city hills, remains the prominent constitutive feature of the Constantinopolitan landscape.[26]

The enclosing city walls defined not only the city proper but also its identity (figure 3.3).[27] Following Hellenistic urban design principles, the first walls of ancient Byzantium used the natural fitness of the rocky outcrop at the head of the peninsula, later recognized as the first hill of Constantinople.[28] The enclosures created by King Byzas and Emperor Septimius Severus (r. 193–211) followed. In the fourth century, Emperor Constantine I erased these previous walls and raised his own. Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–450) enlarged the city and built the second line of fortification walls some 1,500 m to the west of the line of Constantine's walls. These walls, still standing, stretch along a south-north axis from the Marble Tower to the Golden Horn. By the fifth century, Constantinople was enclosed on all sides, from both land and sea.[29] Constantinople consisted of an area approximately the size of Old Rome within the Aurelian walls, or some 1,400 ha.[30] Thus, the city of Rome, indeed, was a major urban prototype for the development of the city of Constantinople, not only in conceptual but also in physical terms.[31] Even with later expansions and reductions of the city and numerous medieval changes in its morphology, the chroniclers continued to keep the memory of the foundation of Constantinople and to refer to the city proper from its foundation period.[32]

THE IMPERIAL AUTHORITY AND THE MAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The transition of Constantinople from a pagan to a Christian landscape lasted at least two centuries.[33] In addition to the gradual building of churches

Figure 3.3. *Map of Byzantine Constantinople. Rectangular structures with apses to the east represent churches. (Drawing Jelena Bogdanović)*

and shrines that eventually mapped the religious space of the city, the unifying element through all physical transformations of Constantinopolitan landscape was the emperor and his imperial authority intertwined with the concepts of Roman polity.[34] According to a legendary fifth-century account, using his imperial, visionary, and tectonic authority, Constantine I established Constantinople by widening the boundaries of the ancient town and erecting new fortification walls: "On foot, spear in hand, the emperor traced the limits of the future capital in person, and when his courtiers, surprised at the compass of the circuit he set himself to describe, inquired how far he would proceed, he replied, 'Until He stops Who goes before me.'"[35]

Constantine's tectonic authority was anchored in his ability to produce the urban fabric of Constantinople on a place sanctified and legitimized by

divine intervention. Moreover, Constantine used the spear— simultaneously a weapon and the tool of authority, and also an architectural device to measure and set the foundations of the city.[36] Thus, he established himself as the architect and builder of the urban landscape as a manifestation of the divine order.[37]

When Constantine erased previous fortifications, he built the new ones in a recognizably imperial idiom, which was, as Smith demonstrates, a twofold act—to reconquer and reclaim the city and polity and to establish a new rule and authority in the urban place.[38] Constantine reestablished the monumental fabric of the typical Roman city including fortifications, agoras, and honorific columns.[39] The honorific porphyry column on the second hill (figures 3.2 and 3.3) marked the center of the New City and "the very spot where Constantine ordered the city to be built."[40]

Despite all urban, physical, and demographic changes, the city walls defined a millennium-long life of the capital.[41] Theodosius's still-standing defensive system, which expanded upon the now-lost Constantinian walls, consisted of two lines of walls with ninety-six towers and double-towered gates and was built in stone and brick with a rubble and concrete core.[42] Remarkably, this construction technique in stone and brick became a recognizable "Constantinopolitan" building idiom over time. The enclosing walls defined the coherent and unified space of the city, fixed in microcosmic plan, and legitimately called forth by the authority of the emperor according to divine guidance. The perception of continuity, the unchangeable unity and focus of community, were centered on the emperor in urban space marked by monumental architecture and public statuary.[43] Chroniclers of Byzantine emperors would recurrently use the *topos* of divine authority and protection for massive fortification works based on the act of Constantine.[44]

The mosaic on the lunette above the southwest vestibule doors of Hagia Sophia shows the enduring image of Emperor Constantine as the founder of the Capital.[45] Constantine is represented offering the city to the Mother of God and the Christ Child. In the mosaic the city walls are square in plan although the city's geographical location on the tip of the peninsula gave a triangular shape to the Constantinopolitan walls. On the opposite side of Emperor Constantine, Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), acclaimed as the New Constantine, is offering the domed church of Hagia Sophia to the Mother of God and the Christ Child.[46] The church in Justinian's hands is almost a blueprint of the still-standing sixth-century building (figure 3.4). The Byzantine domed church with its associated symbols of Christianity and metonyms for the cosmos was often understood and represented through spherical and domical shapes. Therefore, the domed church, symbolizing the cosmic and

Figure 3.4. *Church of Hagia Sophia, 532–537, Constantinople, modern Istanbul, Turkey; Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, architects. Insert: Detail of the golden mosaic above the southwestern entrance of Hagia Sophia, showing Emperor Justinian presenting the church. (Photograph Jelena Bogdanović)*

heavenly, is in concord with the square-based city walls, referring to the mundane. Together, in deliberately chosen geometric and visual terms they symbolize perfect order and reinforce the concept of a sacred and divinely protected Christian city. Moreover, they suggest the unifying role of the church and emperor in the two-centuries-long unification (from Constantine until Justinian) of the Roman imperial landscape with a Christian one. During this period, the Constantinopolitan cathedral of Hagia Sophia defined the religious centrality of New Rome. The city acquired fourteen administrative districts like old Rome. During the enlargement of the city, not only did the city approach the size of Rome, but its artificially raised hills also matched the number of the seven hills of Rome.

The production of the geopolitical landscape of Constantinople can be additionally framed via the imagination, perception, and experience of those who recorded their accounts of the city. Fortification walls, and natural and artificial hills became the major elements that comprised the Constantinopolitan landscape, along with cisterns, aqueducts, and fountains, because the city itself, though surrounded by water, was scarce in supply of freshwater.[47] All

these urban and natural elements were devoid of any specific references to Christianity at the time of Constantine. Since its inceptions, however, Constantine's foundation was a visionary and long-term project, which included its spatiality. Around 375, the beauty and glory of the capital was praised for its human-made and built environment that replaced the voids and uncultivated land:

> No longer is the vacant ground in the city more extensive than that occupied by buildings; nor are we cultivating more territory within our walls than we inhabit; the beauty of the city is not, as heretofore, scattered over it in patches, but covers its whole area like a robe woven to the very fringe. The city gleams with gold and porphyry. It has [a new] Forum, named after the Emperor [Theodosius I]; it owns baths, porticoes, gymnasia; and its former extremity is now its centre. Were Constantine to see the capital he founded he would behold a glorious and splendid scene, not a bare and empty void; he would find it fair, not with apparent, but with real beauty.[48]

Emperor Constantine's porphyry column, which marked the center of the city, was initially crowned with a statue of Constantine in the guise of the pagan sun-god Helios (Apollo). In addition to the Roman Palladion, relics such as the believed fragments of the True Cross, or the axe Noah used to build the Ark, were inserted into this imperial column.[49] By encompassing pagan Roman and Old Testament references into a new Christian construct, the long-lived sanctity of the city of Constantine was reinvented and emphasized in a public civic space. Christian liturgical celebrations at the chapel dedicated to Constantine, which abutted the base of the column, lasted at least until the tenth century.[50] Thus, as Nelson posits, the column marked not only the principal public space and major ceremonial route from the imperial palace and Hagia Sophia down the streets of Constantinople during the great liturgical feasts and the celebrations at the beginning of the liturgical year on September 1st and city birthday on May 11th, but also anchored the performative sacred space of the city.[51]

Over time, numerous chapels were built within the proximity of the city walls.[52] Christian relics inserted in public monuments and commemorative inscriptions and reliefs with crosses embedded in the city walls, strengthened the intended sacredness of the city (figure 3.5). This spatial imagery of the fortified Christian capital was reinforced in the building campaigns of Byzantine emperors who included inscriptions and *spolia* while repairing the fortifications in order to emphasize the seemingly unchangeable unity and perpetual continuity of their long-lived capital.[53] For the Byzantines,

FIGURE 3.5. *The Third Military Gate, also known as the Gate of Rhegium or the Gate Rhousiou ("of the Reds"), within the Theodosian walls of Constantinople contains the dedicatory inscription in honor of Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–450) and the Prefect Constantine in Greek and Latin, and the inscription in Greek on the lintel about the repairs of the gate under Emperor Justin (r. 565–578) and his wife Sophia; the lintel also has centrally inscribed two cross reliefs. (© 2015 by David A. Michelson and licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.)*

the Christianized city space, fortified by city walls, outlined the urban land-scape of Constantinople and transformed it into a transcendent one—the Christian stronghold.[54]

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN SACRED TOPOGRAPHY

Thus constructed Constantinopolitan topography provided further opportunities for Byzantine authors to attach philosophical and theological digressions to the topography in order to support the claim of Constantinople as the Holy City.[55] Starting in the fifth century Constantinople was identified with New Jerusalem.[56] At this point, the seven hills that had initially referenced the Seven Hills of Rome acquired new meanings. The hills were associated with Mount Sion and became a metonym for the sacred city.[57] Simultaneously seven was an important theological number making references to the earthly realm. Water fountains, streams, and aqueducts were associated with notions of streams of everlasting life, which were then by theological extension associated with the Mother of God as the fountain of Life.[58]

A special veneration of the Mother of God developed in Constantinople. At Blachernae, a suburb of northwestern Constantinople at the point where the land walls meet the Golden Horn, the healing, "holy water" spring was enshrined by the church and dedicated to the Mother of God (figure 3.3).[59] Sometime by the beginning of the sixth century, the Byzantines established a similar shrine of the "holy spring" in the vicinity of the gate within the Theodosian walls, today known as Silivri gate. The "life-giving" healing waters of the spring, its shrine, and the monastery of the Zoödochos Pege (Mother of God of the Life-giving Spring), as well as its location within cypress groves, flower meadows, and an imperial hunting park, effectively combined the natural and the spiritual landscapes of Constantinople.[60] Procopius, a sixth-century court historian, claimed that "both these two churches . . . erected outside the city-wall" were built so that they "may serve as invincible defenses to the circuit-wall of the city."[61]

By the seventh century, Byzantine texts praised the Mother of God as the heavenly protector of Constantinople.[62] Pentcheva advanced the understanding of the Byzantine veneration of the Mother of God as the Constantinopolitan patroness by associating the intercession of the Virgin in times of war with the holy spring, the relic of her robe (*maphorion*) kept in a chapel at Blachernae, and icons of the Blachernitissa type showing the Mother of God stretching her arms out in prayer on behalf of the Byzantines.[63] The defeat of the enemy during the unsuccessful invasions was attributed to the miraculous appearance of the Mother of God on the city walls. When the Rus' attacked Constantinople in 860, the *maphorion* of the Mother of God was paraded along the walls and ceremonially dipped into the sea to hold off the siege.[64] The icon of the Mother of God Blachernitissa was used as a kind of Byzantine imperial military standard. The church of Blachernae became an important shrine and was enclosed within the city wall after the siege of the Avars of 628 during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641).

By the tenth century at the latest, the Byzantines referred to the city gate on the opposite side of the Blachernae, in the vicinity of the Zoödochos Pege shrine, as the Gate of the Spring (Πύλη τῆς Πηγῆς).[65] The first tower of the city walls on its southernmost tip, just north of the Marble Tower, still preserves its *christogram* (the monogram of Christ, ΧΡ) and is known as the Gate of Christ.[66] The fifteenth-century commemorative inscription above the gate confirms the enduring belief that this city gate was protected by God: "This God-protected gate of the Life-giving Spring was restored with the cooperation and at the expense of Manuel Bryennius Leontari, in the reign of the most pious sovereigns John and Maria Palaeologi; in the month of May,

in the year 1438 [or 1433]."[67] Similar inscriptions were embedded in the city walls and gates, formulaically calling upon divine protection: "O Christ, God, preserve Thy city undisturbed, and free from war. Conquer the wrath of the enemies."[68] This acclamation recalls the liturgical hymn *Troparion of the Holy Cross*: "O Lord, Save your people, and bless your inheritance! Grant victory to the Orthodox Christians over their adversaries, and by virtue of your cross, preserve your habitation," thus suggesting interpolation of liturgical and ceremonial meanings of the inscriptions in the city walls.[69]

City walls with inscriptions, christograms, and reliefs with Christian symbols strengthened by religious chapels and shrines and related ceremonies, thus became divinely protected walls. Orthodox hymns, literature, monumental painted programs, and even coins (figure 3.6) framed the Mother of God of the Blachernitissa type by the city walls she defends; she was described and depicted as the "Gate of the World," the "unshakeable" and the "impregnable wall."[70] Within such a context that closely intertwined physical and sacred realms making strong allusions to the virginity and power of the Mother of God herself, the resulting perception of Constantinople was of an authentic, ideal, pure, and impregnable Christian City, which despite all upheavals could never be truly destroyed.

Not only within the religious and ceremonial contexts but also within the experiential context of the city, the walls were crucial for framing Constantinopolitan *urbs* and *orbis* that expanded the image of the city beyond its territorial confines. By the sixth century, visitors coming from the north would pass several lines of walls and thus would perceive *the City* to be larger than it actually was. Built under Emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–518) the so-called Long Walls of Thrace created the expanded fortification system of Constantinople (figure 3.7).[71] The Long Walls were envisioned as the front line of *the City's* defense since they were erected some 65 km (40 miles) west of the city and stretched from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea (some 56 km, approximately 35 miles, or a "two-day walk").[72] Though significantly thick and tall, completed with towers, gates, and forts, the military effectiveness of the Anastasian Long Walls was limited and relatively short-lived.[73] The Long Walls, however, secured within the city an elaborated water-supply system and the expanded territory also functioned as an agricultural area. Together this agricultural area and the Constantinopolitan urban core (or inner city) formed a kind of an early version of a "garden city" based on a concept of self-perseverance and sustainability.[74] Simultaneously, the forts, gates, and towers of the Long Walls expanded the memorable image of the capital beyond its actual territorial and administrative limits, giving it even greater significance. Such a monumental fortification, unseen in medieval

Figure 3.6. *Virgin Orans framed by Constantinopolitan walls. Coin of Michael VIII Palaeologos, ca. 1261–1282. (Dumbarton Oaks Collection)*

Europe, must have astonished the outsiders approaching *the City*, and for most of them it became the first reference to the civilized world.[75]

The walls protected *the City* and marked its boundaries. They also made a division between settled and uninhabited areas, as well as a distinction between *urbs* and provinces. Both land and sea walls also defined highly fragmented experiential landscapes.[76] Visitors who came to Constantinople by ship, through the Sea of Marmara, would first see the city across the water with its cityscape on a series of hills and valleys. These visitors would see the southern shore of Constantinople, which ran from the land walls at the west end to the tip of the promontory at the east. The massive sea walls, broken
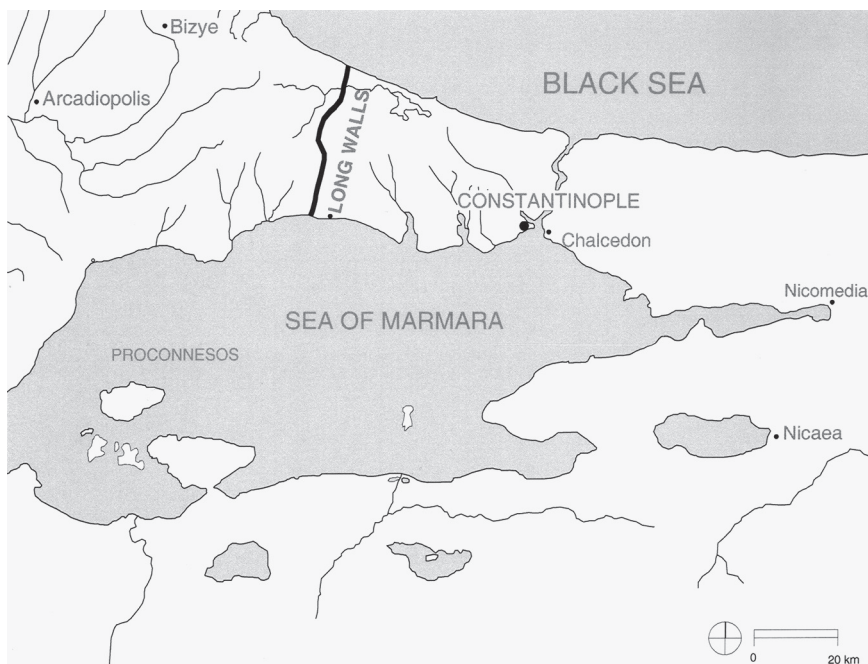
FIGURE 3.7. *The expanded fortification system of Constantinople with the so-called Long Walls of Thrace. (Drawing Jelena Bogdanović)*

by two protected harbors, would emphasize the perceived diversity and large size of the city. Above the sea walls, tall aristocratic houses with balconies and palaces set on artificial terraces with gardens,[77] combined with the cityscape beyond them marked by church domes, monumental columns, and honorific architecture, would create memorable images of *the City*.

Those sailing from the Black Sea would first see the first hill crowned with the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, the Senate, and public squares with honorific columns.[78] Towering above everything else would be the dome of Hagia Sophia. Therefore, these visitors would immediately experience the architecture that personified the emperor and the Christian empire. Passing this highest point, both literally and symbolically, and leaving behind the Asiatic shore, the ship would turn west and sail into the Golden Horn, the narrow bay along the northern side of the city. Lined by hills and set off from the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn was protected on all sides from the winds.[79] This safe anchorage for both warships and commercial vessels was one of the reasons for the city's prosperity and security.[80]

Therefore, the city walls created a diversity of experiences of the city in contrast to the imagined and perceived city of continuity and coherence, while the center and periphery of the empire were not necessarily defined in terms of physical distances. Magdalino demonstrates how in the twelfth century, Balsamon, the principal Byzantine canonist and regulator of imperial and ecclesiastical laws, used the term *legal fortifications* to describe the existence of one law for Constantinople and another for the provinces.[81] The fortifications also defined the concept of insider and outsider, and *the City* as the place where outsider becomes insider.[82] Often the citizens of Constantinople degraded the province as inferior, even though the provinces in terms of geography could be the islands just outside the city walls. While on the Princes' Islands, in the vicinity of Constantinople, twelfth-century Byzantine historian and theologian John Zonaras lamented that he was "in the place at the back of beyond" that lacked books.[83] Therefore, the empire could have expanded over three continents territorially yet it would have been imaginatively restricted to the city walls because its identity was framed by the city of Constantinople. In short, everything outside the walls—other cities, provinces, and countryside—was understood in complement or contrast to *the City*, territorially or culturally.[84]

Since the construction of the Constantinopolitan landscape was rendered as a political act, materialized in stone and brick and complemented by nature, the destruction of *the City* was regarded as an ultimate tragedy.[85] Urban architecture and ceremonials, which communicated the politics of production and reception of authority, also defined the performative place of conflict, resistance, and renewal on multiple levels.[86] A sixteenth-century fresco in the Romanian monastery in Moldovița exemplifies cultural perceptions of the siege of Constantinople (figure 3.8).[87] Emperor, empress, and their entourage parade along the city walls with gospel books, icons, and relics, while the chaos of war and destruction is actually shown outside the city walls. The prominently displayed hills of Constantinople within the city walls seemingly anchor the sacred space of the "indestructible" Christian empire, while a storm of hail and sea outside the city walls reflects its historical destruction. This particular image depicts the Avar siege of Constantinople of 626. Nevertheless, the attackers are depicted as contemporaries, the Ottoman Turks and Janissaries, the sons of the Balkan Christians who were converted into an Islamic standing army, thus emphasizing the importance of the city space while making the image anachronistic but also a memorable typological reference to the Ottoman siege of Constantinople more than 800 years later.

In the monastic, non-urban context of Moldavia, in the last territories beyond the northern fringes of the former Byzantine Empire that remained
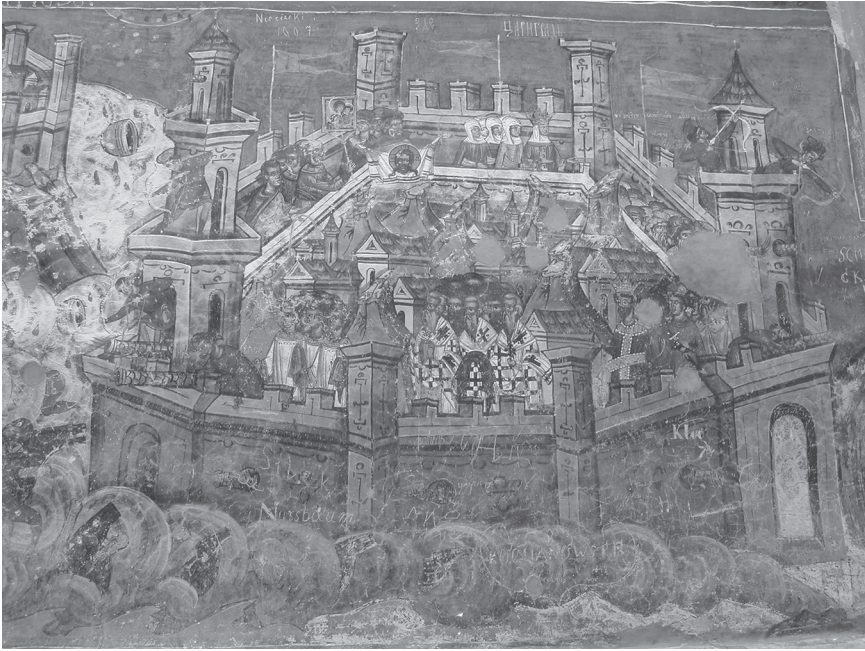
FIGURE 3.8. *Siege of Constantinople, fresco, Moldovița, Romania, 1532. (Photograph Elena Boeck)*

unconquered by the Ottoman Turks at the time of their greatest power in the sixteenth century, this exterior church wall with its monumental dramatic image functioned as more than a mere political statement that the fall of Constantinople marked the end of the empire. Addressing Smith's question of whether and how architecture can speak about the reception of authority, this "wall of resistance and renewal" provides a peculiar cultural syntax that posits the survival and potential for the renewal of Byzantine religiosity and imperial values elsewhere, outside *the City*.[88] By depicting Janissaries, who were forcefully taken from their Christian parents at a young age and converted to Islam, the exterior walls of the church publicly display the controversial issue of both the loss and the potential for the renewal of human capital in times of conflict. The Janissaries, the subversive destroyers of Constantinople and its values, are also represented in another section of the church walls as being offered a second chance within the eschatological, universal image of the Last Judgment. In the monumental image, in front of the massive River of Fire, Moses opens the scroll ("This is whom you crucified" John 5:45–46) and

invites all non-Christians to recognize Christ and receive the ultimate salvation.[89] The "walls of resistance and renewal" in Moldovița make an exceptionally powerful political and religious statement by addressing both Christians and the encroaching Islamic army, heavily constituted of converted Christians. Within the Byzantine cultural and religious context of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the otherworldly, the image of the imperial capital and its recognizable architecture and performative space embraced and supplanted the concept of time and historicity.

Nevertheless, as Smith explains, the temporality prevailed at the expense of spatiality in scholarly discourses.[90] The millennium-long politics of the medieval capital that prevailed in modern historiography is distorted by its own concepts of geohistorical assessment. Thus, we still learn that the Byzantine Empire ended in 1453 with the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, despite the fact that other territories of the empire like those in the Middle East diminished long before 1453, some already in the seventh century, while some other territories such as Trabezond remained under Byzantine control several decades after 1453.[91] At the same time, the surviving political landscape of Constantinople in the territories that embraced Byzantine spirituality remains understudied and occasionally oversimplified, either by drawing a linear division between Christian West and East—Rome and Constantinople— or by disregarding the idiosyncratic features and the spatial depth of the Constantinopolitan spiritual and geopolitical landscape within vast territories labeled Eastern Europe.

THE RELATIONAL CONSTANTINOPOLITAN LANDSCAPE IN THE CAPITALS OF MEDIEVAL EASTERN EUROPE

Because of its highly religious identity, the geopolitical landscape of Constantinople was not necessarily tied to its geography, topography, urban design, and architecture. Just a few Byzantine pictorial maps survive that could help us understand these issues, and their original distribution, function, and use remain hypothetical because most likely they served exclusively religious, anagogical purposes.[92] Yet the physical reality or rather the perceived memorable elements of *the City*—such as its triangular shape of fortifications surrounded by water on two sides, seven hills, fourteen administrative regions, and monumental architecture and dominant churches—were pervasively connected to the great political authority of Constantinople. Remarkably, the capitals in medieval eastern Europe such as Preslav and Veliko Tŭrnovo in Bulgaria; Kiev, Vladimir, and Moscow in Rus'; and Belgrade and Smederevo
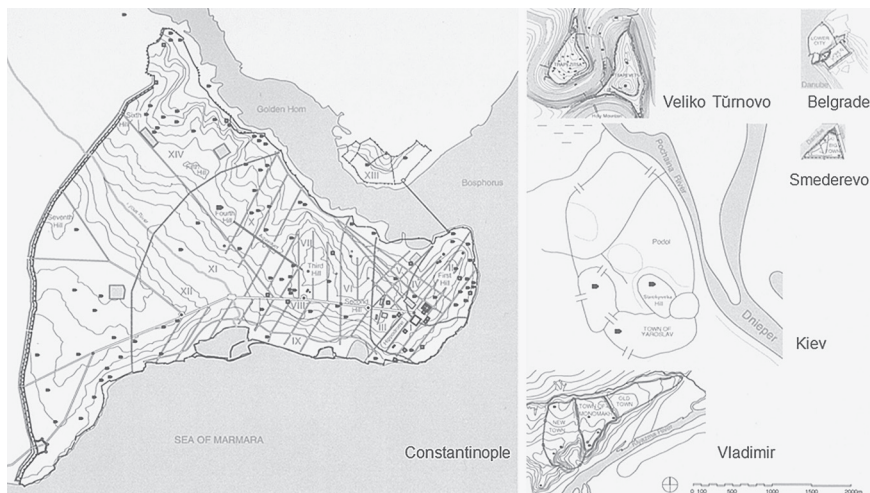
FIGURE 3.9. *Medieval capitals in the Balkans and eastern Europe (drawn in the same scale): Constantinople, Veliko Tŭrnovo, Kiev, Vladimir, Belgrade, and Smederevo. Black symbols point to important structures in the city. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*

in Serbia are perceived to be triangular in shape, on two sides framed by rivers, set on several hills, enclosed by walls, built in the Constantinopolitan architectural idioms, marked by city gates, domed churches, and monumental buildings raised on prominent locations (figure 3.9). The pertinent questions are to what extent these capitals were complementary copies of Constantinople, whether and how the performative aspects of Constantinopolitan geo-religious landscape were transferred to alternative sites, and what the distinctive characteristics of these emerging capitals could be.

THE CASE OF MEDIEVAL BULGARIAN CAPITALS: TERRITORIAL CONQUEST AND APPROPRIATION OF SACREDNESS

The capital cities of the First Bulgarian Empire (ca. 681–1018) are difficult to study because of the complex developments of the empire, which accepted Christianity under controversial circumstances from the Byzantines in 864–865 and acquired their own autocephalous church in 927.[93] This is further convoluted by hazy textual and archaeological reports and their interpretations. Some scholars claim that the first capitals were repurposed Byzantine fortifications; others claim that Bulgarian cities were built anew.[94] What is certain is that the Bulgarians constituted a major power in the medieval Balkans.

The religious and civic authority of the ruler played an important role in the Bulgarian political landscape even in pre-Christian times. Revealed by stone inscriptions, the khan's formulaic title was "from God ruler."[95] A comparative analysis of four Bulgarian chronicles—the *Name List of the Bulgarian Khans* (eighth century), the *Bulgarian Chronograph* (tenth century), the *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle* (eleventh century), and the *Brief Bulgarian Chronicle* (fourteenth century)—confirms the pervasive seminal role of a ruler for the formation of Bulgarian states.[96] Thus, this constitutive thread between the religion and the state—from khanate to empire—was conceptually similar to those of the Byzantines. This notion of sacred ruler and sacred state was especially propagated in the *Brief Bulgarian Chronicle*. The chronicle incorporated biblical history and the Bulgarian translation of the Byzantine text originally written by Constantine Manasses (ca. 1130–1187), in order to present the Bulgarian state as the legitimate Christian state equal to the Byzantine Empire.[97] The Bulgarians were at odds with the Byzantines; they often attempted to claim Constantinople as their own capital. During its existence, the First Bulgarian Empire even had four capital cities: Pliska (681–893), Preslav (893–972), Skopje (972–992), and Ohrid (992–1018) (figure 3.1).

Though some scholars maintain that Pliska was originally a Bulgarian foundation, it was probably an early Byzantine fortification that was enlarged with an impressive double enclosure that defined the inner and outer city and an area 1.6 times larger than that of Constantinople.[98] It remains speculative as to whether or not the selection of such an enormous fortification for medieval standards reflected the Bulgarian experience of Constantinople, which they would always attack from the north, thereby facing first the Anastasian Long Walls. Building activities in Pliska revealed the coexistence of pagan and Christian buildings side by side, which may have resulted in the changing perception of spiritual geopolitics and in the eventual transfer of the capital to Preslav, a new, exclusively Christianized site.

Preslav (literally, "The Most Glorious" in Old Slavonic), was also known as Veliki Preslav (Great Preslav). It was territorially considerably smaller than Pliska and Constantinople, but emerged as a new capital under the Bulgarian Tsar (Emperor) Symeon (r. 893–927), the major figure for the development of medieval Bulgarian Christian identity and culture.[99] Built as a double-enclosure in the vicinity of Pliska on a hilly terrain at the Ticha River, it was comparable in administrative offices as well as in economic, intellectual, and artistic activities with Constantinople; Preslav also became known as *the City* (*polis*) in textual sources.[100] Ćurčić demonstrates how Preslav is both a physical and conceptual replica of the glorious Constantinople.[101] More than seventy

buildings excavated at the location reveal elements of Constantinopolitan architecture. The architecture within the inner city points to the Great Palace in Constantinople, where Tsar Symeon himself received his education, and to the patriarchal complex and administrative, commercial, and residential areas raised on artificial terraces, all strikingly coinciding with the legal and economic regulations from the tenth-century Constantinopolitan "Book of the Prefect." Even the famous "Round Church" at Preslav, also known as the "Golden Church" in the primary sources—presumably due to its gilded dome glittering atop the hill above the river Ticha—may be compared either with the now-lost centrally planned church of the Prophet Elijah within the Great Palace or with its major throne-room Chrysotriklinos ("Golden Hall").[102] After Rus', Mongol, and Byzantine conquests, Preslav ceased to function as the capital city.[103] Subsequent Bulgarian capitals, Skopje (ancient Scupi) and Ohrid, were conquered Byzantine towns.[104]

This type of geopolitics based on territorial conquest and cultural appropriation of Byzantine towns and officially raising them to the status of capital also marks the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1393).[105] Veliko (Great) Tŭrnovo was established within an earlier Byzantine fortification and loosely combines topographical and architectural models from Preslav and Constantinople. Veliko Tŭrnovo was situated on the three hills by the Yantra River—Tsarevets (literally, the "Imperial" in the Old Slavonic), Trapezitsa (perhaps from Old Slavonic for "dining table"), and Sveta Gora (literally, "Holy Mountain") with corresponding imperial, residential, and religious centers.[106] The political landscape of Tŭrnovo replicated the Constantinopolitan, in formal terms of court ceremonies and offices, and ideologically as the capital was understood as the city divinely chosen—its independence and strength providing for the existence of the country itself.[107] The capital was enclosed by strong triangular walls that followed local topography but also suggested the memorable image of the triangular walls of Constantinople enclosed by water on two sides (figures 3.3, 3.10). This semantic image was materially strengthened by the construction of the Tŭrnovo walls in a recognizable stone-and-brick Constantinopolitan building technique. The topography of the Bulgarian capital again approached the Constantinopolitan model, although topically. The cultural and physical landscape of the city was additionally enriched with numerous churches and relics, especially under Tsar Ivan Asen II (r. 1218–1241), who claimed the title of emperor after the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

Erdeljan demonstrates how the relics of fragments of the girdle of the Mother of God and of the True Cross, presumably from the time of Emperor Constantine I, were potent symbols in transferring the religious landscape
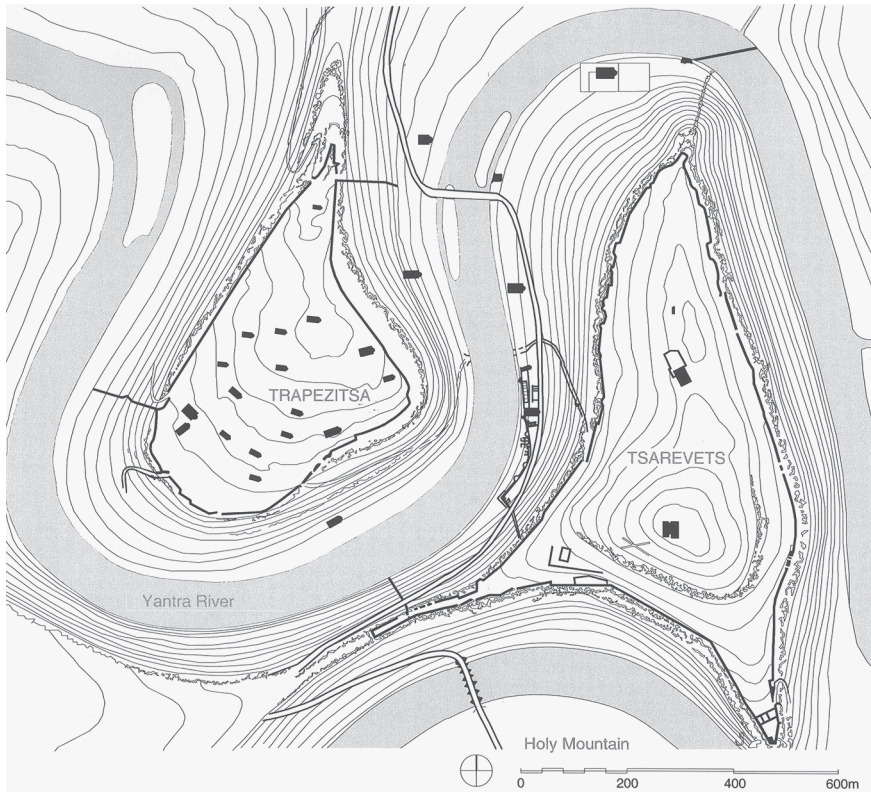
FIGURE 3.10. *Veliko Tŭrnovo. Black symbols point to important structures in the city. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*

of Constantinople to this new Christian capital in the Balkans.[108] Medieval narratives record that during the decisive battle between the Byzantines and Bulgarians in 1190, the Byzantines hid the imperial golden reliquary with the True Cross and the holy girdle in the river. It was miraculously recovered by the victorious Bulgarians who thus reclaimed imperial power. This act of raising the relics from the water and their "elevation" marked the theophanic event of the "baptism" of this new "God-chosen" empire. The relics that stood for the Constantinopolitan identity were ceremonially transferred and consecrated in Tŭrnovo. This highly complex construct of the transfer of geopolitical and sacred landscapes to the new Christian capital of the competing medieval empire is further attested to after the Crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Bulgarian sources praised

Veliko Tŭrnovo as *the City* (*polis*), "New Constantinople," "The Queen of the Towns," and "The Imperial Town/The Reigning Town" (*basileusa polis*, literally translated in Old Slavonic as *Tsar'grad*).[109] The Bulgarian capital was also commended as "New Troy," the attribute reserved for Constantinople in elite Byzantine manuscripts since the fifth century, here anachronistically transferred into a new cultural context. References to Tŭrnovo as the "Third Rome" and "New Jerusalem" were never direct but can be inferred by metaphorical extension from the laudatory texts of the *laudes Constantinopolitanae* type.

THE CASE OF MEDIEVAL RUS' CAPITALS: CONCEPTUAL INCORPORATION OF BYZANTINE MODELS

Russian examples reveal distinctive notions about capitals, as political and religious constructs, especially after their conversion to Christianity in 988–989, which was crucial for their acceptance into the Byzantine commonwealth.[110] The information about these cities comes from limited archeological evidence and various medieval Russian, Byzantine, Arab, and Western European texts.

No verifiable architectural evidence remains of organized early polities along the Volga River, a major thriving artery for trade and the prosperity of the nomadic peoples. This lack of evidence may be partially connected to their talismanic sacred rulers of the vast Euro-Asian territories who were focused on the heavenly realm.[111] For example, early medieval Rus' rulers referred in their titles and aspirations to Khazar *khagans* ("the khans of khans"), "who never touched the ground and for whom real power is wielded by a deputy."[112] The capital city of Khazaria that the Rus' attempted to conquer may have been the source of inspiration for subsequent Rus' capitals. Medieval chroniclers mention Atil or Itil (literally "the Big River"), the multiethnic and multireligious capital of Khazaria as a tripartite city separated by the Volga River into administrative, commercial, and residential sections, the island on the Volga being reserved for the palace of the *khagans* and his deputies.[113] This city was destroyed, leaving no archaeological evidence that can be used for comparative analysis with the Rus' capitals.

Nevertheless, to the west between the Black Sea and the Arctic Ocean, the Rus' had several capital cities during medieval times, such as Novgorod, Kiev, Vladimir, and Moscow. The information about these cities—stemming from the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (Пóвесть временны́х лет), first compiled in Kiev in the twelfth century, and complemented by tenth-century Byzantine chronicles such as *On the Governance of the Empire* (*De Administrando imperio*) and *On the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court* (*De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*)

as well as by various medieval Arab and Western European annals—has long been studied and contested.[114] In contrast to the earliest Bulgarian capitals or Atil, the archaeology of these Rus' capitals is studied and understood better, ultimately illustrating the unique Rus' aspirations toward Constantinople.

The oldest capitals, those of Novgorod and Kiev, developed from trade centers in the north and south of the Rus' territories and resemble descriptions of polycentric Atil rather than Constantinople.[115] Novgorod (literally meaning "New City" in Old Slavonic) started as a Viking-cosmopolitan trade center on the Volkhov River (figure 3.1). This is the only fully excavated medieval city in eastern Europe, and it also reveals the oldest archaeological layer from the time of the Rus' Christianization and contact with the Byzantines.[116] Immediately after their conversion, the Rus' built their own Hagia Sophia, first in regional, timber construction, which was replaced by the masonry church after the fire of 1045.[117] Focusing on international trade from the Vikings to the Byzantines and on the cultural epicenter in Constantinople, the Rus' transferred their capital to the geostrategically better-situated Kiev that had easy access to the Black Sea via the Dnieper River.

Founded as a polycentric trade town, Kiev was set within the plains at the now nonexistent Pochaina (literally "to start") River, flowing into the Dnieper, one of the major rivers of Europe.[118] The town had a developed street system and riverfront, similar in urban design to Novgorod and other merchant towns of the North European type. Under Byzantine influences, Kiev changed its geopolitical landscape. New administrative offices and the introduction of Christianity in the late tenth century resulted in the building of the so-called upper town. This then became the center of the capital and other hills were enclosed within the fortified city. The churches built on top of the hills additionally strengthened the changing landscape of the city, shifting focus of identity from princely palace in the upper town to the entire city.[119] Similar to the tenth-century Preslav, by the time of Yaroslav (1019–1054), Kiev had the eponymous, crucial buildings that are linked to Constantinopolitan Christian identity: both had prominent churches dedicated to Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirine, both had a major ceremonial entrance into the capital—the Golden Gate in Kiev, literally topped by the Church of Annunciation.[120] Boeck shows how Yaroslav's patronage of the building program in Kiev embodied a sophisticated knowledge of the Byzantine capital city and its religious and urban ceremonials, including the meaning of Byzantine institutions such as the Hippodrome, which staged urban entertainment, and public confirmation or contestation of imperial authority.[121] In particular, she focuses on St. Sophia in Kiev as a successful exemplar of "compressing and reconfiguring

Constantinopolitan loci of power [that] showed an understanding of the levels of Byzantine imperial power"[122] and resulted in the perception of Kiev as "Constantinople-on-Dnieper."[123] Such a perception was due not so much to a literal copy of Byzantine architectural models but rather to a mature understanding of the critical elements that constituted the spatial syntax of Constantinople.

The Kievan churches were built following both regional and Byzantine traditions. They had modular timber construction with tall pinnacles (*verkhs*) and Byzantine domes covered in metal tiles, resulting in uniquely tall churches with glittering bulbous domes raised on the "seven hills" of Kiev (figures 3.1, 3.11).[124] In addition to intermediary cultural exchanges through texts and images, it seems that the modeled topography of Kiev also reflects the Russian perception and experience of Constantinople. The city on seven hills with the safe harbor of the Golden Horn certainly would have been memorable to the Rus'. In the tenth century they circumvented the chain pulled across the Golden Horn to keep Constantinople safe in times of siege, but even if they eventually failed to conquer the city under Kievan prince Oleg (r. 882–912), the Rus' gained the right to participate in Byzantine imperial campaigns and established regular trade with the Byzantines.[125] Coming to Constantinople from the Black Sea, each time the Rus' would first observe above the city walls the imposing dome of Hagia Sophia and the glittering metal roofs of the imperial sacred palace,[126] including its ceremonial Chalke ("Brazen") Gate, that presumably acquired its name due to its bronze roof tiles.[127] Boeck demonstrates how in Rus' rhetoric, the Mother of God Blachernitissa, the divine defender and "unbreakable wall" of Constantinople, also became the patroness of imperial Kiev.[128] Thus rhetorical images and spatial paradigms embodied within Kiev exemplify the perceived reversal of the position of Rus' from being outsiders to becoming insiders of the Constantinopolitan landscape; "the same supernatural power that had repelled their pagan ancestors was adopted by the Christian Rus' for their protection."[129] Arguably it may be claimed that Kiev's landscape in a way reflected the Constantinopolitan in both its sacred and material dimensions. In addition to being compared to Constantinople, Kiev was also praised as the "Mother of Rus' Cities," making dual reference to the capital city as the most important of all cities as well as to Jerusalem, "mother of all" (cf. Galatians 4:25–26);[130] these latter comparisons certainly remained within theological if not physical realms.

Common people would have probably recognized the capital by the name of its ruler as the place of the display of his power and preeminence, and
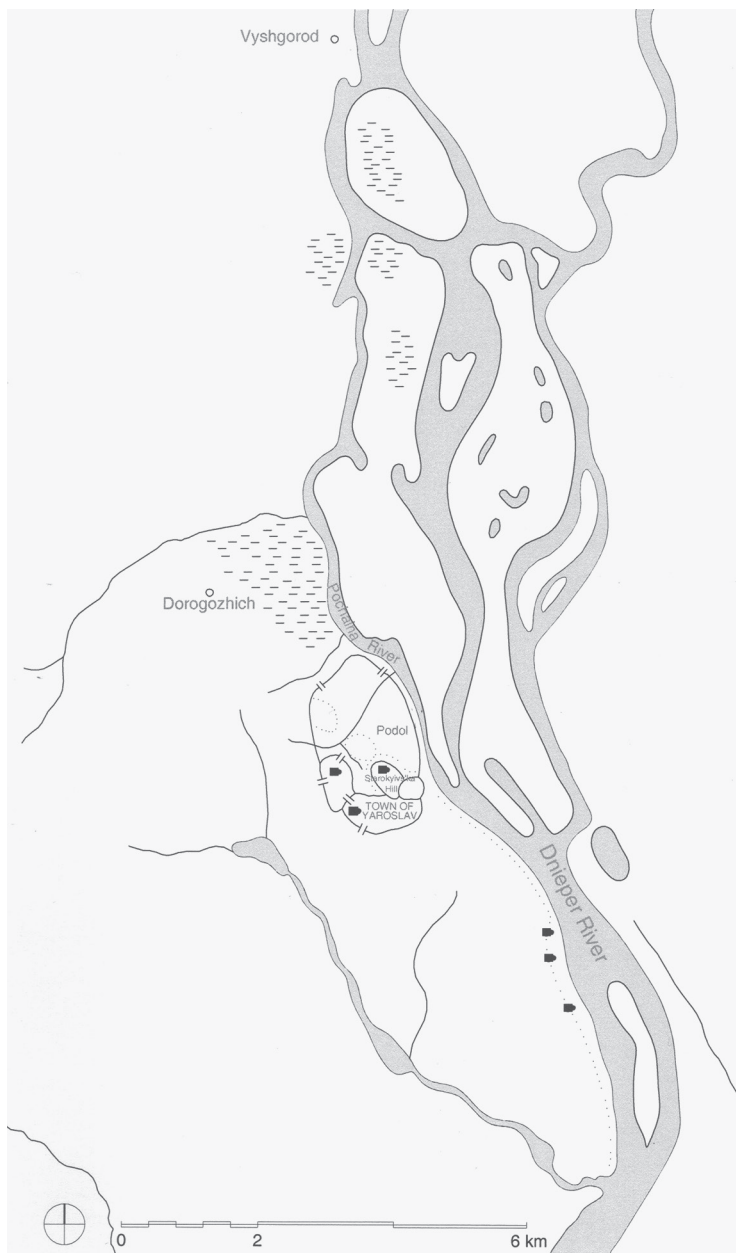
Figure 3.11. *Kiev. Rectangular structures with apses to the east represent churches. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*
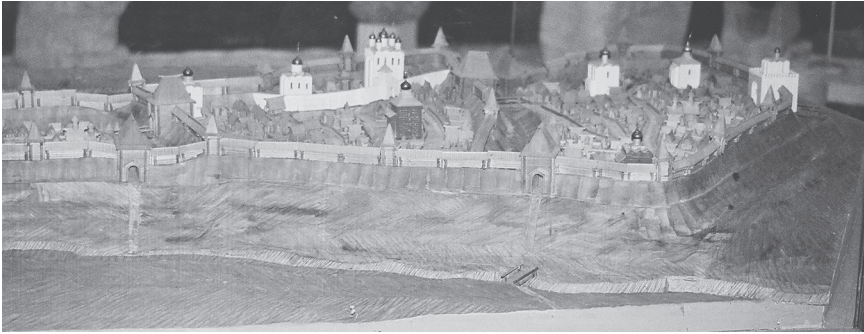
Figure 3.12. *Model of the Old City, Vladimir. (Photograph by Jelena Bogdanović)*

particularly because of his crucial role in urban planning, construction, and promotion of the capital.[131] Moreover, in Kiev, each time the ruler changed, the upper town with a palace would take his name. Thus, the upper city developed on the Zamkova (castle, fortified residence) and the Starokyivs'ka (Old Kievan) hills and would have been known successively as "Town of Volodymyr," the "Town of Yaroslav," the "Town of Izyaslav," and the "Town of Svyatoslav."[132] This characteristic of the Rus' capital can be associated with the emulation of the Byzantine concept of Constantinople, "the City of Constantine."

In the twelfth century subsequent Rus' rulers continued the tradition of distinctive conceptual and symbolic emulation of Constantinople, which can be exemplified by the polycentric capital city of Vladimir and its nearby princely residence, Bogolyubovo.[133] Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky (ca. 1110–1174), son of Yuri Dolgorukiy (ca. 1099–1157) moved the capital from Kiev to Vladimir (figures 3.12, 3.13), which thrived until the Mongol invasion of 1237. The city of Vladimir was again named after Rus' rulers—either Vladimir I, also known as the Great (r. 980–1015), who converted the Rus' to Christianity in 988–989, or Vladimir II the Monomakh (r. 1113–1125), the grandfather of Andrey Bogolyubsky. Vladimir II is credited with bringing the famous Constantinopolitan icon of the Mother of God to the Rus' capital. In Vladimir, this miraculous Marian icon became known after its toponym as Vladimirskaya (the icon of the Mother of God of Vladimir) and protected the city in times of siege and need, similarly to the icon of Mother of God Blachernitissa, palladium of Constantinople.[134] The city of Vladimir, named after a God-loving ruler and protected by the Mother of God, thus conceptually and spiritually became yet another "Constantinople." Its urban

architecture was also reminiscent of the Constantinopolitan landscape, marked by the wall enclosure, the Golden Gates, and numerous churches.[135] The ruler's residence in Bogolyubovo, literally the "God-loved," most likely took its name directly from the Greek "Θεοφύλακτος πόλις," "theophylactos polis" ("city guarded by God") an epithet for Constantinople mentioned in Byzantine panegyric texts.[136] However, archaeological evidence of Bogolybovo reveals monastic rather than recognizable palatial architecture, disclosing a peculiar arrangement of a city and a monastery as sites of authority.[137] The architecture of Vladimir and Bogolyubovo, as in Novgorod and Kiev, once again remained unique; its "Byzantine" identity was filtered through innovative design invariance of Byzantine concepts of urban and performative space that acquired its meaning through established ceremonials framed by topical buildings that were often built by regional workshops (figure 3.12).[138] The massive ceremonial Golden Gate in Vladimir comprised a religious chapel, as in Kiev and potentially in Constantinople.[139] With their attenuated glittering golden domes, the churches of Vladimir and Bogolyubovo were built in white stone with numerous reliefs on their exteriors. While it remained Byzantine in conceptual design, the architecture of Vladimir and Bogolyubovo reveals construction techniques of Romanesque Europe.[140]

Moscow (literally, the city by the Moskva River) was first mentioned in the twelfth-century chronicles of Rus' under Yuri Dolgorukiy.[141] Like Vladimir, Moscow was destroyed during the thirteenth-century Mongol invasion. The city emerged as the new capital in 1327, though the Byzantine sources mention its ruler Ivan II (r. 1353–1359) as the great *rhex* of Moscow and all Russia in the mid-fourteenth century.[142] This almost one-hundred-year break in Rus' urban history interrupted the tradition of Rus' capital cities. Moscow became the new capital of increasingly unified Rus' lands in the fourteenth century, yet it was only in 1480 and almost thirty years after the fall of Constantinople, that Moscow under Ivan III (r. 1462–1505) broke free from Tartar control and became a power center.[143] The city was not named after the ruler nor did its architecture and urban fabric recall Constantinople or Bulgarian double-enclosure cities. Rather, Moscow resembled the old polycentric capitals of Novgorod and Pskov that were never conquered by the Tartars and that had the fortified urban core (*kremlin*), or the inner city, associated with the government, and surrounding areas. This concept is also relatable to the visionary ideal cities designed by Renaissance architects. Ivan III invited Italian architects to work on the Moscow Kremlin, its churches and palaces in contemporaneous Renaissance idioms possibly also emulating the surviving models from Novgorod, Vladimir, and Pskov.[144] Moscow developed on "seven hills"

Figure 3.13. *Vladimir. Rectangular structures with apses to the east represent churches, double black lines represent a gate, and solid black symbols point to other important structures in the city. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*

and its *kremlin*, set on one of the hills, acquired a triangular walled enclosure marked by the glittering domes of the churches, here only loosely reminiscent of the Constantinopolitan cityscape.

Perhaps Ivan III's marriage to Sophia Palaeologina (1455–1503), a niece of the last Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Dragaš (d. 1453) and thus the legitimate descendant of the Byzantine imperial dynasty, resulted both in definite Russian adherence to Byzantine Orthodoxy and Moscow's geopolitical claim of Constantinopolitan identity as the capital of the Christian empire.[145] By the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the church prelates such as Zosimus, Metropolitan of Moscow (d. 1494), occasionally referred to Ivan III as the New Constantine and Moscow as the New Constantinople, New Rome, and New Jerusalem.[146] However, even if Moscow and its associated territory of the Muscovite principality were interchangeably mentioned as the "Third Rome," the question of its production and perception as the successor of Rome or "Second Rome" (Constantinople) remains open also because of its political and

ideological connotations in modern discourse and its ambivalent meaning in sixteenth-century Russia.[147]

THE CASE OF MEDIEVAL SERBIAN CAPITALS: BETWEEN POSSESSIVENESS, BELONGINGNESS, AND UTOPIAN VISIONS

In contrast to Bulgarian and Russian territories along major rivers, the largely mountainous terrain of the Serbian territories in a way defined a fragmented and self-contained realm, generally with a weakly developed sense of continuous urbanity. Old Roman towns such as those of Naissus (modern Niš) and Sirmium (modern Sremska Mitrovica) lost their preeminence with the development of the Byzantine Empire, which focused on the culturally and agriculturally more prosperous territories of the southeastern Balkans and Asia Minor.[148] As in medieval Bulgaria and Rus', the geopolitical landscape of medieval Serbian capitals was imbued with its religious values. Judging from the textual and archaeological evidence, the Serbs accepted Christianity first in the seventh century under Emperor Heraclius and again in the 870s under Serbian prince Mutimir (ca. 850–891) during the tenure of Byzantine Emperor Basil I (r. 867–886).[149] By accepting the Byzantine version of Christianity almost concurrently with the Bulgarians, the Serbs developed their own Christian state that can be related to developments among the neighboring Byzantines and Bulgarians. The first Serbian capitals were religious and political centers but the archaeological evidence for qualifying these sites as capital cities is problematic.

Ras (Byzantine Arsa), near modern-day Novi Pazar, may be singled out as an early "capital" of the Serbs, where their bishopric was centered in 871 (figure 3.1).[150] However, almost nothing conclusive can be said about this political and religious center. On the hill of Ras, the still-standing centrally planned church of the Apostles Peter and Paul (today St. Peter's church), archaeologically dated to the ninth century and loosely comparable in concept to the contemporaneous Round Church of Preslav, may have served as the episcopal seat, while the nearby fortification Ras-Postenje may have been the political center.[151] A fortified earth-and-wood palisade may have functioned as a princely residence and administrative and political center in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which coincides with the rise of the Serbian Kingdom in 1217 and the autocephaly of the church in 1219.[152] Yet archaeological evidence about the palace of the Serbian rulers or the distinctive functional and urban stratification common in other aforementioned capital cities is insufficient.

Other Serbian capitals, as they may be referred to by extension from textual sources, were conquered old Byzantine towns, such as Prizren or Skopje, or relatively small-scale fortifications built anew without clear urban stratification, such as fourteenth-century Kruševac (figure 3.1).[153] Important Byzantine centers such as Skopje, which the Serbs officially proclaimed their capital, may have provided the Serbs with indirect knowledge about the Constantinopolitan imperial concept of the capital city with its defined social and architectural texture. However, almost nothing of the archaeological evidence of Skopje as the capital (1346–1392) under the short-lived Empire of "Serbs and Greeks" founded by Stefan Uroš Dušan (r. 1331–1355) remains. The Serbs visited Constantinople and wrote about it as the "glorious"[154] city after its fall in 1204.[155] In contrast to medieval Bulgarians and Rus', in their texts, Serbs seldom compared Constantinople to New Rome.

There is not enough evidence about the Serbian understanding of the capital city, and in general about any difference between the capital and a town. Seemingly every well-built and fortified enclosure was called *grad*, be it a town, a fortification, or a monastery.[156] Evidence, or rather lack thereof, suggests that most likely the Serbian rulers—from the ninth century when they essentially lived in tribal organization through their formation of a kingdom in the thirteenth century and the short-lived empire of "Serbs and Greeks" in the late fourteenth century—would reside in locations outside major religious and political centers, where not a single palatial residence has been recovered. It may even be suggested that the center of authority was above all a religious one, thus refocusing Serbs on their monastic foundations imbued with notions of a Heavenly Jerusalem, rather than on the dwellings where they lived. This hypothesis raises the question whether a capital as the central locale of authority should be always understood as a capital city, a question that goes beyond the framework of this study.

As a result, it may be argued that the Serbs developed their own sense of statehood and the role of the capital city as an administrative, economic, religious, and cultural center in the fifteenth century, when Despot Stefan Lazarević (1374–1427) proclaimed Belgrade capital of the Serbian state in 1405. Belgrade is an ancient site at the confluence of two major rivers, the Sava and the Danube, on the very edge between the Balkans and central Europe. As a frontier fortification, Belgrade changed its rulers countless times. By the twelfth century, Byzantine Belgrade was an important fortified town and like Constantinople it was protected by the Mother of God.[157] Contemporary Greek and Latin sources designated Belgrade as *polis* and *civitas*, respectively. They described it as a fortified city with agricultural land in the immediate

surroundings, and emphasized its geostrategic, administrative, religious, and cultural importance in the Balkans.[158] At some point before 1142, the city was under the direct jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.[159] In 1284 Serbian King Dragutin (d. 1316) and his Queen Catherine (Katelina) of Hungary established their court in the city.[160] Belgrade, however, officially became the capital of the Serbs under Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević, who acquired the city from the King of Hungary and later Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368–1437).

Bulgarian scholar Constantine the Philosopher (b. ca. 1380–d. after 1431), the biographer of Despot Stefan Lazarević, speaks of Belgrade as "the city on seven hills (*vrhs*),"[161] on the biblical river Pishon (making reference to the Danube) with two islands.[162] Biblical references to Jerusalem and its metonym Sion are given both in general theological terms and in terms of a sacred topography of "the city in the high," with the appropriate urban and natural landscapes that mark the seven hills of the city. Comparing himself to a new apostle and Emperor Constantine I — a tradition used by Serbian rulers since the thirteenth century — Despot Stefan Lazarević reveals unprecedented interest in capital cities and their geopolitical significance across time and various cultures. He speaks of a wide array of great capitals including Babylon, Troy, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Vize (Bizye), Serdica (modern Sofia), and above all Jerusalem, the capital city of King David as described in the Bible and theological texts.[163] Familiar with the concept of historical capitals—Constantinople—"The City of Constantine" and Rome—"Old Rome"[164]—as the Ottoman vassal he was, he was deeply aware of the shifting political and religious powers in the Balkans, the unavoidable fall of Constantinople, and the spread of Islam. This may account for the pervasive references to Belgrade as the "New Jerusalem." Despot Stefan Lazarević rebuilt Belgrade as an essentially utopian Christian capital, devoid of a clearly definable political system, as the governing laws focused on Serbian hereditary tradition and oscillated between Byzantine Christian Orthodox and Hungarian Roman Catholic sources.[165]

Belgrade was envisioned as the material and spiritual stronghold of Orthodox Christianity, following the semantic image of the Christian Constantinople. Financially supported by rich silver production in Serbia, Despot Stefan Lazarević enlarged Belgrade from a Byzantine fortification of 1.6 ha to a capital city with a fortified enclosure and dependent area of approximately 15 ha.[166] The city essentially consisted of three parts: the upper city, the lower city with the safe harbor guarded by chains like the Golden Horn in Constantinople, and the fortified citadel on the top of the hill with the Despot's residence (figure 3.14). In the lower town, the Despot built the
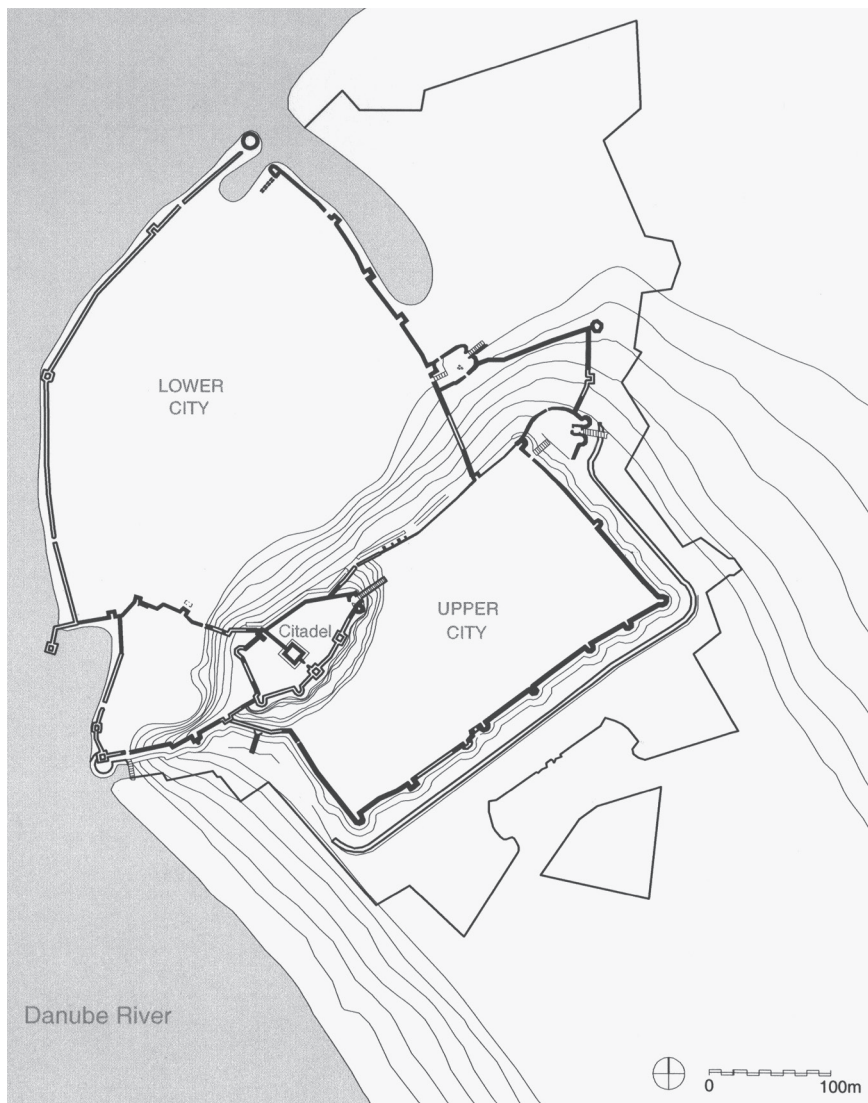
Figure 3.14. *Belgrade. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*

Episcopal palace and rebuilt the Belgrade cathedral with a prominently raised dome, visible from afar.[167] The cathedral, dedicated to the Mother of God, treasured the miraculous icon of the Mother of God, the palladium of medieval Belgrade,[168] the reliquary with the hand of Emperor Constantine I, and the

relics of Saint Empress Theophano (d. 897) and Saint Petka—Paraskeva of the Balkans (11th c), these last relics brought from Veliko Tŭrnovo to Belgrade.[169] The sacred relics emphasized the imperial importance of the city and its associative spiritual geopolitics with Constantinople.[170] Other churches and civic buildings were built, and educated and wealthy citizens were brought to the city and exempted from taxes. The sudden death of Despot Stefan Lazarević, still childless in 1427, combined with an event in the Belgrade cathedral, where reportedly all the icons from the iconostasis were miraculously lifted into the air, were taken as omens and understood by the Serbs as the announcement of the fall of Orthodox Belgrade.[171] Indeed, Despot Stefan Lazarević's nephew and adopted son Djuradj (George) Branković was not recognized as a legitimate heir, and in 1427 Belgrade was returned to the Hungarians. The capital remained Christian but was now ruled by the Western and Hussite "heretics" who venerated "paper icons," as they were discussed by Constantine the Philosopher.[172] A hundred years later, in 1521, the city fell to the Ottoman Turks.

Despot Djuradj Branković (r. 1427–1456), deemed by contemporaries the richest monarch in all of Europe because of Serbia's enormous production of silver and gold, was left without a capital. Following the example of his uncle, Djuradj Branković, who was married to a Byzantine princess Eirine Kantakouzene (ca. 1400–1457), rushed to build a new Orthodox capital within the shrinking Serbian state and, in general, the shrinking Christian territories in the Balkans. Similar to the Vladimir-Bogolyubovo urban phenomenon of a twin-city capital but now built under completely different historical circumstances, Smederevo was established near Belgrade (figure 3.1).[173] Built at the triangular confluence of the Danube and Jezava Rivers along the major ancient road, Smederevo, the last capital of medieval Serbia and one of the largest concurrent medieval towns in southeastern Europe, was only some 10 ha in size (figure 3.15). It was a miniature copy of Constantinople; actually some 140 times smaller than Constantinople (figure 3.9).[174] The city was built in two phases and incorporated the essential features of the semantic image of Constantinople as the capital city, reducing to a singular construction selected constitutional, administrative, civic, religious, and ceremonial aspects. In the first phase (1428–1430), the "small town" (figure 3.16) was built at the very confluence of the rivers as a triangular citadel—containing the Despot's residence, grand hall, bath, mint, library, and granary—enclosed by a water-filled moat and thus literally and symbolically making it an island. In the second phase (1430–1439), the "big town" was enclosed by massive triangular fortifications. Here the almost perfect triangular shape of the city was achieved because of the miniature scale of the city, which was built from scratch in the leveled terrain.
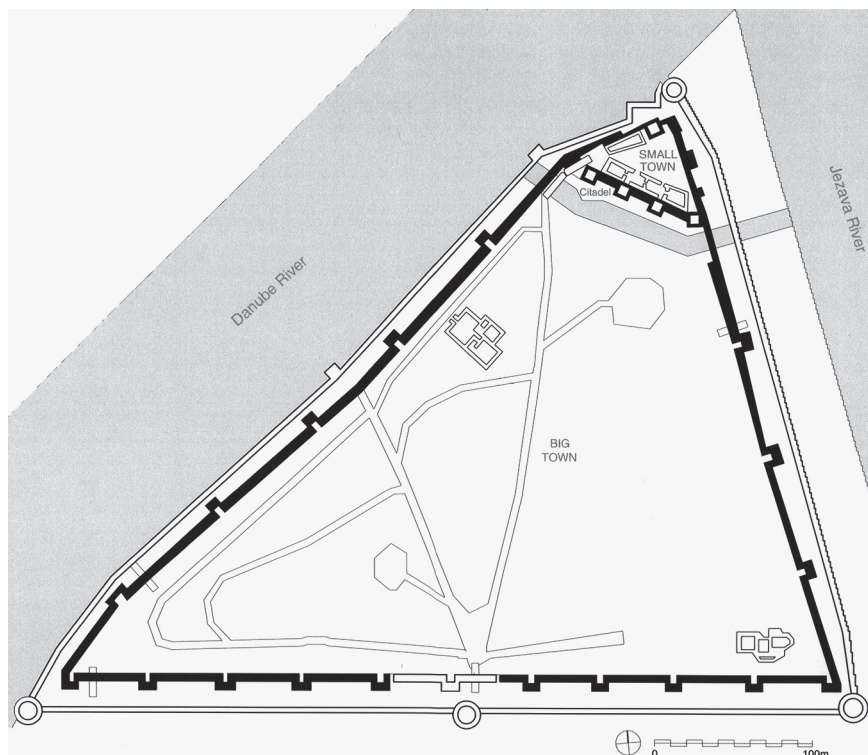
FIGURE 3.15. *Smederevo. (Drawing by Jelena Bogdanović)*

Smederevo was built by builders contracted by Eirine's older brother, George Kantakouzenos, a royal figure about whom little is known but who presumably also served as an architect.[175] This may also account for the copious references to Constantinopolitan architecture: its triangular shape; the polychrome use of stone-and-brick building techniques with decorative brick patterns comparable to the Constantinopolitan technique; monumental brick inscriptions on towers that combined Christian symbols and historical references to the foundations of the city by the faithful ruler (figure 3.17); and the inclusion of monumental marble statues and reliefs into the thickness of the palace walls (figure 3.18).[176] In 1453, just after the fall of Constantinople, the relics of St. Luke, originally kept in the Constantinopolitan church of the Holy Apostles, were ceremonially transferred to Smederevo,[177] thus completing the relational Constantinopolitan spiritual landscape in this new capital.
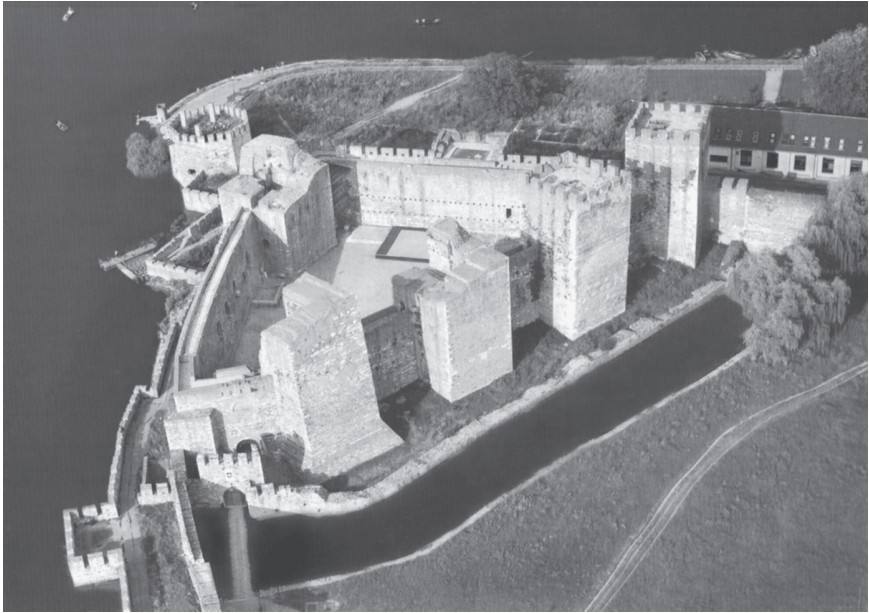
Figure 3.16. *Small Town, Smederevo. (Photograph by Aleksandar Brendjan from a commercial postcard)*

Smederevo was a utopian construct from the very start. Built as an important political and religious center at the time when Constantinople was increasingly losing its position as the Christian capital, Smederevo was a very short-lived capital city. It fell to the Ottoman Turks first in 1439 (just when the city was finished), and then again in 1454, a year after the fall of Constantinople. Built in only ten years under harsh conditions coupled with forced labor, its ruler, married to a Byzantine princess, envisioned it as new Constantinople and the stronghold of Christianity in the mid-fifteenth-century Balkans. However, common people experienced Smederevo as an imposed foreign concept of both capital and statehood; as such, it was destined for failure. The Byzantine princess Eirine was singled out as the source of all misfortune and the eventual fall of the Serbian state to the Ottoman Turks. In the vernacular tradition, Greek Eirine was nicknamed "damned Eirine" ("prokleta Jerina") and henceforth epitomized the regional lore of a Babylonian tower and misunderstanding. Here, in the Serbian context, "damned Eirine" signified the failure to build strongholds, at the subsequent cost of human lives.[178]

Figure 3.17. *The dedicatory inscription from the tower of Small Town, Smederevo. Bellow the massive Cross of Jesus Christ Victorious, the inscription in Old Slavonic reads approximately "Blessed by Jesus Christ, faithful Despot Djurdje, the ruler of Serbs and Zeta, built this town in 1430." The size of the inscription is more than 10 m (30 feet) in length. (Photograph by Jelena Bogdanović)*

Figure 3.18. *Building techniques of the city walls in Smederevo and Constantinople. (Photograph by Jelena Bogdanović)*

CONCLUSIONS: FROM GEOPOLITICAL
TO GEO-RELIGIOUS SPACE

This essay highlights how Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, developed from a Roman imperial construct to a unique medieval capital. Once it became the center of Orthodox Christianity, Constantinopolitan Christian associations were frequently combined with notions of the sacred topography of Jerusalem, the ancient capital of King David, and Heavenly Jerusalem, thus making potent references to a kind of dual citizenship in both earthly and heavenly realms. These rhetorical and spiritual comparisons of the capital city with Jerusalem changed the understanding of the capital city within strict power relations and precisely defined political systems. Such developed dual political and religious notions about Constantinople remained pervasive in emerging Christian capitals in eastern Europe.

The capitals of medieval Bulgaria, Rus', and Serbia were complimentary replicas of Constantinople as they maintained strong spiritual geopolitical associations with Constantinople as a prototype of the "ideal Christian

capital." These associations were also physical, but never only physical. The comparisons with Rome as the ultimate archetype of the capital city for these new medieval capitals, however, were almost never explicit but rather metaphorical, and stemmed from texts translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. After all, archetypical Rome was both historically and culturally detached from the emerging medieval states of eastern Europe. More important, the parameters that would define the capital city by that time had shifted from geopolitical to geo-religious factors, with a focus on an ordained notion of the "Christian capital."

Built near major routes along big rivers and (in Serbia and Bulgaria) along the ancient Roman road network, medieval capitals in eastern Europe in a way recreated the polycentric Roman commonwealth under the umbrella of Christian Constantinople and shared cultural values. Similar to Tetrarchic capitals, these new medieval capitals also acquired the title *polis*, centered on that term's long-lived meaning of imperial and religious unity within city and state.[179] Yet, new capitals varied in size, level of urban stratification, and associated architecture. The city walls and the domed churches, often done in the Constantinopolitan idiom, became generic architectural features of these novel capitals, while their physical articulation was not generic. Memorable elements of new capitals also depended on the local perception of Constantinople and on the local environments within which they were built. Thus, sometimes the capital developed within military fortifications of older Byzantine administrative and religious centers, as in Pliska, Skopje, and Ohrid. Sometimes capitals started from the fortified residence of the local ruler, as in Kiev and Kruševac, and in still other cases there is no archaeological evidence of a governmental or ruler's presence, as in Ras. However, the role of the ruler as the perceived creator of a capital remained pervasive.

Occasionally, capitals developed from older multicultural towns like Novgorod and Belgrade, while some capitals were deliberately planned from scratch, as in case of Smederevo and Constantinople itself. A particular phenomenon is the unusual spatial and authority arrangements of "twin-capitals," as in the cases of Vladimir-Bogolyubovo and Belgrade-Smederevo. Even if the origins and displays of capitals differed so broadly, including the most obvious fact that topography and morphology of a fortified town differed from a castle, once the site developed as a capital it was called *polis*, thus reaffirming its status as the capital city.[180] Domical churches raised on the hill, containing Christian relics and miraculous icons, were a dominant and unifying theme in the definition of the spiritual and geopolitical landscapes of the capitals not only physically but also rhetorically. This shifted the perception of the capital

from the actual city to the image of the city. The historical development of Byzantine literature further confirms this change in the perception of capitals from the *ekphratic* descriptions and beholding of the city to the beholding of a church and Heavenly Jerusalem.[181]

The reasons for the specific urban textures of the new capitals as the result of their production as actual spaces are complex. Based on Smith's theoretical framework, it is possible that the first memorable images the visitors formed when approaching Constantinople would result in repetitive emphasis on specific details with invested meanings, such as massive fortification walls, as in the Bulgarian and Serbian capitals, or highly raised metal-tiled roofs of prominent structures, as in the Russian and some Bulgarian examples. Frequently, Bulgarian and Serbian capitals reveal recognizable Constantinopolitan building idioms, such as the use of brick domes and wall textures of alternating bands of brick and stone, occasionally with embedded inscriptions and sculptural reliefs, which in their own right became architectural rhetorical devices of capital cities. In medieval Rus', despite the fact that Byzantine builders participated in early Kievan projects, the stylistic elements of Constantinopolitan architecture were heavily transformed through numerous building idioms. This is most obviously seen in the use of sparkling golden domes raised high above enormous churches different in size, type, and building solutions to those in contemporaneous Constantinople.

Another connecting thread in understanding the relational topography of capital cities and the perception of the image of the capital city is encountered within the texts translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic that were common to Bulgarians, Rus', and Serbs, who by extension often discussed their cities as physical and conceptual copies of Constantinople, the glorious city of Constantine. The image of *the City* as the ultimate model for these new capitals was not the city of Constantine but its historical development at least five hundred years later. The *longue durée* of historical structures that marked *the City* departed from its historical reality since its inceptions: the City of Constantine did not have any domed church, it initially had twelve and not fourteen administrative regions, and only after Theodosius's massive fortifications and land-works did it enclose seven hills (figure 3.3).[182] These empirical references were not crucial for the memorable image of *the City* and the cultural values it represented. Even if the creators of the topography of the emerging capitals in territories of eastern Europe could not exactly reproduce the Constantinopolitan landscape—topographically or historically—this was not their intention anyway. The sixteenth-century fresco from the Romanian monastery of Moldovița shows, for example, Constantinople

with eight hills (figure 3.8). What mattered was the site-related combination of natural and human-made landscapes defined by city walls, closely intertwined with omnipotent Christian relics and icons that stood for the semantic image of *the Capital*. This semantic image could not be separated from its nonvisual, nonverbal, and performative aspects, as the ceremonies of the consecration of Tŭrnovo and Smederevo suggest. Memorable elements of the city fabric closely intertwined with rituals performed within them were crucial for the site-related understanding of the Constantinopolitan landscape. The Constantinopolitan landscape was never literally repeated nor did it provide any kind of chronological-historical developmental thread for the "universal" capital city. Rather, along with relational landscapes of other emerging Christian capitals, the Constantinopolitan landscape expanded upon the conspicuous map of the cultural landscape of the Christian commonwealth based on shared concepts and values and the idiosyncratic differences of various peoples in the Balkans and eastern Europe analyzed here.

NOTES

1. In 324, following the military victory over his last opponent Licinius, Emperor Constantine I chose Byzantium, a minor colonial town, as his new capital. The city was consecrated in 330 and remained the capital of the Byzantine Empire until its fall to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Scholarship on Constantinople and its significance is abundant. See, for example: Cyril Mango, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," 17th International Byzantine Congress, Main Papers (New Rochelle, 1986), 115–136; Paul Magdalino, C*onstantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris: De Boccard, 1996); Paul Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007); Paul Magdalino, "Constantinople as an Imperial and Religious Capital," in *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of Capital*, ed. Koray Durak (Istanbul: Sakip Sabanci Museum, 2010), 84–92; *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Marcus Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 61–118; Robert Ousterhout, "Constantinople and the Construction of a Medieval Urban Identity," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), 334–351; Robert Ousterhout, "The Architectural Heritage of Byzantine Constantinople," in *From Byzantion to Istanbul. 8000 Years of Capital*, ed. Koray Durak (Istanbul: Sakip Sabanci Museum, 2010), 124–135; Leon Dominian, "The Site of Constantinople: A Factor of Historical Value," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 37 (1917): 57–71; Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleiman the Magnificent* (New Haven: Yale University

Press, 2010), 54–58; Cecily Hennessy, "Topography of Constantinople," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, and Robin Cormack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 202–216.

2. Capital cities in the territories of eastern Europe during medieval times are considerably less studied than their concurrent counterparts elsewhere. Comparative studies based on archaeological evidence call for a nuanced analysis of the cities in the territories that we call Eastern Europe, which was a soft buffer region for cultural exchanges between Europe and Asia, and Latin and Byzantine versions of Christianity: *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, ed. Maciej Salamon, Marcin Wołoszyn, Alexander Musin, and Perica Špehar (Kraków: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, 2012).

Here, *Rus'* relates to the entity, which may be tentatively titled "medieval Russia." Essentially, it is an entity that relates to the medieval polity associated with the Rus' as a substrate of various Viking and East Slavic peoples. Bulgars were early medieval Turkic people who migrated from Central Asia to Europe and gave rise to several modern peoples, including the Volga Tatars and Bulgarians in the Balkans, the latter a focus of this essay. See, for example: Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 241–262.

3. According to Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 115, geopolitics and geopolitical landscapes stand for "a relationship of authority that is created within practices among polities across a given ecumene through the demarcation of difference, hegemony, exclusion and inclusion. Geopolitical landscapes are produced and reproduced on the ground through physical barriers and borders, in evocative cues that signal relationships of independence and obeisance, and in the imagination of the proper political order of the world." In his concluding remarks on the political landscapes of early complex societies with their own organizations and forms of government, Smith, *Political Landscape*, 273–274, 279, calls for renewed comparative study of complex polities. Combined methodological approaches are promising in the investigation of religious societies. On the break between modern geopolitics and medieval geography based on the concepts of religious space, see also Gearóid Ó. Tuathail, "Spiritual Geopolitics: Father Edmund Walsh and Jesuit Anticommunism," in *Geopolitical Traditions*, ed. Klaus Dodds and David Atkinson (London: Routledge, 2000), 187–210.

4. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 112–148.

5. The literature on this topic is abundant: Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs, Imperial Pronouncements and Government AD 284–324* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and*

Politics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 18–22. See also chapter 2 by Kalas in this volume.

6. Here, *archetype* is understood as a long-lasting and universally understood concept, a prototype (first, original type) that is copied and emulated elsewhere. The city of Rome as the archetype stands for both the idea and the form of the imperial capital city. See the seminal work of Richard Krautheimer, *Rome Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980). Also: Beate Dignas and Engelbert Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and chapter 2 by Kalas and chapter 9 by Pilat in this volume.

7. On the concept of the ancient, sacred, and universal nature of competing Roman and Sasanian kingships as embodied in architecture and rituals: Matthew P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2009).

8. Demetrius John Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78 (1947): 347–365; Glanville Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (New York: Dorset Press, 1960), 3–13; Paul Magdalino, "Constantinople and the 'exo chorai' in the Time of Balsamon," in *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), reprinted in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), X: 179–197; Ousterhout, "Constantinople," 334–351.

9. Ousterhout, "Constantinople," 334–351, citation on 335; with references to Charles Brian Rose, "Troy and the Historical Imagination," *Classical World* 91 (1998): 98–100; and Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

10. Phillip Sherrard, *Constantinople: Iconography of a Sacred City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 37–110, chapters "The New Rome" and "The New Jerusalem"; Ousterhout, "Constantinople," 334–351, esp. 336; Bernard Flusin, "Construire une Nouvelle Jérusalem: Constantinople et les reliques," in *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Europe: L'invention des origines*, eds. Mohammed Ali Amir-Moezzi and John Scheid (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 51–70; Petre Guran, "The Constantinople—New Jerusalem at the Crossing of Sacred Space and Political Theology," in *New Jerusalems: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 35–57.

11. Magdalino, "Constantinople and the 'exo chorai,'" X: 179–197, esp. 190. Other towns were usually named *kastra* (castles), and only after the eleventh century, Thessaloniki, the second city in the empire is recorded in texts as *polis*, as well. The term *polis* used for Constantinople had its religious connotations because it was also prominent in Byzantine religious texts and Greek translations of Biblical texts in reference to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Cana, or Sodom. Johannes Koder, "Anmerkungen

zur Entwicklung der Siedlungsterminologie der in Byzanz, besonders bei Romanos Melodos," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 41 (2004): 113–121; Helen Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens: S.M.A.S., 2006), 96–100.

12. Here, *urbs* is understood as the material reality of the walled city and its urban, human-made territory, and *civitas* as citizenship with its associated broad notions of urban and cultural identities.

13. Paul Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 43–54; Paul Magdalino, "Constantinople and the 'exo chorai,'" X: 179–197, esp. 190.

14. See, for example, George P. Majeska, "Tsar'grad: The Image of Byzantium in the Popular Lore of Medieval Russia" in *The Slavs in the Eyes of the Occident. The Occident in the Eyes of the Slavs*, ed. Maria Ciesla-Korytowska (Boulder: East European Monographs; Krakow: Universitas; New York: Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1992), 9–19.

15. Georgacas, "The Names," 347–365, esp. 348.

16. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 41–67; Ousterhout, "Constantinople," 334–351; Magdalino, "Constantinople as an Imperial and Religious Capital," 84–92.

17. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 15, emphasizes how with so few Byzantine documents surviving, geography remains crucial in understanding the Byzantine realm.

18. Edward W. Said deals with these issues of geography, place, and memory in his seminal works *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); and "Invention, Memory, and Place" *Critical Inquiry* 26/2 (2000): 175–192, esp. 181.

19. The Romans systematically covered their empire with a dense network of communications. Klaus Belke, "Communications: Roads and Bridges," in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), 295–308; Luciano Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana: Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico* (Rimini: Maggioli, 1983); O.A.W. Dilke, "Itineraries and Geographical Maps in the Early and Late Roman Empires," in *The History of Cartography, vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 234–257.

20. On disembedded cities: Smith, *Political Landscape*, 204.

21. O.A.W. Dilke, "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire," in *The History of Cartography, vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, eds J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 258–275.

22. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 55–56; Rautman, *Daily Life*, 61–68.

23. See note 1.

24. Alexander van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London: John Murray, 1899, reprinted 2005), 4.

25. Rautman, *Daily Life*, 61–118; Belke, *Communications*, 295–308.

26. On the importance of fortifications and monumental structures for the definition of Constantinopolitan urban landscape: Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," 43–54, esp. 47. On the distinctive phenomenon of building fortification walls around Roman cities as a response to barbarian attacks already in the mid-third century: Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 17–18.

27. Also: Dogan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* (Istanbul: The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), 50–52; Nikolas Bakirtzis, "The Practice, Perception and Experience of Byzantine Fortification" in *The Byzantine World*, ed. Paul Stephenson (London: Routledge, 2010), 352–371; Hendrik Dey, "Art, Ceremony and City Walls. The Aesthetics of Imperial Resurgence in the Late-Roman West," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010): 3–37.

28. Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 5–6; 15–33; 47–48; Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977), 286–307; Kuban, *Istanbul*, 50–58; Stephen Turnbull, *The Walls of Constantinople AD 324–1453* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004); Neslihan Asutay-Affenberger, *Landmauer von Konstantinopel–Istanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007).

29. The original construction of sea walls, devastated in the nineteenth century, is debated, yet they probably existed in the fourth century: Cyril Mango, "The Shoreline of Constantinople in the Fourth Century," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 17–28.

30. Rautman, *Daily Life*, 66; Hendrik W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), esp. 17–29.

31. Magdalino, *Byzantium = Constantinople*, 43–54, esp. 51.

32. Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 17; Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, passim with references to Byzantine primary sources such as *Notitia Dignitatum*, those by Malalas, Cedrenos, Codinus, or Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De Ceremoniis*.

33. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 54–58, 77.

34. See chapter 2 by Kalas in this volume.

35. Philostorgius ii. C.9 citation according to Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 15. This text by Philostorgius (368–ca. 439), a church historian and resident of Constantinople, echoes widely circulating stories about Alexander the Great and the legendary question "How far, Alexander?" upon his advances into central Asia, as

also recorded in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Dilke, *Itineraries*, 234–257, esp. 241. Over time additional texts about Constantine's vision of the city and concern about its future circulated in Byzantine circles, most of them essentially reinforcing divine guidance. Benjamin Anderson, "Classified Knowledge: The Epistemology of Statuary in the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35/1 (2011): 1–19.

36. On the shared conceptual links with ancient traditions for the city of Ur III see Smith, *Political Landscape*, 203–206.

37. This is a widely used tactic in early polities: Smith, *Political Landscape*, 209–210. Among public imagery that identified the emperor as creator of urban landscape of the empire are also the coins of Theodosius II that show personifications of Constantinople and Rome facing and mirroring each other, reminiscent of those in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

38. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 210–215, effectively discusses how demolition and reconstruction as urban interventions were intertwined with the regime in ancient polities.

39. Kuban, *Istanbul*, 28–49; Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," 43–54.

40. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 62, with reference to Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 5816 (307), I:23.

41. The physical reality of Constantinople, configured between the fourth and sixth centuries and degraded by the eighth century, was partially recovered before 1204 when the city fell to the Latin Crusaders. After 1261 when the Byzantines reclaimed Constantinople until 1453 when it ultimately fell to the Ottoman Turks, Constantinople did not reestablish its previous glory. Magdalino, C*onstantinople médiévale* (1996) reprinted in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), I: 1–111.

42. Turnbull, *The Walls of Constantinople*, 4–15.

43. Oliver Nicholson, "Constantinople: Christian City, Christian Landscape," in *The Making of Christian Communities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Williams (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 27–47; Anderson, *Classified Knowledge*, 1–19.

44. See references to the fortification works and repairs under Theodosius II (r. 408–450), Anastasios I (r. 491–518), Justinian (r. 525–565), or those of subsequent Komnenian (ca. 1081–1185) and Palaiologan dynasties (ca. 1261–1453) in Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, passim.

45. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 54–58; Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," 43–54; Ousterhout, "Constantinople," 334–351. The discussion here essentially summarizes their interpretations with a focus on the imagery that defined the political landscape of the city.

46. Discussion here follows Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale* (1996) reprinted in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (2007), I: 1–111, esp. 7–8.

47. According to Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 40–41, until Theodosius II, the expansion of the city demanded considerable building ground. Byzantine chronicler Zosimus records that artificial land on the shores of the city was of great scale ("formed a considerable town"). James Crow, "The Infrastructure of a Great City: Earth, Walls and Water in Late Antique Constantinople," in *Technology in Transition: A.D. 300–650*, ed. Luke Lavan, Enrico Zanini, and Alexander Sarantis (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 251–285.

48. Themistius, *Oratio* xviii, 222 according to Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 42.

49. Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 192–204.

50. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 55–56, 62; Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 10 (1980–81): 103–110; Robert Nelson, "Empathetic Vision: Looking at and with a Performative Byzantine Miniature," *Art History* 30/4 (2007): 489–502.

51. Nelson, "Empathetic Vision," 489–502.

52. Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 15–39, 95–113, provides textual references to churches and chapels adjacent to city walls and gates based on sixth-century Zosimus's history and the seventh-century compilation, the Paschal Chronicle; Asutay-Affenberger, *Landmauer*, figs. 87, 88, 189; Cyril Mango, "The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople. A Bibliographical Survey," *American Journal of Archaeology* 55/1 (1951): 52–66, esp. 53–57.

53. Klaus-Peter Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 315–328.

54. Helen Saradi, "The Kallos of the Byzantine City: The Development of a Rhetorical Topos and Historical Reality," *Gesta* 34/1 (1995): 37–56, esp. 44, 46–47; Helen Saradi, "Beholding the City and the Church: The Early Byzantine *Ekphraseis* and Corresponding Archaeological Evidence," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 24 (2003): 31–36; Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, vii–xiii, Cecily Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta*: A Greek Book for a French Bride," *Art Bulletin* 87/3 (2005): 458–483, with reference to the illuminated page vat. Gr. 1851 fol. 2r, that shows the dome of Hagia Sophia enclosed by the city walls. On similar transformations of explicitly political into enduring transcendental landscapes in Mesopotamia, see Smith, *Political Landscape*, 210.

55. Cyril Mango, "Constantinople: A Christian Holy City," in *Istanbul-World City* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 7–11.

56. See note 10.

57. For example, Charles Barber, *Reading Michael Psellos* (Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 61.

58. In Orthodox hymnography, the Mother of God is often compared to a life-giving font. Jens Fleischer, "The Mother of God—The Life-Giving Fountain," in *Images of Cult and Devotion: Function and Reception of Christian Images in Medieval and Post-Medieval Europe*, ed. Ulla Hasstrup, R. E. Greenwood, and Soren Caspersen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2004): 255–264, esp. 257–258.

59. Cyril Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople," in *Radovi XIII medjunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju. Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae. Split - Poreč 25.9. - 1.10.1994*, ed. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin, vol. 2 (Split, 1998), 61–76. Emperor Justinian presumably rebuilt the church in the sixth century: Procopius *Buildings* I: iii. 1–5.

60. Procopius, *Buildings* I: 5–11.

61. Procopius, *Buildings* I: ii, iii, 9–10. See also: Anthony Cutler, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), "The Virgin on the Walls," 111–141, esp. 137.

62. Cyril Mango, "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis," in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Milan: Skira, 2000), 17–25; Svetozar Radojčić, "Ideja o savršenom gradu u državi kneza Lazara i despota Stefana Lazarevića" [summary in English "The Idea of the Perfect City in the State of Prince Lazar and Despot Stefan Lazarević"], *Zograf* 32 (2008): 5–12, with reference to the seventh-century Byzantine homilies by Theodore Synkellos as studied by Erwin Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (München, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1968).

63. Here the discussion derives from Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Virgin of Constantinople: Power and Belief," in *Byzantine Women and Their World*, ed. Ioli Kalavezou (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 113–119; Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 55–63.

64. Pentcheva, *The Virgin of Constantinople*, 113–119, esp. 115 with references to the sermon by the Patriarch Photios; Turnbull, *The Walls of Constantinople*, 44, 48–49.

65. Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 75, 106–107, with references to Constantine Porphyrogenitos's *De Ceremoniis*.

66. Turnbull, *The Walls of Constantinople*, 19, 22.

67. Citation according to Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 106–107.

68. This invocation inscribed in bricks stood on the fourth tower north of the Gate Rhousiou according to Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 100.

69. I thank Erin and Kevin Kalish for calling my attention to this liturgical reference.

70. Cutler, *Transfigurations*, "The Virgin on the Walls," 111–141; Pentcheva, *The Virgin of Constantinople*, 113–119, esp. 117; Hilsdale, "Constructing," 458–483.

71. James G. Crow, "The Long Walls of Thrace," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron (Aldershot, UK: Variorum, 1995), 109–124; James Crow and Alessandra Ricci, "Investigating the Hinterland of Constantinople: Interim Report on Anastasian Long Walls," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 235–262; Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 173–174; Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls*, 342–343.

72. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 173–174, with matching reference to Procopius: "The Emperor Anastasius . . . built long walls at a distance of no less than forty miles from Byzantium, uniting two shores of the sea on a line where they are separated by about a two-day journey. By this means he thought that everything inside was placed in security." Procopius, *Buildings* IV. ix. 6–7.

73. The walls lost their military function by the seventh and certainly by the eleventh centuries. See note 67.

74. Crow, *The Long Walls*, 109–124. Ebenezer Howard's concept of the garden city at the threshold of the twentieth century similarly aimed for self-contained and self-sustained settlements that would have the advantages of both the urban and rural lifestyle while reducing and eliminating their disadvantages. Rare Byzantine texts about agriculture such as *Farmer's Law* (*Nomos georgikos*, seventh–eighth centuries) and *Geoponika* (tenth century) emphasized cultivation of land as the way of attaining independence for both farmers and the cities their land administratively belonged to. Yet even if bringing forward social and environmental issues common to industrialized and contemporary societies, the Byzantine concept differs from Howard's concept of the garden city as a social movement. It remains important, however, that agricultural production was crucial for the Byzantine urban economy: Helen Saradi, "Towns and Cities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (2008), 317–327, esp. 322; Archibald Dunn, "The Exploitation and Control of Woodland and Scrubland in the Byzantine World," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992): 235–298; Rautman, *Daily Life*, 69, 157–197.

75. See also Kuban, *Istanbul*, 50–52.

76. Downey, *Constantinople*, 3–13.

77. See "Space Regulations for Constantinople Residential Buildings with Balconies," in Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), 261–262; Vassiliki Tourptsoglou-Stephanidou, "The Roman-Byzantine Building Regulations," *Saopštenja* 31 (1998–99): 38–63; Rautman, *Daily Life*, 90–93; Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 209–226.

78. For a nice reconstruction view of the Constantinopolitan seawalls and cityscape see http://www.byzantium1200.com/seawall.html.

79. Procopius, *Buildings* I. v. 10–13 records how the bay was always calm, allowing ships to enter it without a pilot.

80. Magdalino, *The Maritime Neighborhoods*, 209–226; Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 189–207; *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002).

81. Magdalino, "Constantinople and the 'exo chorai,'" X:179–197.

82. Paul Magdalino, "Constantinople and the Outside World," *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, ed. D.C. Smythe (Aldershot, UK, 2000) reprinted in *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), XI: 149–162, esp. 150–152.

83. Ibid., XI:149–162, esp. 149; Magdalino, "Constantinople and the 'exo chorai,'" X:179–197, esp. 184.

84. Magdalino, "Constantinople and the Outside World," XI.149–162.

85. Saradi, "The Kallos," 37–56; cf. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 203.

86. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 274–281.

87. Elisabeth Piltz, "Le siège de Constantinople—*Topos* postbyzantin de peinture historique" Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 22 (2001): 271–280.

88. See related chapter 10 by Grigor in this volume.

89. This innovative iconography is first attested to in Moldavian churches and then spread to Rus': John Paul Himka, *Last Judgment Iconography in the Carpathians* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2009), 53–58.

90. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 12–24.

91. See, for example, Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," 43–54, esp. 44.

92. O.A.W. Dilke, "Cartography in the Byzantine Empire," 258–275.

93. Discussion here derives from Jonathan Shepard, "Bulgaria: The Other Balkan Empire," in *New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. 3, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 567–585; Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 270–298; Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 18–79; Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 265–267. See also Georgi Bakalov, "Christianity in the Balkans till Late Nineteenth Century" in *Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria*, ed. Valentino Pace (Sofia: Borina, 2001), 24–45.

94. See note 97 below.

95. Georgi Bakalov, "Religious Aspects of Medieval State Ideology in the European Southeast," in *State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium*, ed. Vassil Gjuzelev and Kiril Petkov (Sofia: The American Research Center in Sofia, 2011), 31–46, esp. 42; Tsvetelin Stepanov, "Ruler and Political Ideology in *Pax Nomadica*: Early Medieval Bulgaria and the Uighur Qaganate," in *East Central and Eastern Europe in*

the Early Middle Ages, ed. Florin Curta (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 152–161, esp. 156–157.

96. Miliyana Kaimakamova, "The Foundation of the Bulgarian State in Bulgarian Medieval Historiography," in *State and Church: Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium*, ed. Vassil Gjuzelev and Kiril Petkov (Sofia: The American Research Center in Sofia, 2011), 101–128.

97. Kaimakamova, "The Foundation of the Bulgarian State," 101–128, esp. 128.

98. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 266. Стефан Бояджиев [Stefan Boyadhiev], *Архитектурата на българите от VII до XIV век* [*Arhitekturata na blgarite ot VII do XIV vek* (*Architecture of the Bulgarians from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Centuries*)] (София [Sofia]: ТангpаТанНакРа ИК [TangraTanNakRa IK], 2008), esp. 133–298, claims that the previous Byzantine fortifications were completely lost and that the architecture of Pliska and Preslav is uniquely Bulgarian. See also Bakalov, "Christianity in the Balkans," 24–45, esp. 31.

99. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 266, 285; Bakalov, "Christianity in the Balkans," 24–45, esp. 38; Stephen S. Bobčev, "Bulgaria under Tsar Simeon," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 7/21 (1929): 621–633; Ivan Biliarsky, "Old Testament Models and the State in Early Medieval Bulgaria," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Robert Nelson and Paul Magdalino (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 255–277.

100. Jelena Erdeljan, "Tŭrnovo. Principi i sredstva konstruisanja sakralne topografije srednjevekovne bugarske prestonice" ["Tŭrnovo. Principles and Means of Constructing the Sacral Topography of a Medieval Bulgarian Capital"], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 47 (2010): 199–214, esp. 209.

101. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 285–293; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 18–79, esp. 18–23.

102. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 288–290; Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 287. On the perception of the domes of the Constantinopolitan imperial palace: Maria Cristina Carile, "The Imperial Palace Glittering with Light: The Material and Immaterial in the *Sacrum Palatium*," in *Fire and Light in the Sacred Space. Proceedings of the International Symposium*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2011), 62–64.

103. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 295–296.

104. Biliarsky, *Old Testament Models*, 255–277.

105. Discussion here follows: Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 473–481; Kiril Marinow, "Inny Konstantynopol. Tyrnowo jako stołeczny ośrodek późnośredniowiecznej Bułgarii" ("Another Constantinople. Tărnovo as the Capital City of Late-Medieval Bulgaria"), *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis: Folia Historica* 87 (2011): 343–371. See also Bakalov, "Christianity in the Balkans," 24–45, esp. 41.

106. *Srednovekovno T'rnovo*, ed. Konstantin Totev, Mirko Robov, Ivan Aleksandrov (Veliko T'rnovo: Abagar, 2004). Archaeology confirms long habitation within the residential area of Trapezitsa, with its medieval peaks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The city blocks densely populated by artisans, merchants, clergy, and military reveal a diverse population typical for cities of prime importance. Деян Рабовянов [Deyan Rabovyanov], "*Археологически разкопки на обект 'Средновековен град Трапезица—сектор южен'*" [*Arheologicheski razkopki na obekt 'Srednovekoven grad Trapezica—sektor iozhen'* (*Archaeological Excavations of the Objects in the 'Medieval Town Trapezica—South Sector'*)] Proceedings of the Regional Museum of History 27 (Veliko Tarnovo, 2012), 259–277.

107. Marinow, *Inny Konstantynopol*, 343–371.

108. The references to Constantine and the True Cross are most explicit. It is worth examining whether the fragments of the girdle of the Virgin held in the Constantinopolitan church at Blachernae may have been related to the Virgin's robe (*maphorion*), which was established as a military and imperial relic in Constantinople. Erdeljan, *Tŭrnovo*, 199–214. See notes 62, 63.

109. Miliana Kaimakamova, "Turnovo-New Constantinople: The Third Rome in the Fourteenth-century Bulgarian Translation of Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike*," in *The Medieval Chronicle* vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 91–104; В. Тъпкова-Заимова [V. Tpkova-Zaimova], *Търново между Ерусалим, Рим и Цариград, Търновска книжовна школа, 4, Културно развитие на българската държава XII ь–XIVъ* [*Tŭrnovo amongst Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople* (*Tŭrnovo Literature School 4, Cultural Developments of the Bulgarian State 12th–14th Centuries*)] (София [Sofia], 1985), 249–261; Erdeljan, *Tŭrnovo*, 199–214. See also note 14.

110. On the twentieth-century concept of the Byzantine Commonwealth, a notion of the cultural unity of the medieval states that accepted the Byzantine version of Christianity: Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

111. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 220–240.

112. Ibid., 251.

113. Thomas S. Noonan, "The Khazar Qaghanate and its Impact on the Early Rus' State: The translatio imperii from Itil to Kiev," in *Nomads in the Sedentary World*, ed. Anatoly Mikhailovich Khazanov and André Wink (Richmond, UK: Curzon Press, 2001), 76–102.

114. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 241–262; Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 6–9, 155–175.

115. Noonan, "The Khazar Qaghanate," 76–102; William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9–42.

116. Edward L. Keenan, "The Trading Town on the Volkhov," in *Sacred Arts and City Life: The Glory of Medieval Novgorod*, ed. Gary Vikan (Baltimore, MA: Walters Art Gallery, 2006), 15–23; Valentin L. Yanin and Elena A. Rybina, "History and Archaeology," in *Sacred Arts and City Life: The Glory of Medieval Novgorod*, ed. Gary Vikan (Baltimore, MA: Walters Art Gallery, 2006), 25–33; Alexander Musin, "The Archaeology of Northern Russia's Urban Sites as a Source for the Study of Middle and Late Byzantine Culture," *Byzantinoslavica* 67 (2009): 41–49.

117. Kenneth John Conant, "Novgorod, Constantinople and Kiev in Old Russian Church Architecture," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 22/59 (1944): 75–92.

118. Here the discussion derives mostly from Olga Z. Pevny, "Kievan Rus'," in *The Glory of Byzantium: Arts and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, ed. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 281–286; Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 37–46. Archaeological studies of Kiev span over two centuries and are not fully conclusive: Mykhailo Sahaydak, "Medieval Kiev from the Perspective of an Archaeological Study of the Podil District," *Ruthenica* 4 (2005): 138–160; К. А. Михайлов [K. A. Mihailov] and Д. Д. Ёлшин [D. D. Yolshin], "Новые архивные материалы по археологическому изучению древнего Киева" ["Novie arhivnie materiali po arheologicheskomu izuchenio drevnego Kieva" ("New Archival Material on the Archaeological Study of Ancient Kiev")], *Археологические вести* [Arheologicheskie vest (*Archaeological News*)] 11 (2004), 226–232.

119. Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, "Constantinople-on-Dnieper?" in *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (London: Longman, 1996), 209–217.

120. Conant, "Novgorod, Constantinople and Kiev," 75–92; Radojčić, "Ideja," 5–12, esp. 5–6; Hlib Ivakin, "Excavations at St. Michael Golden Domes Monastery in Kiev," in *Kiev-Cherson-Constantinople*, ed. A. Aibabin and H. Ivakin (Kiev: Ukranian National Committee for Byzantine Studies, 2007), 177–220, esp. 201–206.

121. Elena Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome: The Performance of Power in Kiev's St. Sophia," *Art Bulletin* 41 (2009): 283–301.

122. Ibid., 283–301, citation on 295.

123. Ibid., 283–301, citation on 295; see note 116 above.

124. Conant, "Novgorod, Constantinople and Kiev," 75–92. Actually there are more than seven hills in Kiev, yet the reference to seven hills is recurrent in texts.

125. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 258–259; Alexander Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 6 (1951): 161–225; Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 115–135 presents Kiev as a major European trading city.

126. See note 101.

127. Until the fourteenth century, Russian pilgrims to Constantinople almost invariably talk about Chalke: George Majeska, "Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 93–108. The seminal work on *Chalke* remains Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House; A study of the vestibule of the imperial palace of Constantinople*. Imprint: Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser edgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, vol. 4, no. 4, København: I kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959. See also: Cyril Mango, "Chalke" in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexandar Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (New York–Oxford, 1991), vol. 1: 405–406. I summarize the architectural history and religious imperial politics associated with the Chalke in: Jelena Bogdanović, "Chalke Gate / Entrance of Great Palace (Χαλκή Πύλη / Είσοδος του Μεγάλου Παλατιού)," in *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople*, 2008, 22 December 2011, http://constantinople.ehw.gr/forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaId=12432.

128. Boeck, *Simulating the Hippodrome*, 283–301; see note 63.

129. Ibid., 283–301, citation on 286.

130. "For this Agar is Mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." Boeck, *Simulating the Hippodrome*, 283–301; Radojčić, "Ideja," 5–12, esp. 5–6 with references to Rus' chronicles.

131. Franklin and Shepard, "Cracked Facades (1036–54)," in *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200*, 208–244.

132. Sahaydak, "Medieval Kiev," 138–160; Ivakin, "Excavations," 177–220.

133. Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 43–63.

134. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 171–173.

135. Т. П. Тимофеева [T. P. Timofeeva], Золотые ворота во Владимире [*Zolotnie vorota vo Vladimire (Golden Gates in Vladimir)*] (Moscow: Severnii palomnik, 2002).

136. Radojčić, "Ideja," 5–12, with reference to Erwin Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* (München: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1968), 97.

137. Communication with the archaeologist Vladimir Sedov. See also, Vladimir Sedov, "The Bogoliubovo Ciborium and its Byzantine Analogies," in *The Life-Giving Source: Water in the Hierotopy and Iconography of the Christian World*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Filigran, 2014), 110–111.

138. D. D. Jolshin and A. A. Evdokimova, "Bricks with Greek Stamps from the Excavations of the Tithe (Desjatinnaya) Church in Kiev," in *Archeologia Abrahamica*, ed. L. Belyaev (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 203–211, explain that the bricks used in some of the Kievan churches were locally produced. Nazar Kozak, "The Desiatynna Church in Kyiv and the 'Greek Artists' Mentioned in Rus' Chronicle," *Viwsnyk Lviv Univ.* (2002): 115–122, suggests that the Greek artists mentioned in the chronicles were actually of Chersones origin. Archaeological and textual sources further suggest that local building workshops were formed fast and early on even in Kiev, where the Rus'

builders who practiced with Greeks in the south were dubbed "Greek builders" as they moved forward in building numerous churches in medieval Rus. Building techniques and concepts support this hypothesis. These additionally complicate the understanding of hybridity of concepts and actual architecture of the Rus' capitals.

139. John Barker, "Golden Gate," *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople*, 2008, 22 December 2011, http://constantinople.ehw.gr/Forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaId=12213; Mabi Angar and Claudia Sode, "Architekturdarstellungen auf byzantinischen Siegeln," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 43 (2010): 33–42.

140. See, Sedov, "Bogoliubovo," 110–111; and Магдалина Сергеевна Гладкая [Magdalina Sergeevna Gladkaya], Рельефы Дмитревского собора во Владимире [*Relefi Dmitrevskogo sobora vo VladimireMagdalina Sereevna Gladkaya* (Reliefs of the Cathedral of St. Demetrius in Vladimir)] (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), esp. 245–247.

141. See, *An Introduction to Russian History*, ed. Robert Auty and Dimitry Obolensky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976/2003), 82–82, esp. 83; Terry D. Clark, "Moscow," in *Encyclopedia of Russian History*, ed. James R. Millar (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 964–965, esp. 964; Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 83–106, esp. 83.

142. Simon Franklin, "Moscow," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexandar Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (New York–Oxford, 1991), vol. 2: 1415–1416.

143. Leonid A. Beljaev, "Italian Artists in the Moscow Rus' from the Late 15th to the Middle of the 16th Century: Architectural Concepts of Early Orientalism in the Renaissance Period," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. Michele Bacci (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiora, 2007), 269–299.

144. Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture*, 83–106; Beljaev, *Italian Artists in the Moscow Rus'*, 269–299, esp. 279.

145. Beljaev, *Italian Artists in the Moscow Rus'*, 269–299.

146. *An Introduction to Russian History*, 91–92; Donald Ostrowski, "'Moscow the Third Rome' as Historical Ghost," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. Sarah Brooks (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 170–179.

147. Franklin, "Moscow," 1415–1416; Beljaev, *Italian Artists in the Moscow Rus'*, 269–299. Ostrowski, "Moscow the Third Rome," 170–179, disagrees that the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome had any significant influence on Russian history. On the concept of the Third Rome see also chapter 9 by Pilat in this volume.

148. Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 1–37.

149. Tibor Živković, *Južni sloveni pod vizantijskom vlašću 600–1025* (Beograd: Čigoja, 2007), 213.

150. Marko Popović, *Tvrdjava Ras* (Beograd: Arheološki institut, 1999); Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 486–487.

151. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 342–343; Dušan Mrkobrad, "Ras-Postenje faze razvoja utvrdjenja," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 36 (1997): 203–219.

152. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 350, 486–487.

153. Ibid., 627–628, 636–648.

154. See note 98.

155. Radivoj Radić, "Constantinople in Serbian Medieval Sources," in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 2011), 191–211, esp. 211.

156. Radojčić, "Ideja," 5–12.

157. Konstantin Filozof, *Život Stefana Lazarevića, despota srpskog* (Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2007), 38.

158. Jovanka Kalić, "Beograd u XII veku. Tvrdjava—grad—polis" [French summary: "Belgrade au XIIᵉ siècle. Forteresse—ville—polis"], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 40 (2003): 91–96.

159. Ibid., 91–96.

160. Milorad Pavić, *Kratka istorija Beograda* [bi-lingual in Serbian and English: "Short History of Belgrade"] (Beograd: Prosveta, 1990), 14–18; Danilo Drugi, *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih: Službe*, ed. Milutin Stanislavac (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2008), 129–130.

161. Konstantin Filozof, *Život Stefana Lazarevića*, 50, 83.

162. Ibid., 20.

163. Ibid., 29, 32, 36, 44, 68. Jelena Erdeljan, "Beograd kao Novi Jerusalim: Razmišljanja o recepciji jednog toposa u doba despota Stefana Lazarevića" [English summary: "Belgrade as the New Jerusalem: Reflections on the Reception of a Topos in the Age of Despot Stefan Lazarević"] *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 43 (2006): 97–111.

164. Konstantin Filozof, *Život Stefana Lazarevića*, 27, 36, 43.

165. Jovanka Kalić, *Srbija u poznom srednjem veku* (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1994), 76.

166. Marko Popović, *The Belgrade Fortress* (Belgrade: The Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Belgrade, 1991), 17–50.

167. Marko Popović and Vesna Bikić, *Kompleks srednjovekovne mitropolije u Beogradu* [English summary: *The Complex of the Medieval Metropolitan Church in Belgrade*] (Beograd: Arheološki institut, 2004), 242.

168. On the miraculous icon, as written about by a Serbian archbishop in the fourteenth century, see Danilo Drugi, *Životi*, 130.

169. The relics were seized during the 1521 Turkish conquest. The reliquary with the hand of Emperor Constantine is now most likely in the Moscow Kremlin, while the metropolitan cathedral in Iași claims the relics of St. Petka. There is no evidence for the subsequent whereabouts for other relics. Popović and Bikić, *Kompleks*, 241–243.

170. Erdeljan, "Beograd," 97–111; Radojčić, "Ideja," 5–12.

171. Konstantin Filozof, *Život Stefana Lazarevića*, 86.

172. Ibid., 86.

173. Svetozar Radojčić, *Srpska umetnost u srednjem veku* (Beograd: Jugoslavija, 1982), chapter five, "Umetnost Pomoravlja i Podunavlja od 1371. do 1459. godine."

174. Novak Kocović and Jovan Nešković, "Fortifications of Smederevo, Yugoslavia," in *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300–1500*, eds. Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos (Thessaloniki: AIMOS, 1997), 132–135; Jovan Nešković, *Smederevski grad* (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1968).

175. Branko Perunčić, *Naselje i grad Smederevo* (Smederevo: Dimitrije Davidović, 1977), 12; Leontije Pavlović, *Smederevo i Evropa 1381–1918* (Smederevo: Muzej u Smederevu, 1988), 12.

176. Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 628–631, esp. 630.

177. Procopius, *Buildings* I. iv. 13–18; Kocović and Nešković, "Fortifications of Smederevo," 132–135, esp. 132.

178. Perunčić, *Naselje*, 12–13; Pavlović, *Smederevo*, 12–19.

179. Magdalino, "Byzantium = Constantinople," 43–54, esp. 44, provides a comparable analysis of the old provincial capitals Nicaea, Thessalonike, and Trebizond, and new, alternative capitals such as Arta and Nymphaion in Anatolia. On the various opinions about Byzantine cities based on textual and archaeological evidence: George Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 45–66; Clive Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 81/4 (1977): 469–486. See also chapter 2 by Kalas in this volume.

180. See discussion about Kiev for Rus' examples. For Serbia, see Marko Popović, "Zamak u srpskim zemljama poznog srednjeg veka" [English summary: "The Castle in Late Medieval Serbian Lands"], *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 43 (2006): 189–207.

181. Saradi, "Beholding the City and the Church," 31–36.

182. Mango, *The Development of Constantinople*, 115–136; Mango, "Constantinople," in *Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. Cyril Mango (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65; Magdalino, *The Maritime Neighborhoods*, 209–226. On the twelve urban regions in fifth-century Constantinople: *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae Notitia dignitatum*, ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1876), 229–243.

4

Beyond the Ashes

The Making of Bangkok as the Capital City of Siam

Melody Rod-ari

In *The Political Landscape*, Adam T. Smith convincingly argues for due recognition of the natural landscape in the formation of early complex polities by drawing on multiple references to the Classic Maya, Urartian, and Mesopotamian cultures.[1] The natural landscape and specifically bodies of water were also critical in the formation of the political landscapes in Asia, including the modern geobody of Thailand. Of the over ninety rivers (*maenam*), tributary rivers, and canals (*khlong*) in Thailand, only two are considered principal river systems: the Chaopraya and the Mekong (figure 4.1).[2] The Chaopraya River has long been a focus for cultural, religious, and political activity in Thailand and is seen as life affirming, providing fish for nourishment and water for agriculture. Along the banks of the river lie a number of ancient and modern capital cities including two of the most powerful and long lasting Siamese[3] kingdoms and capital cities in Thai history:[4] Ayutthaya (1351–1767) and Bangkok (1782–present).[5]

This chapter examines the dynamic relationship between Bangkok and its geopolitical setting in the late eighteenth century. Following Smith's understanding of the formation of political authority in and through landscape, which is at the same time coherent and distinct from neighboring polities,[6] the formation of Bangkok as a political unit in space is highlighted through the city's geographic location along the Chaopraya River and the construction of the capital's symbolic and political seat of power, the Grand

Figure 4.1. *Map of Central Siam. (From John M. Echols Collection, Cornell University Library; image in public domain source)*

Palace. This essay argues that both were carefully chosen to emulate the former capital city of Ayutthaya. Examination of the Grand Palace in Bangkok, remnants of the former Grand Palace in Ayutthaya, and royal chronicles illustrates that there was a concerted effort by King Rama I (r. 1782–1809),[7] the founder of Bangkok and the Chakri dynasty, and his advisors to create a direct link between Bangkok and the former capital.[8] This link was both symbolic and actual, which is demonstrated by the physical layout of Bangkok, the architectural similarity of both Grand Palaces, as well as King Rama I's reuse of building materials from Ayutthaya. As Smith also highlights in his study of the dynamics between urbanism and regime,[9] the desire to create such an apparent linkage between the two cities is twofold. First, by reusing and thereby erasing remnants of the former capital and then recreating it in Bangkok, King Rama I was able to create a narrative by which his capital city came to represent the most reliable link to Siam's ancient past. Second, by creating a continuous link between the two royal cities, King Rama I was able to reduce the reign of his predecessor, King Taksin (r. 1768–1782), in the capital city of Thonburi, to a dynastic interlude.[10]

The spatial depth of the capital city extended beyond the city limits, and beyond the kingdom itself, as the royal-administrative and religious institutions closely intertwined and became standardized.[11] This process depended on the assemblage of important Buddhist icons in Bangkok during the reign of King Rama I, and most specifically on the Emerald Buddha icon (figure 4.2). The Emerald Buddha is considered the most religiously potent and sacred Buddhist image in Thailand and arguably in the whole of mainland Southeast Asia. Today, the icon is enshrined in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha (Wat Phra Kaew),[12] which is located within the grounds of the Grand Palace in Bangkok. Its enshrinement within the palace complex is significant for several reasons, but most important is the sacred geography that is attached to the icon. Prior to its enshrinement in Bangkok, the icon is purported to have been installed in important Buddhist centers in South and Southeast Asia: India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and several different Thai kingdoms, including Ayutthaya. Its current enshrinement in Bangkok therefore implies the city's position as a center for Theravada Buddhism and for Buddhist learning.[13]

This chapter thus reduces the complexity of the actual city and focuses on two essential architectural and visual elements that comprised the essence of the political apparatus, which King Rama I employed in the creation of Bangkok: the Grand Palace, as the ruler's residence and seat of government, and the statue of the Emerald Buddha, as the preeminent symbol of the

Figure 4.2. *Emerald Buddha in Bangkok, Thailand (Photo by Jan S. Peterson/ Wikimedia Commons)*

Buddhist religion and the most sacred palladium a Buddhist king could possess.[14] Ultimately, this research aims to demonstrate King Rama I's desire to elevate the status of Bangkok and his own political prestige, and, to accomplish that, his use of the most important royal and religious symbols available to him: the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya and the Emerald Buddha, which had been transferred from Thonburi. By dismantling both from their original sites and reinstituting them in Bangkok, King Rama I made clear his political ambitions and his objective to situate his capital city at the center of Siam and the Theravada Buddhist world.

BEFORE BANGKOK: THE FALL OF AYUTTHAYA AND THE RISE OF THONBURI

The Siamese Kingdom of Ayutthaya was founded by an ethnically Thai/ Chinese merchant named U-Thong, who adopted the title of King Ramathibodi (r. 1351–1369) upon his accession to the throne in 1351. The capital city of this kingdom was originally founded at the convergence of three rivers—the Chaopraya, Pasak and Lopburi—where a settlement called Ayutthaya had existed from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. The city's location was

Figure 4.3. *"View of Judea [Ayutthaya], the Capital of Siam." Painting attributed to Johannes Vinckboons, ca. 1662–1663. (Rijks Museum, Netherlands; image in public domain)*

chosen for its importance as a port and because of the fertile land and abundant fishing made available by the three rivers. Moreover, by digging canals that connected to the rivers, urban planners could manipulate the geography of the city, so that by the seventeenth century the capital was a moat-encircled island that measured 15 km in circumference (figure 4.3).[15] This moat provided protection from invasion as well as easy access to local, regional, and international maritime trade. Moreover, Ayutthaya (as it came to be called) is located some 110 km from the Gulf of Siam, which allowed the court to monitor and control shipping as vessels had to go up river, which was an advantage in both trade and warfare.[16]

Ayutthaya remained a powerful force in the Maenam Chaopraya Basin for over four hundred years. In that time it became an important maritime trading center and religious center for Buddhist learning. The kingdom was able to grow and thrive because of astute rulers who were both tactical politicians and strategic military generals. Regionally, rulers had an expansionist policy, using both military power and diplomacy to overtake the Sukhothai Kingdom to the north and the Angkor Empire to the east.[17] By the sixteenth century,

much of modern-day Thailand and parts of Laos, the Malay Peninsula, and Cambodia had become vassals to Ayutthaya. Internationally, Ayutthaya was very open to commercial trade and had relations with India, East Asia (China and Japan), the Middle East (Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Persia), and Europe (Portugal, Spain, Holland, and France). Its pro-trade policy brought great wealth to its kings and its inhabitants. During the reign of King Narai (r. 1658–1688), ambassadors from the French court of King Louis XIV described one of Narai's public appearances in this way:

> He [King Narai] was clothed in a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. He wore a white cap ending in a point, encompassed with a ring of gold all flowered and set thick with precious stones. The King's boat was gilt as low as the water, and rowed by six-force waterman [oarsman], who wore upon their heads a kind of toque covered with plates of gold, and their stomachs adorned in the same manner.[18]

For all of its success and wealth, the Ayutthaya Kingdom was politically vulnerable due to the administrative organization of the kingdom itself. Ayutthaya was not a unified state; instead, it consisted of a network of self-governing principalities and tributaries who pledged their allegiance to the king. This type of system, which Charles Higham has termed a *mandala* system, worked best during times of prosperity and calm.[19] However, it proved to be especially fragile during periods of royal succession. The result often led to local rulers and dignitaries jockeying for power and the fracturing of the king's network of alliances. By the eighteenth century, Ayutthaya gradually lost control over its provinces, which proved to be an important factor in its final defeat and destruction by the Burmese in April of 1767.[20]

With no king or heir apparent to take over the throne of Ayutthaya, local nobles and military generals positioned themselves to reclaim the kingdom and begin anew. A military general by the name of Taksin restored independence to Siam from the Burmese through a series of tactical alliances and claimed the throne for himself. Within a year of the fall of Ayutthaya, Taksin had reconstituted the territories under the former kingdom and by December of 1768 was the reigning monarch of Siam.[21] He declared his military headquarters, Thonburi, to be the new kingdom of Siam and its capital city.

The decision to relocate the capital to Thonburi rather than to rebuild in Ayutthaya was due to the devastation exacted on the former capital as well as Thonburi's distance from Ayuatthaya, and therefore its perceived safety from future Burmese attacks. Thonburi's proximity to the open waters also made it more suitable for commerce. The Thonburi Period was short lived; it

began and ended with King Taksin's reign from 1768 to 1782. The king's short tenure has traditionally been blamed on his despotic and erratic behavior, in addition to his disrespect for conventionalized Buddhist hierarchy.[22] More recent scholarship has attributed King Taksin's political fall to his inability to appease military generals, elite nobles, and the Buddhist clergy.[23] Discontent with King Taksin's rule resulted in a coup d'état that ended with his dethronement and execution. The king was perceived as a continued threat, as he still had powerful allies; it was therefore decided that Taksin must be disposed of. On April 10, 1782, King Taksin's execution was ordered by his longtime friend and the future king of Siam, General Chao Phraya Chakri (King Rama I). Following the king's death, Chao Phraya seized the throne and the capital city of Thonburi.

THE FOUNDING OF BANGKOK'S LONG-LASTING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Upon assuming the throne, General Chao Phraya Chakri as King Rama I moved the capital to Bangkok, which is situated on the east bank of the Chaopraya River and across from Thonburi. The reasons for moving the capital from the west bank to the east bank are multifold. First, by moving across the river the king could start afresh, as there was more land available for constructing administrative buildings and his royal residence. His predecessor's palace was, by traditional standards, not fit for a king. Taksin's modest, timber palace, probably a temporary structure, was located on a narrow plot of land in between two temples (Wat Arun and Wat Tha), which prohibited future expansion.[24] As the king's residence served as both the symbolic and actual seat of power for the monarch, a lavish and grand palace was needed. Second, it was believed that crossing the river would make Burmese attack that much more difficult, as troops would not only have to navigate the land but would also be forced to cross the Chaopraya before reaching the capital city. Third, the digging of canals along the Chaopraya and Tajin Rivers would fortify the city in the same fashion as the moat-encircled island of Ayutthaya (figure 4.4). The strategic location of Bangkok was already well known during the Ayutthaya Period by locals and foreigners alike. A Dutch trader and head of the Dutch Factory in Ayutthaya named Jeremias Van Vliet described Bangkok in this way in 1638:

> Bangkok is a small walled town situated on the river [Chaopraya] about seven [Dutch] miles from the sea and amidst fertile fields. The rivers Maenam

Figure 4.4. *Map of Kingdom of Siam. (From John M. Echols Collection, Cornell University Library; image in public domain)*

[Chaopraya] and Taatsyn [Tajin] meet at this point. Around the town there are many houses and rich farms. Bangkok is strong by nature and can easily be fortified. In case the little town should be taken, fortified, and kept by a prince, the supply of salt and fruits to the town of Judia [Ayutthaya] would be prevented. Also, all navigation on sea and passage of the Moors from Tannassary [Burma] would be cut off.[25]

King Rama I was well aware of the "little town's" potential as a new center of political power, whose economic and political scale went beyond its physical dimensions. While in Western European ideology size and mapping played an important role in the analytical understanding of political authority,[26] King Rama I recognized the potential to use his own tectonic authority in creating the experiential, perceptual, and imagined spatial dimensions of the capital,

culturally defined, transformed, and standardized, and then located on the world map.[27] In other words, as Smith has empirically demonstrated in examples of early complex polities, the primary city was not necessarily related to its physical size, demographics, or economic network. Instead, what mattered more in the case of Bangkok was its relative proximity to the previous two capitals, and the re-creation of recognizable urban and sacred forms that would have invoked in their shape and spatial relations a desired response from its subjects and competitive neighbors, who would in turn recognize Bangkok as the new capital. Moreover, like Van Vliet, King Rama I was well aware of the "little town's" potential to be formally demarcated and fortified. Canals were dug in the early years of his reign, connecting them to the Chaopraya and Tajin Rivers, creating Rattankosin Island.[28] This urban intervention afforded the king the ability to protect his city but also gave him an additional opportunity to model Bangkok after Ayutthaya.

Although Ayutthaya had ceased to be the center of Siamese politics for fifteen years, memories of its glorious past were still very fresh in the minds of King Rama I and his court. Up to this point, there was no other kingdom in the Maenam Chaopraya Basin that had as much wealth, prestige, and history. Thonburi was not only short lived but was also tainted by King Taksin's legacy. It therefore made sense for King Rama I to look to Ayutthaya as a model for the staging of his kingdom and capital city. A member of the Chakri dynasty, HRH Prince Chula Chakrabongse, states: "As in everything else, Rama I's wish was not to create a new type of city, but as far as possible to restore Ayutthaya. Experts who had known the details of the old capital were called in, so that all of the traditions of the monasteries and palaces would be preserved."[29]

One of the first overtures King Rama I made to "restore" Ayutthaya took place during his first coronation on April 6th, 1782, with the adoption of the title King Ramathibodi.[30] Significantly, the name *Ramathibodi* was the same title used by the founder of the Ayutthaya Kingdom in the fourteenth century. Among a myriad of reasons why Rama I chose to adopt the name Ramathibodi, perhaps the most significant was that it created an ancestral link between him and the founder of Ayutthaya, albeit by name only, as Rama I could not claim direct descent from the Ayutthaya royal line.[31]

Like the title of King Ramathibodi, the official title for Bangkok also recalled the former kingdom and capital city. Prior to its establishment as the capital city of Siam, Bangkok was an old settlement known as *Bang-kok* ("water hamlet of the wild plum tree").[32] In 1786, King Rama I gave the city a new name, one befitting its royal status.

Krung Thep Mahanakhon Amon Rattanakosin Mahintharayutthaya Mahadilok Phop Noppharat Ratchathani Burirom Udomratchaniwet Mahasathan Amon Phiman Awatan Sathit Sakkathattiya Witsanukam Prasit,

or

The City of Angels, Great City, the Residence of the Emerald Buddha, the Great city of God Indra, Ayutthaya, the World Endowed with Nine Precious Gems, the Happy City Abounding in Great Royal Palaces which resemble the Heavenly Abode wherein dwell the Reincarnated Gods, A City Given by Indra and built by Vishnukarn.

The title was changed for the king's second coronation ceremony and blessing for the capital, which coincided with the completion of the entire Grand Palace complex. The year 1786 was also when King Rama I was recognized by the Chinese emperor Qianlong.[33] Chinese acceptance of Siam and particularly of King Rama I as its ruler was of great importance to the king. Not only was China an important regional economic and political power, but by the eighteenth century it had reached its own territorial and political peak under the theological and political ideology of the "Great Unity."[34] The Great Unity centered on the idea that the emperor embodied the vast territories of China and that the world should be a place in which everyone and everything is in harmony and at peace. This vision of the world relates to the pan-Indian Chakravartin ideal whereby the political power and spiritual influence of the Chakravartin, or Universal World Ruler, extends to the entire known world. The Chakravartin ideal is invoked in the official title for Bangkok.

The official title for Bangkok is also important for several reasons. As previously mentioned, the title invokes the former capital of Ayutthaya, for obvious reasons: legitimacy and antiquity. Emphasis was also placed on important religious and political symbols such as the Emerald Buddha and the "Nine Precious Jewels." The inclusion of the Emerald Buddha icon in the title is intended to suggest the importance of Bangkok as a center for Buddhism. The mention of the "Nine Precious Jewels" is intended to evoke the Chakravartin.[35] Texts, which include the *Ratanabimbavamsa, Jinakālimālipakaranam, Amarakatabuddharupindāna*, and the *Traiphum Phra Ruang*, make clear that a ruler who is in the possession of these jewels is a Chakravartin. The inclusion of the jewels in the city's title, therefore, signifies its function as the home of the Chakravartin, while at the same time identifying the King of Siam as a Universal World Ruler.

What this new title suggests is that by 1786, only four years into his reign, King Rama I was no longer satisfied with just restoring Ayutthaya in

Bangkok. Instead, the king wanted to situate his kingdom and capital city in a conceptually larger world, one that included his recognized status by other powerful rulers such as Emperor Qianlong of China. To this end, the king made sure that his residence had all the political and religious trappings of a Chakravartin.

THE GRAND PALACE COMPLEX OF RAMA I

Upon accession to the throne, King Rama I quickly undertook the job of constructing his place of residence. Indianized Southeast Asian states such as Angkor, Pagan, Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Thonburi, and Bangkok believed that the royal seat of power, typically, the king's residence, was the political and religious center of any kingdom.[36] To this end, it was important for the king to have such an institution in place. When it came time to construct his residence, the king looked to the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya as his model.

Construction of the Grand Palace began on May 6, 1782. The palace is located on the east side of Bangkok along the banks of the Chaopraya River. The location for the palace was chosen to mimic the architectural layout of the Grand Palace complex in Ayutthaya and its particular arrangement within the former capital. Both palace complexes are located along the banks of the Chaopraya River, facing north with the river to the west and a main road to the east. In addition, the city walls of both kings' capital cities are located along the river and also function as the palace walls. Moreover, the architecture, size, plan and structures within the Grand Palace in Bangkok roughly correspond to those at the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya.[37]

At the time of construction, King Rama I had parceled out about fifty-three acres of land to be used for his new residence and administrative offices, corresponding to the same acreage of the Grand Palace complex in Ayutthaya. And like its Ayutthaya archetype, the Grand Palace in Bangkok is divided into four sections, each representing a different function to its courtly users. The northeastern section of the grounds is filled with the religious buildings and monuments associated with the Temple of the Emerald Buddha. To the south of the temple, the Grand Palace grounds are taken up by the once royally occupied residences of the king and his consorts, referred to as the "inner palace."[38] To the west of the inner palace is a section referred to as the "inner court." Here, meeting and ceremonial halls are located; these structures are still used for administrative and royal functions of the court.[39] Directly north of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha is the "outer court," which was reserved for military and civil administrative offices.

Much of what is known about Ayutthaya-Period art and architecture is based on the visual culture of the Thonburi and early Bangkok Periods, which reflects a direct and continued artistic style from the former capital. While most scholarship attributes the destruction of the former capital city to victorious Burmese troops in 1767, archaeological and historical evidence suggests that much of the former kingdom's plundering took place during the rebuilding of the Siamese Kingdom under the reign of King Rama I. Construction materials such as bricks were reclaimed to build Bangkok's city walls and buildings.[40] Again, HRH Prince Chula Chakrabongse states: "For reasons of economy and to save unnecessary labor, what was left of the walls and buildings of Ayutthaya were pulled down and the fine old bricks brought down the river for rebuilding."[41]

While there is a certain degree of practicality for the reuse of these materials, there must have also been a desire to make a physical link between the once great capital city of Ayutthaya and that of the new capital, Bangkok.[42] By physically erasing the royal buildings and structures of Ayutthaya, Rama I could claim that his capital city and royal seat of power was the most reliable and authentic link to Siam's glorious past. At the same time, by plundering the fallen sites, the king was ensuring that no one else could use them for their own purposes. Moreover, as Maurizio Peleggi has commented, "by articulating spatially the claim to continuity between the Chakri's city [Bangkok] and Ayutthaya, Taksin's fifteen year reign was reduced to a dynastic interlude."[43] Indeed, like Ayutthaya, Thonburi's city walls were destroyed during King Rama I's reign so that the bricks could be used for new buildings and structures in Bangkok.[44] Today, the few remnants of Taksin's palace include an open air throne-hall, which has become a part of the Royal Thai Navy offices, and a mural of the palace in Wat Apian. Furthermore, in regards to written history, the most complete dynastic chronicles regarding the Ayutthaya Period are dated to the early Bangkok Period.[45] It is said that historical records, religious texts, and classical literature of the Ayutthaya Period were mostly lost during the Burmese invasion. The reliability of these later documents is of course to be suspected.

A CASE STUDY: THE ROYAL CHAPELS
OF AYUTTHAYA AND BANGKOK

To compare the Grand Palaces of both Ayutthaya and Bangkok is difficult because what remains in detail of the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya is scant. It was customary in Siam to have residences, even royal ones, built of wood,

whereas religious buildings were constructed of brick. For this reason, the royal chapel at Ayutthaya (Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch), which is built of stone and brick, remains sufficiently intact to compare in some detail with the royal chapel in Bangkok (Temple of the Emerald Buddha). Royal chapels are temples located in residential complexes used primarily by the king and his court. They consist of several buildings and monuments. This discussion focuses on the ordination halls located in both royal chapels.

Buildings and structures at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, dating to King Rama I's reign, were modeled after those found in Ayutthaya.[46] It is recorded in the *Dynastic Chronicles of the First Reign* that the king looked to Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch for inspiration. "A royal palace audience hall was constructed within the palace grounds and was, at the king's personal order, done in the style of the Sanpetch Hall at the old capital of Ayutthaya."[47]

The ordination hall at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha is the oldest and best-preserved structure at the temple and thus can be used as an example of how Ayutthaya-style architecture was copied and later adapted during the early Bangkok Period (figure 4.5). In examining the ordination hall, one can point out several architectural similarities between it and what remains of the ordination hall at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch (figure 4.6). First, the shape of the ordination hall in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha is rectangular and is single storied. The extant foundation of the ordination hall at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch also suggests that it was a rectangular single-storied structure. The shape of both structures was no doubt dictated by their functions, which was to allow large numbers of mostly royal worshippers to make merit in front of the temple's main icon. Second, the ordination hall in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha rests on a platform with steps similar to its archetype at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch. Third, both structures have porches and ambulatory paths, which are made by a series of columns that act as the supports for the structures' roofs.

While the walls and architectural decoration of the ordination hall at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch are no longer extant, it is possible to imagine that they once resembled those of the ordination hall at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha. The current architectural decorations found on the exterior of the ordination hall date to the reign of King Rama III (Phra Nang Klao; r. 1824–1851). This does not, however, suggest that the motifs deviated from Rama I's original designs. Prior to the glass and ceramic tile decoupage added during the third reign, the ordination hall was partially covered in red lacquer and gilt motifs similar to those found on parts of the structure today.[48] This motif was invented during the Ayutthaya Period and is called *kanok*. It is difficult to say with great certainty that the walls of the ordination hall at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch also had similarly
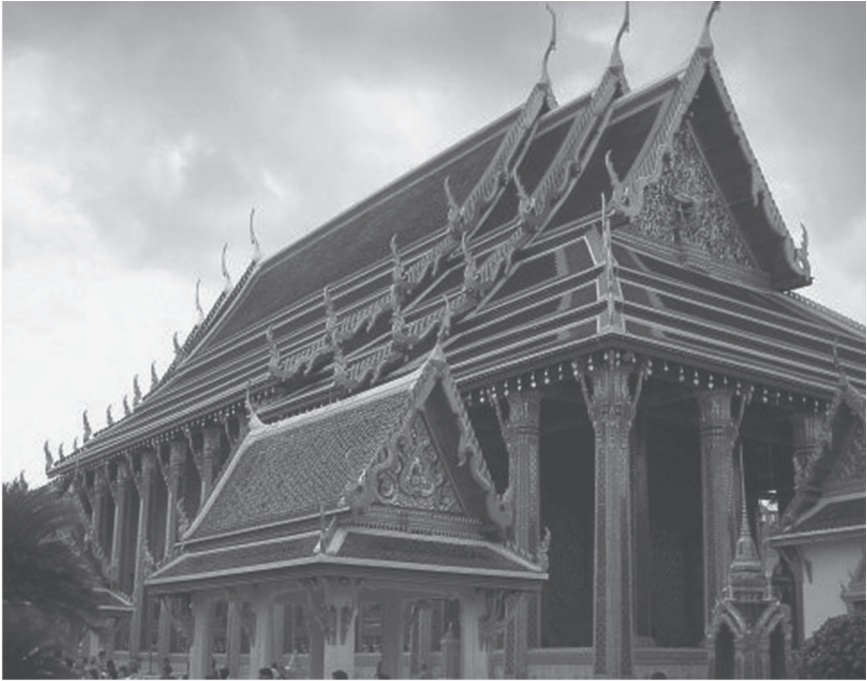
Figure 4.5. *Ordination Hall at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Grand Palace, Bangkok, Thailand. (Photo by Melody Rod-ari)*

detailed decorations, painted or otherwise. It is likely that the walls were white-washed, as is typical of most temple structures in Siamese Buddhist architecture.

Beyond the *kanok* motif that decorates the exterior walls of the ordination hall other Ayutthaya artistic influences can also be seen, including the three-tiered roof and inlaid mother-of-pearl doors. Both can be clearly linked to the art and architecture of the Ayutthaya Period. Extant pillars and walls at the site of Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch indicate that they once supported the weight of a multitiered roof, as the columns and height of walls are not congruent. The multitiered roof design does not have any real functional value. A single-tiered roof could still easily allow for the construction of covered porticos and porches. Likewise, the height of the interior space would not be compromised by the usage of a single-tiered roof, as the second and third tiers would have been added atop the first roof. The decision to make use of the multitiered roof was no doubt aesthetic, as it emphasizes the verticality of the structure and thus its closeness to the heavens.

Figure 4.6. *Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch, Ayutthaya, Thailand. (Photo by Melody Rod-ari)*

The doors of the ordination hall at the Temple of the Emerald Buddha are also reminiscent of Ayutthaya artistic style. They are made of wood and decorated with inlaid mother-of-pearl designs depicting mythical creatures of Himavamsa Forest.[49] While these doors were made during King Rama I's time, there is evidence to suggest that they were directly modeled after Ayutthaya examples; specifically, two mother-of-pearl inlaid doors are now located on the image halls, Wiharn Yod and Ho Phra Monthien Tham, within the Temple of the Emerald Buddha complex. The doors currently at Wiharn Yod are known to have been made during the reign of King Borommakot (r. 1732–1758) and were taken from Wat Pa Mok. Likewise, the doors at Ho Phra Monthien Tham also date to the reign of King Borommakot and were taken from Wat Boromaputharam. In examining the doors to both Wiharn Yod and Ho Phra Monthien Tham and those from the ordination hall, we see that all three utilize the *kanok* motif of stylized foliage while incorporating mythical creatures such as dragons and birds. All three examples also include diamond-shaped door handles, which depict a throne enshrining the *Phra Ong* (character or symbol for the Buddha), flanked by two crowns and held up by a simian figure.

In addition to the architecture and decorations of the ordination hall, eight towers (*prang*) were also commissioned by King Rama I for the temple

complex and reflect clear Ayutthaya-Period influence.[50] The *prang-tower*, characterized by its composite cella-*sikhara* form, is a Phi-Mai invention that dates to the twelfth century.[51] Under the Ayutthaya kings, the patronage of *prang-towers* became well-established by the mid-fifteenth century and a revival of their construction took place during the reign of King Borommakot. While there are few prang-towers on the grounds of Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch today, extant foundations suggest that a number of such structures once existed.[52] It is quite possible that the bricks used to make the *prang-towers* were taken to form new buildings and walls in Bangkok, as the only intact structures at Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch consist of *chedi*. The *chedi* is the Thai equivalent of the Buddhist stupa, and like the stupa, it holds relics of the Buddha or deceased members of the royal family. It is therefore disrespectful to remove such monuments, unlike the *prang-towers*, which function as platforms for icons.

It is clear in examining the founding of Bangkok that King Rama I had every intention of restoring the glories of Ayutthaya in his kingdom. His decision to re-create the palace and royal chapel of Ayutthaya in Bangkok were not the only actions he took toward achieving this goal. He also sought to reinstitute Ayutthaya ecclesiastical life, court ceremonies, and legislation. However, the king was not simply reinstituting such laws and ceremonies at face value. He was, in fact, altering them to fit the ideological and political positions of his court. As David Wyatt observes:

> The court ceremonials were "carried out as [in the time of] King Borommakot," but with their Buddhist elements and values enhanced and Brahmanical and animistic elements diminished. Similarly, the old Ayutthaya laws were reaffirmed but they were systematically organized along lines of traditional Indian law and purged of anything the king considered not to be "in accordance with justice."[53]

In adopting the glories of Ayutthaya and its memory as his rallying cry, Rama I justified his policies as king. And by dismantling parts of Ayutthaya's political seat of power and recreating it in his own kingdom, King Rama I ensured his monopoly on how Ayutthaya would be remembered. With very little left of the royal structures at Ayutthaya and its texts destroyed, who could contest the king and his version of the truth?

While most historians point to the foundation of Bangkok and the Chakri dynasty and its successes as King Rama I's greatest legacy, he should also be remembered as the king who brought the Emerald Buddha to Siam and enshrined it in Bangkok.

THE EMERALD BUDDHA AND ITS SACRED GEOGRAPHY

The Emerald Buddha is a statuette that portrays the historical Buddha Shakyamuni, clothed in gold and seated under a five-tiered throne; it is some 66 cm (26 inches) tall and is sculpted from an unknown green stone (figure 4.2).[54] Although the icon itself is quite unassuming, its perceived powers are of epic proportions. The Emerald Buddha is the royal and religious palladium of Thailand. As one of the jewels of the Chakravartin, it is also arguably the most sacred Buddhist icon in mainland Southeast Asia.

The Emerald Buddha came to have such significance through a series of textual narratives that described its sacred origins and history. These chronicles, which include the *Ratanabimbavamsa, Jinakālimālipakaranam,* and *Amarakatabuddharupindāna*, explain that the Emerald Buddha was fashioned from the Chakravartin's wish-granting jewel so that the image came to embody potent symbols of Buddhism and kingship through its form and medium.[55] The chronicles explain that the crafting of the icon was intended to preserve the teachings of the Buddha after his *parinibbana* (final nirvana).[56] With the help of the god Indra and the celestial architect and craftsman Vishnukarn, a jewel belonging to the Universal World Ruler was secured by the monk Nagasena in 44 CE.[57] During this same date, Vishnukarn carved the jewel into the likeness of the Buddha in the *Deva* heaven (heaven of celestial beings), and proceeded to descend to the ancient Buddhist capital of Pataliputra, India, where the king prepared offerings to the image in the monastery of King Asoka.[58] It is here that the chronicles begin to diverge on matters of the Emerald Buddha's movements through important South and Southeast Asian cities.[59] While a good part of the chronicles are fictional, accounts of events dating from the fifteenth century onwards are quite precise and parallel events that took place in history,[60] suggesting that the Emerald Buddha was actually crafted in the Kingdom of Lanna (northern Thailand) in the fifteenth century.[61] Moreover, a stylistic analysis of the Emerald Buddha indicates that it is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century.[62]

Furthermore, the chronicles also describe the travels of the Emerald Buddha to important Buddhist centers, not only tracing its movements through time and space, but also creating an elaborate and sacred geography that associates the icon with the making of sacred sites. The Emerald Buddha icon is purported to have been installed in royal temples in important religious and political centers throughout South and Southeast Asia.[63] In actuality, it is the associations between the icon and important Buddhist kingdoms mentioned in the chronicles that magnify the power of the Emerald Buddha. By the late eighteenth century the possession and enshrinement

of the Emerald Buddha came to be associated with political legitimacy and religious supremacy in Siam.

During the reign of King Taksin of Thonburi the Emerald Buddha was enshrined in Siam. However, King Taksin did not capture the icon and physically bring it to Siam on his own. The task went to one of his generals, General Chao Phraya Chakri (later King Rama I). After capturing the Emerald Buddha image, General Chao Phraya Chakri brought it to Thonburi where it was enshrined in the temple of Wat Arun, located next to King Taksin's palace. Wat Arun was used as Takin's royal chapel; however, it was not a part of his royal palace complex nor did he construct it. Wat Arun was built prior to Thonburi becoming the capital city of Siam. Although there had been a tradition of constructing royal chapels within the king's residence, Taksin did not follow suit.[64]

Unlike Taksin, when it came time to construct his own residence, King Rama I made sure to include a royal chapel in the fashion of Ayutthaya to house the Emerald Buddha icon.[65] Building of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha began in 1783 and was completed on April 14, 1784. Its completion was an incredibly important event as it was among the last major construction projects finished inside of the Grand Palace. The installment of the icon visually manifested the beginning of the Bangkok Period in Siam and was celebrated with the second coronation of the king in 1786.

The Emerald Buddha's movements to and from specific cities were understood as the direct result of political and religious instability. When a decline in practice and or faith of a particular king and his kingdom was noticeable, the icon was transported, either willingly or by force, to a new city. A king was able to maintain political stability through his active worship and sponsorship of the Buddhist faith. In instances where he faltered, political havoc ensued and the icon came into the possession of a more politically righteous and religiously meritorious ruler. This invented sacred geography is intended to impart symbolic meaning to the icon, so that whoever became the keeper of it was able to legitimate himself through its history and his possession of it.

The fact that the Emerald Buddha never actually traveled outside of modern-day Thailand and Laos (even though the chronicles mentioned important centers such as Pataliputra, Anuradhapura, Pagan, and Angkor), and was never enshrined in Ayutthaya (as the chronicles claim) does not matter. By the eighteenth century, the Emerald Buddha had become a symbol of political power and religious fortitude among Southeast Asian kings. It was for this reason that Taksin, who was still reeling from the defeat of Ayutthaya and feeling anxious about his own power, saw it necessary to march into Vientiane

and claim the Emerald Buddha for himself and Thonburi. By assembling the Emerald Buddha and other important Buddhist icons in Thonburi, Taksin was seeking to legitimize his kingdom and his regional authority.[66] Like Taksin, King Rama I also saw it necessary to associate himself with the Emerald Buddha. Upon accession to the throne (1782), King Rama I claimed the image for himself and he constructed a royal chapel for the sacred icon (1783–1784), in addition to invoking it in the formal title for his new kingdom and capital city (1786). The enshrinement of the icon in the Temple of the Emerald Buddha was truly the physical and political capstone that heralded the beginning of the Bangkok Period. The Emerald Buddha's installation inside of the king's Grand Palace situated Bangkok at the center of the Buddhist world, as it had become a part of the icon's sacred geography across the vast Buddhist territories of South and Southeast Asia that expanded beyond the territorial confines of the Siamese kingdom. It also visually manifested the king's created and perceived political authority in the Southeast Asian region.

CONCLUSION

In less than five years, King Rama I had his predecessor deposed, moved the capital of Siam to a settlement named Bangkok, and proceeded to transform the city into a living monument restoring the glories of Ayutthaya. In this time, he also established himself as a Chakravartin through the possession of the Emerald Buddha and situated Bangkok at the center of the Theravada Buddhist world through its enshrinement in his royal chapel. It would be remiss to suggest that King Rama I's achievements were unique to his ambitious character. Kings throughout history in Southeast Asia have sought and achieved similar ends for themselves and their kingdoms. What makes Rama I's legacy unique is that the events of his reign took place during a time when the region was becoming increasingly influenced by Western notions of political authority and legitimacy, which did not include the worship of "pagan idols" and restoring the past. Although Europeans had begun colonizing parts of Southeast Asia as early as the sixteenth century,[67] it was during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century that European, and to a lesser extent American, colonization of the region hit its peak. If this was the political milieu of the region at the time, why would King Rama I turn his attention away from this reality and toward traditional modes of political legitimacy?

At the end of the King Rama I's reign, Siam had under its suzerainty much of modern-day Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, and parts of

northeastern Burma. Siam also kept ties with the Vietnamese through their support of Prince Nguyen, who in 1784 sought asylum in Bangkok during a civil war in his home country.[68] This suggests that at the turn of the century Siam had positioned itself as a "colonial power" in mainland Southeast Asia. Unlike Europeans and Americans who were aliens in a foreign land, Siam understood and knew how to utilize traditional local and regional symbols of power, such as the Emerald Buddha icon. Moreover, King Rama I was well aware of his predecessor's inability to appease the local power structure. What better way to placate them than to reestablish their status and influence as it actually had been, or had been remembered to be, in the time of Ayutthaya. Instead of introducing new rules of governance and power hierarchies, King Rama I did the opposite; he reinforced old ones. This allowed him to have close and trusted relationships with powerful families and individuals who did much of the hands-on managing of Siam's tributary states and principalities.

Siam's refusal to adopt Western modes of political governance during the first reign was due to the fact that the kingdom was quite successful in its role as a regional leader. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century, under the reigns of King Rama IV (r. 1851–1868) and Rama V (r. 1868–1910), that the court began to embrace Western symbols of power. However, they did so, not as a form of imitation, but rather as a means of demonstrating their rank as the political equals of European and American colonists. Indeed, Siam is the only Southeast Asian nation that was able to maintain its independence during the colonial period.

NOTES

1. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

2. The Chaopraya River begins at the confluence of two rivers, the Ping and the Nan, in the northern province of Nakorn Sawan and flows south through the central plains before it joins the Gulf of Siam. The Mekong River runs north to south from the Tibetan Plateau through China, Burma, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam before draining into the South China Sea. The river is located along the eastern border of Thailand and is shared by the borders of Burma, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. While many great kingdoms and capital cities have formed along the Mekong River, including the Southeast Asian cities of Luang Phrabang, Vientiane, and Phnom Penh, it is the Chaopraya River that has engendered two of the most powerful and long-lasting Siamese kingdoms.

3. Prior to 1939, Thailand was referred to as the country of Siam and its peoples as the Siamese. The new name was intended to reflect the perceived ethnic majority living in the country at that time, the Thai. The adoption of the title *Thailand* was, from the onset, exclusionary, as it did not include ethnic minorities living in the country. Recently, there has been a movement among Thai academics to revert to the old name of Siam, which they contend is non-exclusionary and reflects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country. For simplicity, I use the terms *Siam* or *Siamese* throughout this chapter when referring to events that took place before 1939. I use the terms *Thailand* and *Thai* for events or references that postdate 1939 and that refer to the modern geo-body of Thailand.

4. The names of Siamese kingdoms also refer to the names of their capital cities.

5. The current capital city of Thailand is known by many names: Bangkok, Krung Thep, and its official title, Krung Thep Mahanakhon Amon Rattanakosin Mahintharayutthaya Mahadilok Phop Noppharat Ratchathani Burirom Udomratchaniwet Mahasathan Amon Phiman Awatan Sathit Sakkathattiya Witsanukam Prasit.

6. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 27, 107, 112–148.

7. The title of King Rama I is a posthumous designation. During the king's reign he adopted the title of King Ramathibodi, the same title as that of the founder of the Ayutthaya Kingdom. As the usage of the title King Rama I has become standard, I use this title throughout the chapter.

8. The Chakri dynasty is the current ruling house in Thailand.

9. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 203–215.

10. Maurizio Peleggi and Marc Askew have also discussed King Rama I's attempts to reduce the Thonburi Period to a dynastic interlude in their texts, *Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002) and *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2002), respectively.

11. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 232–270, also discusses the intermingling process of standardizing institutions in Urartian polities.

12. A *wat* in Thailand refers to a place of worship. In the Thai-Buddhist context, it can describe a monastery or a particular building inside of a monastery, especially the main image hall.

13. The Emerald Buddha icon and texts associated with it have only held prominence in Theravada Buddhist–practicing kingdoms.

14. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 232–270. See also chapter 2 by Kalas, chapter 3 by Bogdanović, and chapters 1 and 6 by Christie in this volume.

15. Chris Baker, ed., *Van Vliet's Siam* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2005), 6–7, 110–111. The city had been encircled by a moat before the seventeenth century; however, it was expanded at this time to its greatest surface area.

16. I thank Robert L. Brown for bringing this to my attention and for reading a draft of this essay. Any mistakes and errors are my own.

17. Charnvit Kasetsiri, *The Rise of Ayudhya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976), 119. The Sukhothai Kingdom (1238–1438) was just one of a number of powerful kingdoms in the region at this time. The Ayutthaya victory over the Angkorian Empire was a huge coup, as Angkor had been for a very long time (ninth to fifteenth centuries) a major political and religious center in the region.

18. Guy Tuchard, *A Relation of the Guide to Siam* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1999), 188.

19. See Charles Higham, *The Archaeology of Mainland Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

20. Ayutthaya and Burma were in constant conflict from the sixteenth century onwards with periods of success for each side.

21. David Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 124.

22. Such unflattering descriptions of King Taksin are found in the royal chronicles, which postdate his rule and were written during the early Bangkok Period. Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*, 143.

23. See Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*; and Christopher John Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

24. Klaus Wenk, *The Restoration of Thailand Under Rama I* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968), 17.

25. Baker, *A History of Thailand*, 152.

26. See also chapter 3 by Bogdanović in this volume.

27. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10, 203–206.

28. The term *Rattanakosin* in Thai is roughly translated into English as "Indra's precious jewel."

29. Chula Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life* (New York: Taplinger, 1960), 90.

30. Ibid., 78. Court astrologers determined all royal and court ceremonies that took place during the first reign. This practice is still used today by both the court and commoners to determine the dates for special occasions such as weddings.

31. Rama I came from an old Ayutthaya noble family.

32. Marc Askew, *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 15.

33. Ibid.

34. Yuri Pines, *The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China and Its Imperial Legacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 11–43, 162–184.

35. The Chakravartin is typically associated with seven jewels, which include the chakra (wheel), queen, chariot, jewel, wealth, horse, and elephant. Less commonly, he

is also associated with two additional jewels: a prime minister and a son. See the *Cakkavatti Sutta* (*Pacetana Sutta*).

36. The term *Indianized* is used here to refer to kingdoms that were influenced by Indian ideas of governance as well as Indian religions.

37. Naengnoi Suksri, *Palaces of Bangkok: Royal Residences of the Chakri Dynasty* (Bangkok: Asia Books, 1996), 37. It should be noted that there are some exceptions that distinguish the two Grand Palace complexes. At the Grand Palace in Ayutthaya, the Rear Palace is located within the complex whereas the Rear Palace in Bangkok is located across the Chaopraya River. Similarly, over time the original design of the Grand Palace in Bangkok has changed with the addition and removal of buildings and structures so that it no longer mirrors that of its archetype.

38. The area used for residences was expanded during the reign of King Rama II (Phra Phuttaloetla; r. 1809–1824) by 8 acres to accommodate the growing number of wives, consorts, and children living at the palace. According to custom, all of the king's consorts and wives with the rare exclusion of queens were forced to live their whole lives at court. If a consort's husband, the king, should die she remained the property of the court and should continue to reside in the palace compound. This custom died out after the 1932 coup.

39. The Grand Palace no longer serves as the residence of the king and queen of Thailand. Since the 1960s, the Grand Palace complex has been open to the public.

40. Suksri, *Palaces of Bangkok*, 25; Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*, 129; Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life*, 90.

41. Chakrabongse, *Lords of Life*, 90.

42. See also chapters 2 by Kalas, 3 by Bogdanović, and 7 by Guzmán in this volume.

43. Maurizio Peleggi, *Lord of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 77–78.

44. Wenk, *The Restoration of Thailand*, 19.

45. There are seven main versions of the Royal Chronicles of Ayytthaya. Of these seven, only one dates to the Ayutthaya Period, the Luang Prasoet version dated to 1680. All other versions date to the Bangkok Period.

46. Throughout its more than two-hundred-year history, the Temple of the Emerald Buddha has been continuously altered by kings who have added buildings and objects to the temple complex or who have sponsored large-scale renovation projects.

47. Thadeus Flood and Chadin Kanjanavanit, trans., *The Dynastic Chronicles, Bangkok Era, The First Reign, vol. 1: Chaophraya Thiphakorawong edition* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1978), 63.

48. Subhadradis Diskul, *History of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha* (Bangkok: Bureau of the Royal Household), 25.

49. Himavamsa is a mythical forest located in the Himalayas just below the heaven of the gods.

50. Although King Rama I commissioned the building of libraries, towers, stupas, image halls, and sitting pavilions for the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, this chapter is primarily interested in the ordination hall and the prang-towers.

51. Phi-Mai was an important vassal city-state of the Khmer Angkorian Empire.

52. Extant examples of Ayutthaya-Period *prang*-towers can be seen at Wat Chai-wattanaram, built in 1630.

53. Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*, 130. Within this excerpt, Wyatt quotes two Thai texts: *Kotmai tra sam duang* (Three Seals Laws) and *Latthithamnian tangtang* (Customs and Practices).

54. The importance and significance of the image to the Thai monarchy and people have prevented scientific examination, which would determine its material composition. However, scholars Reginald Lingat, Robert Le May, Hiram Woodward, and Carol Stratton have narrowed the possibilities to jadeite or nephrite, which are based on available mineral resources in the surrounding northern Thai and Burmese region.

55. While these texts do not represent the entire body of literature associated with the icon, they do represent some of the earliest writings concerning the Emerald Buddha's origins and mythohistory. The earliest of the three texts is the *Ratanabimbavamsa*, self-dated to 1429, which is followed by the *Jinakālimālipakaranam*, dated to 1516. The *Amarakatabuddharupindāna* is dated roughly to the second half of the sixteenth century.

56. Frank E. Reynolds, "The Holy Emerald Jewel: Some Aspects of Buddhist Symbolism and Political Legitimation in Thailand and Laos," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma,* ed. Bardwell L. Smith (Chamsburg: ANIMA books, 1978), 176–178.

57. The inclusion of Indra in the chronicles is important because he is considered the king of the gods.

58. Karen Schur Narula, *Voyage of the Emerald Buddha* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7; Camille Notton, trans., *The Chronicle of the Emerald Buddha* (Bangkok: The Bangkok Times Press, 1931), 16–18. The inclusion of King Asoka in the Emerald Buddha chronicles is significant as he is considered the greatest Buddhist king. His royally sponsored missionaries helped to spread Buddhism beyond the Indian subcontinent and established the faith as a world religion.

59. Generally, the chronicles agree that the image remained in India for over three hundred years until a civil war broke out in Pataliputra, and it was decided that the icon would be safer in Sri Lanka. The image was sent to Anuradhapura in 257 CE and housed in the royal temple of an unnamed king. After two hundred years in Sri Lanka, the image began its journey to Pagan, Burma, in order to be protected by King

Anawartha (r. 1044–1077) but, through a series of mishaps, landed in Angkor, Cambodia. After its arrival in Angkor, dates become vague and inconsistent among the different chronicles and are not mentioned again until the icon's discovery in Chiang Rai (Lanna) in 1434. During this four-century lapse in dating, the Emerald Buddha traveled to the kingdoms of Ayutthaya and Kampaeng Phet prior to its discovery in Chiang Rai. The chronicles go on to further explain that the image remained in Chiang Rai until 1468, when King Tilok (r. 1442–1487) of Chiang Mai (Lanna) begged for the image to be sent and enshrined in his city. The Emerald Buddha remained in Chiang Mai for eighty years before it was moved to Luang Phrabang in 1548 and later to Vientiane in 1563. The Emerald Buddha remained in Vientiane until 1778, when it was transported to Thonburi and later to Bangkok in 1784.

60. There exists an early Khmer inscription dating to the eleventh century that states that a holy stone was worshipped in Cambodia during the reign of Suryavarman I (r. 1001–1050); however, there is no conclusive evidence at the moment to confirm that the Cambodian holy stone correlates to the Emerald Buddha. Earliest confirmation of the Emerald Buddha's possession is dated to the rule of King Tilok of Lannathai (r. 1442–1487), who brought it from Chiang Rai to Chiang Mai in 1468. Stylistic characteristics of the image such as its rounded body and fleshy torso, along with its heart-shaped face and pointed earlobes suggest that it is a fifteenth-century object.

61. Melody N. Rod-ari, "Visualizing Merit: An Art Historical Study of the Emerald Buddha and Wat Phra Kaew" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2010), 17–83. Lanna was a powerful kingdom in what is now northern Thailand. In the fifteenth century, its influence vied with that of Ayutthaya.

62. Ibid.

63. For example, the Emerald Buddha was enshrined in the Lao capitals of Luang Phrabang and Vientiane for over two centuries (1548–1778).

64. During the Sukhothai Period a royal chapel named Wat Phra Sri Mahathat (Temple of the Great Relic) was built on the palace grounds sometime during the fourteenth century. During the Ayutthaya Period two royal chapels were built, one during the early half of the period named Wat Phra Sri Mahathat in 1374 and a second during the reign of King Borommatrailokanath (1448–1488) called Wat Phra Sri Sanpetch.

65. It had been common, since the Sukhothai Period (1238–1438) for kings to include royal chapels within their palace complexes.

66. See also chapter 3 by Bogdanović in this volume for a similar claim of political authority of capital cities through the possession of powerful relics.

67. Portugal captured Malacca in 1511, which was later seized by the Dutch in 1641. Spain took over control of Cebu, Philippines, in 1565 and later Manila in 1571.

68. Wyatt, *A Short History of Thailand*, 140.

5

Monumental Perceptions of the Tiwanaku Landscape

ALEXEI VRANICH

Power resides where men believe it resides.

—GEORGE R. R. MARTIN,
A CLASH OF KINGS

INTRODUCTION

Throughout time people have tended to view their own place of settlement as central to the order of the universe and, accordingly, have built substantial structures or transformed entire landscapes to conform the physical world to their cosmological view. This representation of the cosmos, usually conveyed symbolically through images, oral histories, rites, and architecture, affords "a ritual paradigm of the ordering of social interaction at the same time as it disseminates the attitudes necessary to sustain it."[1] In turn, the ritual actions of the people imitate the cyclical movements of the universe and maintain order in the terrestrial world, thereby "turning on" the meaning of spatially located symbols at appropriate moments.[2] The layout of a ceremonial center and the ritual architecture within, then, is a reproduction of the cosmos, an "imitation of a celestial archetype."[3] Though it may seem like a contradiction, this representation of a seemly eternal configuration of time and space was a dynamic arena that enabled transformations ranging from deep structural shifts in ideology to the expected machinations by rival elite factions vying for ritual-political power.

Following Adam T. Smith's call for the studies of political authority in and through landscape,[4] this chapter highlights the dynamics of the monumental constructions of Tiwanaku and their strong relation to the landscape of the high Andes. Though nearly any site in the Andes can serve as a test case to demonstrate a relationship between the built environment and the landscape, the megalithic pre-Columbian ruins of Tiwanaku, Bolivia presents a long-lived and rare example of a primary polity that rose, matured, and collapsed without influence from a peer. Smith analyzes processes that show how natural and human-made landscapes participated in the formation of early complex polities by focusing on the Classic Maya, Urartian, and Mesopotamian cultures.[5] These are the polities that left both archaeological and textual references, thus allowing different types of primary sources including, most importantly, an indigenous perspective on the creation of authority. Unfortunately for archaeologists, Tiwanaku is firmly entrenched within a preliterate tradition with little hope of any form of indigenous writing waiting to be discovered or recognized.[6] The environment has been unkind to preservation, the looting during the colonial period was particularly fierce, and modern conservation efforts have been heavy handed. A related challenge is presenting these fragmentary remains in an objective fashion, followed by informed interpretations that go beyond simple description but stop well short of speculation. Yet, the highly sophisticated use of monumental form to alter and manipulate perceptions of sacred landscapes in the Andean Titicaca Basin provides an example of an innovative and rather non-Western method that early complex polities accrued power and created authority.

Configuring architecture and space along symbolic lines is a fundamental design principle of the Andean builders, a quality observable in their most modest and ephemeral structures as well as in the most complex and colossal ones.[7] In a continent defined by the Andean mountain chain, snowcapped mountains, the perennial source of water in landscape characterized by extremes in weather, are frequently a visual and symbolic focus of site design. Taking care to distinguish primary contexts from these post-occupation disturbances, the core of the Tiwanaku site potentially holds an unadulterated legacy of monumental construction that spans from its modest beginnings around 300 BCE to its apogee between 500s and 950s CE.

This chapter begins with overviews of the geographic and cultural setting of the Titicaca Basin, where the sacred resides in the natural phenomena and a deep tradition of religious architecture developed in a near inverse method to Western traditions. Rather rather than focusing adoration within the area defined by the footprint of the building, the architecture is designed to project attention toward the distant horizon and sky. The well-preserved remains of

the earliest building at the site provides the opportunity to establish basic architectural canons while making the case that the historically documented belief in a sacred landscape is an appropriate analog to apply in this preliterate example. Thereafter, I describe qualities of the monuments relevant to the research of political landscapes, concluding each description with a claim as it relates to the intent and purpose of the building. This analysis is sufficient to give an idea of the three-dimensional form of the buildings, the likely flow of traffic, and locations designed to draw or focus attention. In effect, we can recreate, on a gross level, the structure of the experience that by itself provides enough information to venture into a discussion about the order of the events, composition of the audience, and, in general terms, construction of the message of the monuments. Over the thousand-year history of the site, we can note changes to this carefully design-structured experience and draw political implications on the methods and strategy that the Tiwanaku used to outcompete the hundreds of other small ritual sites to become the only monumental site in the basin worthy of being called a "capital."

THE DYNAMICS OF THE SACRED LANDSCAPE OF THE ANDES

From state-level societies to the smallest village, the Andean sacred landscape is oriented around the fundamental unit of the *huaca* (or *wak'a*), the broad term used to designate a sacred place or object thought to be holy. Marked in the landscape by the construction of shrines, ritual pathways, *apachetas* (stone cairns), and toponyms, a *huaca* represents the node between the spiritual and the physical; *huacas* are portals through which offerings and prayers result in supernatural influence over human affairs.[8] William Gustav Gartner has demonstrated the kinesthetic mapping of the Andean landscape as a dynamic social discourse whereby the *huacas* act as both the mythohistorical and physical expressions of a people's link to their ancestors and consequent claim to their land.[9]

The most powerful *huacas*—those deemed responsible for perpetuating cosmological order—had elaborate social and political institutions built around them.[10] Among the most important *huacas* of the sacred landscape are prominent mountain peaks identified as *apu, achachila, malku,* or *wamani*.[11] Reinhard's extensive survey of mountain shrines in Peru and Bolivia indicates that mountain worship was a ubiquitous phenomenon in the Andes.[12] Mountains were, and continue to be, venerated as sources of water, influential agents in weather and climate, symbols of fertility, and ancestral *paqarinas* (places of creation or origin).[13] Offerings to the mountains could be made at quite a distance, at the base, or on the summit at altitudes that test the limit of human endurance.[14] In

traditional present-day ceremonies, the *huacas* are toasted by the revelers, starting with the local hills and outcrops and gradually expanding to include the regionally visible snowcapped mountain.[15] The hierarchy of *huacas* can also be seen, for example, in the manner in which a theft from someone's home may be redressed. The victim calls upon the primary mountain in the area for help, and the request is passed down the line from greater to lesser *huacas* until it reaches the spirit of the house, who divulges the culprit.[16]

Another important and related component of the Andean sacred world is the sky. Ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological studies in the Andes illustrate the ubiquitous use of lunar, solar, and stellar observations to structure agricultural, pastoral, and ritual calendars[17] and establish a system of cyclical time on earth and contextualized human experience in terms of days, months, and years. In precontact state-level societies, this cosmological knowledge was measured and celebrated with monumental constructions; less complex groups and the post-European-invasion Andean world maintained a similarly well-developed understanding of astronomy, but relied on natural landscape features as reference points to observe the astronomical bodies and to plan farming and herding accordingly.[18]

Owing to the Spanish suppression of indigenous practices in public settings, the Inca capital of Cusco is the only case where we have extensive accounts of the native perspective on the place of the pre-Columbian city within their cosmological world.[19] Spanish chroniclers recorded how the belief that Cuzco was both physically and spiritually the center of the world was conveyed in narrative, ritual, monumental buildings, and extensive landscape modifications.[20] Various prepared plazas, fields, and elaborate buildings within the city and its immediate environs served as gathering points to observe important astronomical events along a horizon marked with monumental pillars. From the ritual center of the city radiated a pattern of imaginary lines that connected the sacred locations to the boundaries of the empire.[21] Mythic and dynastic histories were recounted as the faithful walked these pathways and paid homage to the sacred sites that stood as both reminders and evidence of remarkable events in the creation of the world and in the divine founding on the Inca lineage.[22]

GEOPOLITICS OF THE TITICACA BASIN AND THE EMERGENCE OF TIWANAKU POLITY

The rarefied air at 13,000 feet above sea level and the endless expanse of spiny grass challenge the present-day visitor to envisage the Titicaca Basin
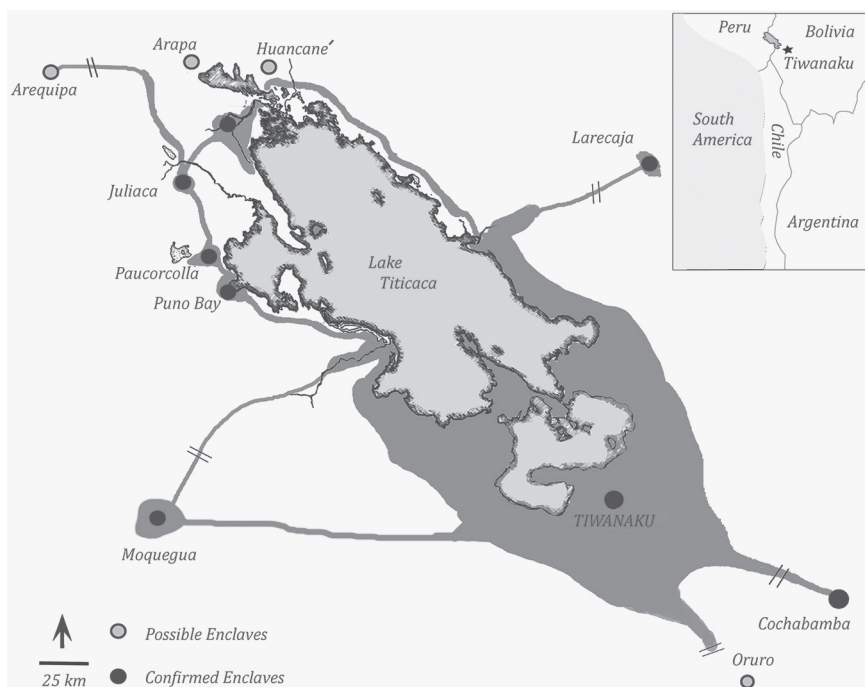
Figure 5.1. *Lake Titicaca and the extent of influence from the Tiwanaku polity. (Redrawn from Stanish 2005)*

as one of the wealthiest and most productive areas in the Andes during pre-Columbian times. Lengthy meandering caravans of llamas were the vehicle for a constant exchange of highland products, such as potatoes and dried meat, as well as those from more temperate zones, such as corn. As a result of this robust trading system, the Titicaca Basin cultures influenced a significant swath of the southern Andes from northwest Argentina to the coastal Valley of Moquegua, and from the desert of San Pedro de Atacama to the humid tropics of the Amazonian Basin (figure 5.1).

The central feature of the basin is Lake Titicaca, one of the natural wonders of the continent. Deep enough to merit the distinction of being the world's highest navigable lake, its surface area is approximately 8,500 km². In addition to its natural beauty and extensive resources, Lake Titicaca figures high in the list of sacred places in the Andes from the pre-Columbian Period to the present. Early Spanish chroniclers based in the Inca capital of Cuzco recorded the official mythic history of the how the creator god Viracocha rose either
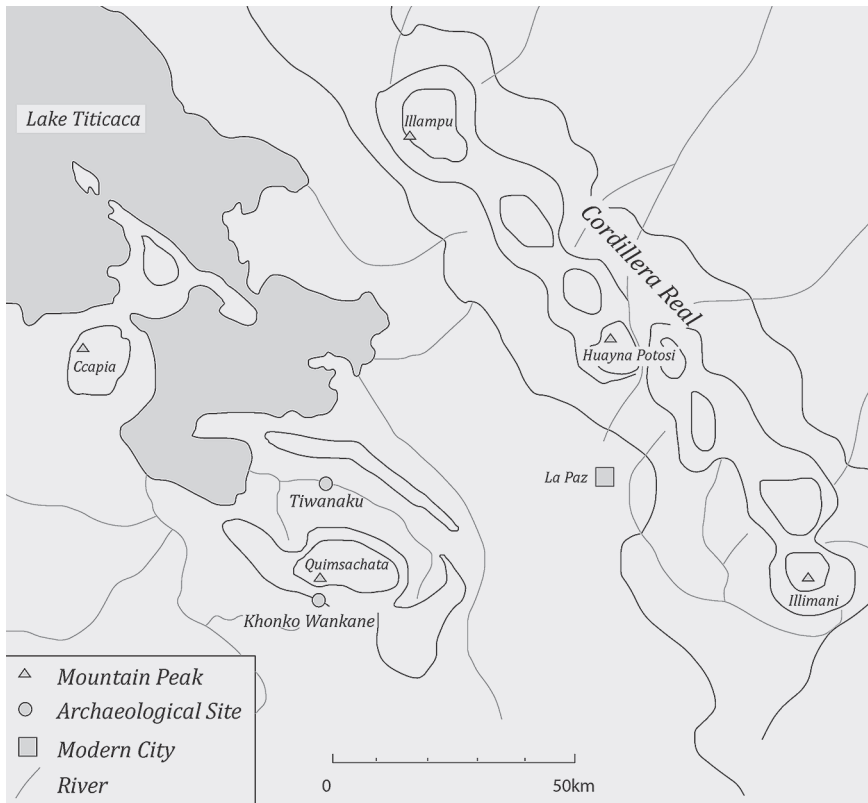
FIGURE 5.2. *Sacred mountains visible from the Titicaca Basin. (Redrawn from Reinhard 1985)*

from the Island of the Sun on Lake Titicaca or from the ruins of Tiwanaku.[23] The offspring of Viracocha then founded Cuzco. Other versions of the myth highlight the Island of the Sun as the very birthplace of the sun.[24] In addition to the lake-based mythology, many of the sacred mountains of the Andean mountain chain—Illimani, Illampu, Huayna Potosi, and Ccapia—are visible from southern portion of the basin (figure 5.2).

Around the period that agriculture was taking hold in the Fertile Crescent, bands of hunters whose ancestors had wandered across the Bering Strait from Asia to the Americas arrived and settled along the banks of the lake, taking advantage of its shoreline resources and temperate climate. By 2000 BC these settlers had created small communities, making a living by hunting, fishing, herding camelids, and farming small plots along the shores and the hillsides.

Occasionally one of these communities would build a public-space sunken court on top of a natural rise or a revetted platform.[25] These sunken courts dot the landscape of the basin, but the lack of substantial infrastructure such as roads and fortresses, or of similarities in architectural form, or of a shared iconography have led to a consensus that these communities were not part of a larger organization such as a state, but participated in a shared religious tradition.[26]

The first large sites that appear in the north of the basin—Pukara and Tarraco—coexisted until the former was apparently destroyed, after which the latter increased in monumentality and influence.[27] In the later years of the Pukara phenomenon, a few locations in the southern basin appear to form the focal point of a larger network. The largest and most elaborate sunken court was built in a fairly nondescript area of the southern basin, 15 km from the shore. Over the next millennium, the other monumental sites in the southern basin would wither while some of the largest structures ever erected in the Andes would crowd around this sunken court and spread across the floor of the valley (figure 5.3). By the time that monumental constructions ended around AD 950, the iconic architecture and artifacts from Tiwanaku had found their way around the shores of the lake and to select locations of the southern Andes.

TIWANAKU SITE AND POLITY

Any description of the site of Tiwanaku must be tempered by the sober fact that all the monuments have suffered the constant ravages of time and human activities. A torrential amount of rain during the winters has long eroded the adobe walls that made up the majority of the site fabric. The stone remained, but their high quality made the monuments an attractive source of building material for Spanish-Period houses, churches, plazas, and bridges. An early Spanish chronicler, Bernabé Cobo, pointed out that quarrying the monuments for their astonishingly geometrically shaped ashlars was well under way when he passed through Tiwanaku in 1610, concluding wryly that if Tiwanaku were closer to a major Spanish settlement, not a single stone would remain.[28]

Generations of plowing and grazing has smoothed over the spaces between and around the heavily looted monuments, so it comes as no surprise that early scholarship downplayed the presence of a resident population.[29] In reaction to the claim of an empty or lightly populated site, Bolivian politician and archaeologist Ponce Sanginés[30] proposed a sequence of development of Tiwanaku from 1600 BC as a modest set of hamlets to a large urban center around AD 600. In his model, Tiwanaku continued to grow as a large urban center for the

Fountain (recorded 1911)

Modern Town

Kalasasaya

Putuni

Templete

Kherikala

Akapana

Kantatallita

Mollo Kontu

Pumapunku

Choquejacha

No topographic data

Pokotia

0   1km
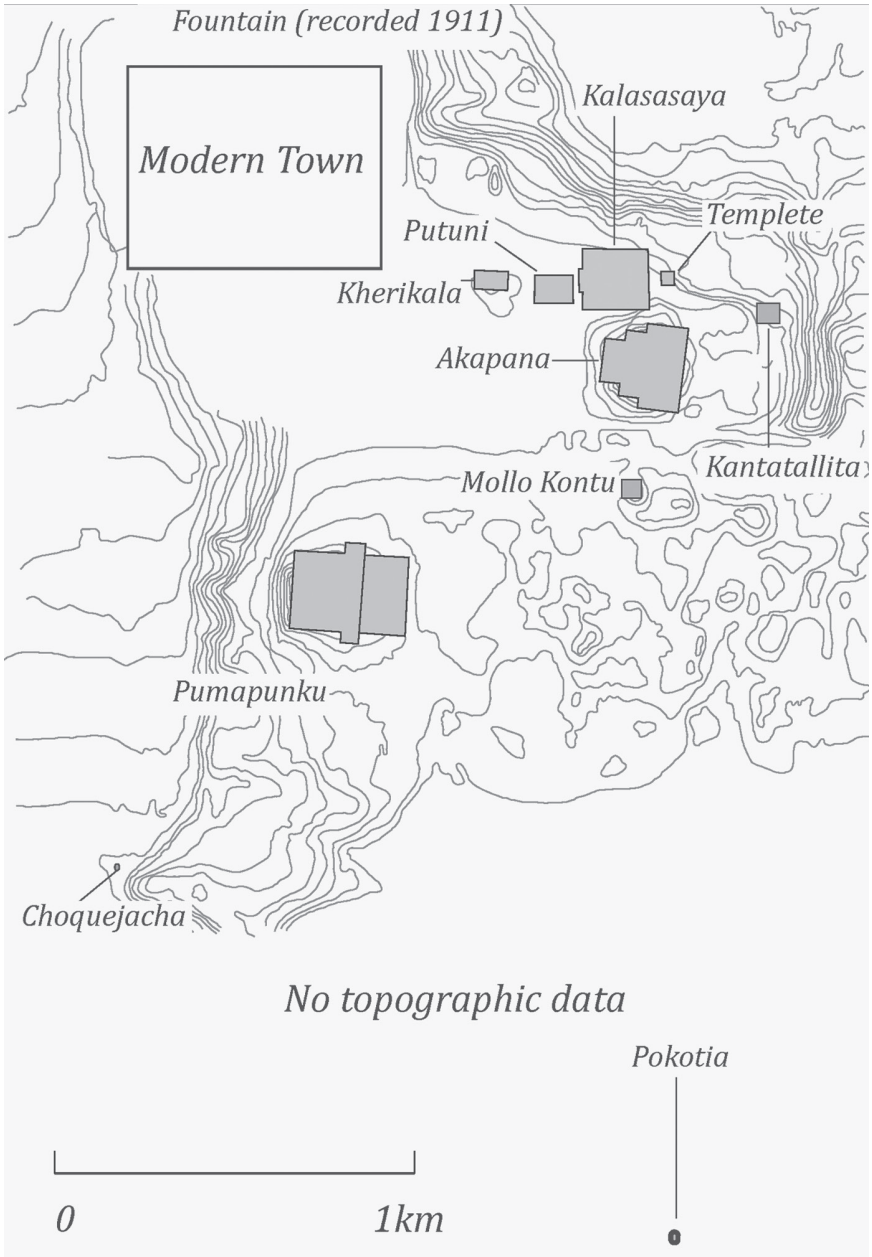
Figure 5.3. *Tiwanaku–Period monuments. (Contours redrawn from Kolata 2003)*

next half millennium, surpassing all other centers in the continent in size and strength. Other scholars have subsequently included Tiwanaku in the list of substantial pre-Hispanic urban centers[31] whose power was based on tangible resources accumulated from a vibrant trade network,[32] or on an innovative agricultural system that supported a large population involved in aspects of bureaucracy, ritual, and eventual conquest and control.[33]

In recent years, the pendulum seems to be swinging away from this model of a densely occupied and hierarchical city. What had been a comfortable polemic a few years ago (*densely occupied* versus *empty*), has become a tangle of terminology as archaeologists attempt to invent a new term that captures the essence of a complex phenomenon with a single, memorable sound-bite. The term *empty ceremonial center* remains an unpopular, if not dangerous, term to use due its association with a biased past; however, using analogy to the rest of the modern and ancient world is possible, such as the archaic city-states of Greece and the Shogun palace fortresses of medieval Japan.[34] The recent trend to invent novel terms such as *hospitality state*,[35] *pulsating ceremonial urbanism*,[36] and *festival city*[37] highlight the idea that cyclical festivals, and a capacity to accommodate massive and temporary number of visitors, was a primary quality of the site.

The mechanism that resulted in the distribution of Tiwanaku architecture and artifacts across locations in the southern Andes is similarly a matter of contention. There are those who claim that the presence of Tiwanaku-style artifacts is primarily ritual or religious in nature,[38] whereas others propose pilgrims and itinerant medicine men as disseminators of Tiwanaku-style artifacts. Notwithstanding, these ritual items may have been transported by religious intermediaries or commercially as part of the cargo of llama caravans that traveled the extensive road system.[39] An unabashedly nationalistic perspective argues for the military and conquest-oriented nature of the Tiwanaku horizon, although as of late the more bellicose rhetoric has been tempered to reflect the activity of an organized state that did not exert the same level of control throughout its territory.[40] The most recent and most commonly used topographical representation of the Tiwanaku polity without strictly defined linear borders replaced the previous polygonal form of the Tiwanaku "empire" traced with thick geometric lines (figure 5.1). Similar to other early complex societies, the area under direct control was not continuous.[41] Therefore, though we probably know more about Tiwanaku than any other pre-Columbian site in the continent, research remains dynamic and fluid as scholars vie to understand the mechanism that directed the energies of diverse communities toward creating a singular awe-inspiring setting.

MONUMENTS OF TIWANAKU

Though in plan view the site of Tiwanaku recalls the foundation and linear growth of a master planned city, the development of the ritual core was a process of constant modifications that included razing older structures to provide ashlars for new buildings (figure 5.3). The continual building and rebuilding on the same site over a prolonged period of time is an indication of the importance of this location and the durability of Tiwanaku's institutionalized apparatus.[42] Our chronological control over the construction sequence is in need of more absolute dates, but for the purpose of this study, we do have sufficient material to create a relative building sequence.

The Semi-Subterranean Court, popularly known by the more manageable term as the *templete,* appears to be the earliest surviving structure and remained in use for nearly a millennium. Deep excavations in the vicinity have revealed glimpses of other early-period buildings, but for the most part later Tiwanaku constructions have buried or obscured the early period. The closest surviving monument both in terms of distance and age is the Kalasasaya platform. The radiocarbon dates for this 130-by-120-m platform are problematic, but eliminating the extreme dates leaves us with a broad range of AD 300–500.[43] There are a few other structures that date toward the end of this period, including the Mollo Kontu, a low platform with a mortuary component 300 m south of the Kalasasaya. At a similar distance to the west is the Kherikala, a poorly preserved multiroom complex with an interior plaza space.[44] Both monuments appear to have been abandoned prior to the dynamic period that included razing and resurfacing the core of both monumental and residential buildings. The Putuni platform, the Kantatallita Complex, and the towering 18-m-tall Akapana platform are built with stone reused from the previous incarnation of Tiwanaku.[45]

A kilometer to the southwest lies the Pumapunku Temple Complex, an alignment of plazas and ramps centered on a low but solidly built stepped platform.[46] Built around AD 550, the Pumapunku was enlarged on several occasions but never completed. Though considered the apogee of Tiwanaku art and architecture, recent evidence suggests that the platform was abandoned and even looted of foundation deposits during the Tiwanaku Period.[47]

Further south along the gentle ridgeline of a natural lacustrine rise stands an undated monument known as Choquejacha, a natural spring modified by the addition of an andesite basin and canals. A similar fountain, now lost, was described in the late nineteenth century to the north of the present-day village of Tiwanaku.[48] Two kilometers to the south, near the foot of the Quimsachata range, is Pokotia, a small, unexcavated platform built of stone and fill similar

to the Pumapunku platform.[49] Undoubtedly, there are other structures wait-ing to be documented, not the least of which wait in the area underneath the modern town of Tiwanaku, where construction projects frequently churn up midden artifacts and substantial stone ashlars.

When the Inca armies arrived to the basin 500 years after the abandonment of Tiwanaku, they considered the Pumapunku to be the most important part of the site and subsequently repaired and embellished the platform. Besides placing an occasional offering at the other monuments, they appear to have paid little attention to the rest of the site. Similarly, or because of this, the ini-tial descriptions by Spanish chroniclers considered the Pumapunku platform to be the focus of the ruins. Due to the heavy-handed reconstruction efforts in the late 1950s and the location of the present-day tourist road, the cluster of monuments that surround the *templete* is considered the site center. Though Tiwanaku monuments spread out along the distance of 3 km, this chapter concentrates on the *templete* and the monuments in its immediate environs since it presents a long and complex history of occupation and construction that serves the purpose of demonstrating the changing experience and inter-pretation of the sacred landscape and its political depths. Furthermore, the early-period *templete* remained intact while the rest of the site was built and rebuilt, leaving us with a unique opportunity to study in depth early architec-tural precepts.[50]

THE *TEMPLETE*

The form of the *templete* follows the general pattern of sunken courts, although its dimensions—28.47 m north-south, 26 m east-west, and 2 m deep—make it the largest example in the basin (Figure 5.4). The walls consist of fifty-seven large vertical pillars interspersed among smaller cut-stone and carved-tenoned heads. The heights of the pillars are variable; several peak over the elevation of the reconstructed wall. The pillars in the approximate center of the east and west walls (referred to as the *Eastern* and *Western Iconographic Pillars)* show evidence of the subtle remains of heavily eroded carved iconog-raphy.[51] A black basalt stone slab, the only basalt stone built into the structure and possibly all of Tiwanaku, is set in the approximate center of the north wall; opposite this slab of basalt, on the south side of the *templete*, broad overlapping sandstone slabs form stairs that are framed on either side by the largest pillars in the structure. This monumental entrance is set a near-meter off center.

Standing at the Western Iconographic Pillar, the Eastern Iconographic Pillar marks the equinox sunrise. Switching viewing locations—that is, standing
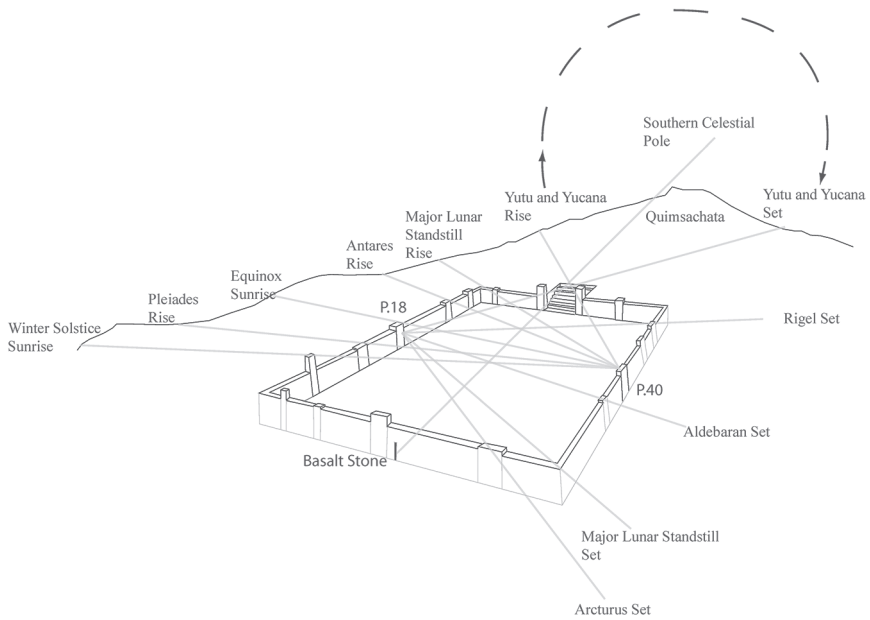
FIGURE 5.4. *Templete at Tiwanaku. (Redrawn from Benitez 2013)*

at the Eastern Iconographic Pillar—the Western Iconographic Pillar marks the equinox sunset. Both pillars also mark the location from which one can watch the rising and setting of the bright stars Alpha and Beta Centauri within the pillars of the entrance.[52] Any location within the *templete* would draw attention to the distant mountain of Quimsachata, which is perfectly framed by the pillars of the singular entrance. Notwithstanding, standing at that basalt stone on the north wall and looking down the centerline of the stairway toward the Quimsachata, an observer's sightline would be slightly skewed eastward in contrast to the primary temple orientation (2°46' west of south). The sightline orients to absolute south (0° deviation), placing the highest peak directly beneath the Southern Celestial Pole, the fixed cardinal pivot of the southern hemisphere.[53]

The north and south walls are cardinally oriented (error of .4°), whereas the east-west walls are oriented 2° east of north or west of south. As is the case with other sunken courts throughout the basin, the south wall is slightly shorter than the north wall, resulting in a trapezoid shape. If one were to extend the orientation of the east and west walls, they would converge south in the direction of Quimsachata Mountain. To the west, the highest peak of

Ccapia coincides with the setting position of the winter solstice sun. While there does not appear to be any architecture marking this alignment, this mountain/astronomical alignment would only be appreciated with negligible variation (less than ½°) 122 m north and south of the *templete*. In the Tiwanaku Valley, which spans 15 km north-south, there is approximately a 2 percent (*P* = 0.016) chance that a randomly chosen location will result in this alignment. The Quimsachata/Southern Celestial Pole alignment would be appreciated by all within *templete*, and to a distance of 210 mon either side. Based on the E-W (32 km) dimensions of the Tiwanaku Valley, there is roughly a 1 percent (*P* = 0.012) chance that a randomly chosen location would result in the alignment. Combining the probability of the Quimsachata/Southern Pole and the Ccapia/winter solstice alignment, the location of the *templete* and its architectural form was based on properly viewing these two landscape/astronomical alignments.

The location of the site and the placement of specific architectural elements support the proposition that this and other sunken courts formed part of a larger web of ritual sites and landscape alignments. To the west, the Ccapia/winter solstice sunset alignment passes through the site of Iwawe, a substantial site occupied from the Formative Period through the Middle Horizon, acting during the apogee of Tiwanaku as the landing point for the ritually important andesite stone rafted from across the lake from the Ccapia quarries. There are other locations closer to Tiwanaku where these blocks could have been deposited. Based on analog with the ritual pathways walked during the Inca Empire,[54] this location was likely chosen to transport these ritually important stones along the alignment marked by the Tiwanaku–Ccapia/winter solstice sunset alignment.

Standing at the north wall of the *templete* and facing south, the alignment projected from the central north-south axis of the *templete* extends directly through the middle of the solitary and distant Pokotia platform. Shifting slightly over to the black basalt stone a sightline is projected that bypasses the Pokotia platform by 120 m but passes directly over the peak of the Quimsachata and directly under the Southern Pole. Continuing over the Quimsachata peak and into the Valley of Jesus de Machaca is the large and elaborate Formative-Period site of Khonko Wankane, similarly featuring a sunken court with a south-facing entrance with flanking pillars framing the permanently ice-clad and historically sacred Sajama Mountain.[55] Tiwanaku, the highest peak of Quimsachata (midpoint), and Khonko Wankane all share the same longitude (68° 40' 21," +/– 1"), that is, directly north south. The combined error is less than 60 m across 28 km of mountainous terrain, an achievement that implies a high-degree of planning and foresight in the construction

of both these centers.[56] Additional research would be necessary to confirm if these alignments were meant to be both observed and walked, similar to the Inca processions along the *ceques* lines dotted with *huacas*.[57]

We can propose a series of early architectural rules based on this singular example:

1. Site location is determined by the visibility of sacred mountains concurring with the cyclical movements of astronomical bodies.
2. Building form—geometric but intentionally not symmetrical—was a result of aligning paired walls to landscape features and astronomical bodies.
3. Pillars,[58] either single or in combination, serve as reference points to observe, measure, and frame important astronomical objects and landscape features. The backsite (the location from where one would view the alignment) is marked with a unique architectural element. The placement of both these elements could compromise the building proportions in a manner nearly indistinguishable by casual observation.

CONSTRUCTION, CIRCULATION PATHS, DESIGN, AND EXPERIENCE OF TIWANAKU

The surviving monuments that postdate the *templete* demonstrate an evolving preference toward stepped platforms set within larger complexes. Certain design elements and orientations remained consistent, and the style of masonry remains recognizably similar over a thousand years, albeit at a larger and more elaborate scale. These monuments have been described, measured, drawn, and photographed innumerable times over the last five hundred years. In the following section I select four separate qualities of the monuments—construction, circulation paths, design, and experience—as the means to describe and measure the changes in ritual space, as Tiwanaku developed into the only monumental site in the basin.

Construction

The quality of the stonework of Tiwanaku has been a source of speculation and detailed scholarly analysis, as well as general amazement.[59] This fascination with the stonework has overshadowed one of the more impressive engineering accomplishments of the Tiwanaku, which is the use of fill and retaining walls to create geomorphically stable freestanding platforms in a region that receives a torrential amount of rain during the winter months.

Kalasasaya

Akapana

20 meters
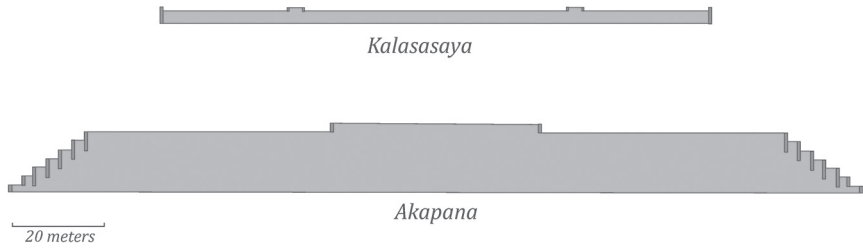
FIGURE 5.5. *Cross sections of the Kalasasaya and Akapana platforms.*

From the ground perspective, the Tiwanaku platforms are astoundingly monumental. A system of multiple retaining walls and façades protect the precise joints of the final retaining wall (the façade) from the static-load pressures of the thousands of cubic meters of fill. Viewed in a cross section, the stone revetments appear to be a thin skin over a mass of fill (figure 5.5). The interior construction method is best documented at the Pumapunku, where we noted three types of fills: an interior of solid clay core; a compact fill reinforced with cobbles that supports the stone revetments; and even layers of sand that were so compacted that stress marks were visible in each layer. The interior and exterior fills overlap, functionally grading the more stress-prone areas. Layering, leveling, and compacting the fill into thin layers seems like a laborious construction process, but this inventive technique resulted in the division of the fill into horizontal compartments. These compartments reduced the chance that the platform might suffer the drawbacks of a single mass construction, specifically the development of particular symptoms of geomorphic slump. The summit is divided into separate surfaces, each slightly inclined and serviced by its own hydraulic system; as a result, there is less danger of damage from the accumulation of water.

This brief review of construction fill and form brings us to our first point about the great care which was taken to create *geomorphically stable platforms* that would not slump under their own static loads, nor would they threaten the stability of the heavy summit structures used as markers in naked-eye astronomical observations. In contrast to the encased platforms and pyramids of the North Coast of Peru or the tell mounds of the Middle East that grew in a cumulative fashion, the basic footprint and form of the Tiwanaku platform was decided from the start, requiring a substantial investment of effort before they could be used even in a partially unfinished state.

Circulation Paths

The summit and interior spaces, once targeted by looters looking for treasure and building material, were until recently under cultivation. Excavations in these contexts are a thankless task of shifting through looters' fill before hitting a partially preserved surface devoid of any artifacts. The Kalasasaya and Putuni Complex was excavated in its entirety in the previous decades and readily renders a comprehensible layout of the surface of the platform. A plan view and three-dimensional model of the Kalasasaya–Putuni Complex is based on the laser-transit measurements of the extant remains combined with virtual forms I recreated from the notes, photographs, and maps from the last century and a half (figure 5.6).[60] Local informants pointed out authentic remains from recent additions and traced out the location and dimensions of missing architecture. For all its limitation, this is the best spatial understanding we have of one section of the core of the site. In terms of layout and design, the Kalasasaya and Putuni platforms are quite similar in the following ways (figure 5.6a). (1) They have stepped platforms revetted with stone. The material and joint fit of the masonry vary from one side of the platform to the other. (2) An inner courtyard was made of tightly fitted andesite ashlars with inset chambers (fourteen total). Special structures purposed for astronomical observations were similarly made with andesite. (3) To the north and south of the courtyard are wall spaces that I refer to as *flanks*. (4) To the west of the courtyard is a wide raised space. (5) A monumental point of access on the east side of the platform leads to the inner courtyard. (6) Raised walkways, passageways, and freestanding buildings abut the exterior east side of the platform. (7) Several other less visible points of access were built against or into the platform.

The width of the passageways, type of stone used, and wear on the treads of the stairs indicate that the monumental space enabled the movement of large numbers of people to and from a centrally and monumentally defined space (Group 1), and timely and efficient movement of two smaller groups around the other sides and front of the platform (Groups 2 and 3).[61] Group 1, then, consisted of the general population who would have entered through the most monumental entrance to the andesite-clad courtyard space; Group 2 would have been made up of second group moving around the edges of the platform through small corridors and stairs made of poorly fitted ashlars; and Group 3 would have had access to the elevated space over the courtyard.

The pervasive use of the term *pyramid* for several of the monuments is a recent terminological addition likely chosen for its associations to the hierarchical states of the Nile River Valley and Central America. This common misconception
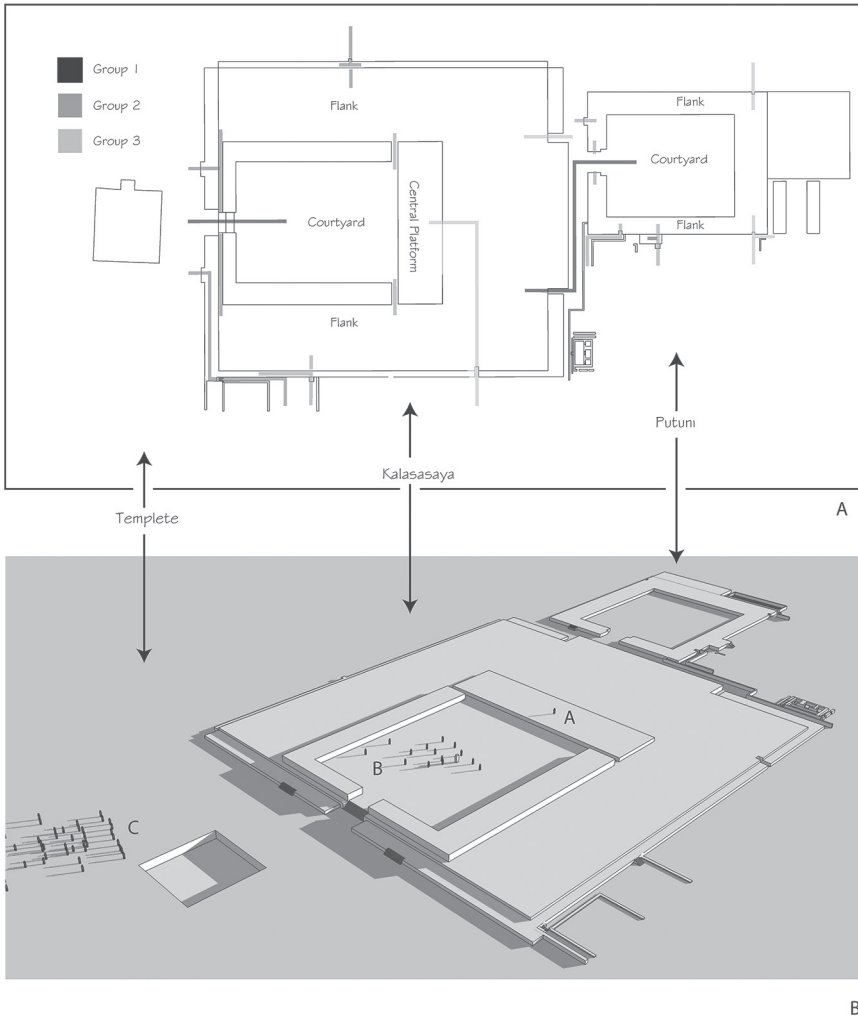
Figure 5.6. *A: Kalasasaya and Putuni platforms with points of access; B: reconstruction of three different groups observing the winter solstice sunset.*

about Tiwanaku "pyramids" leads to our next claim that *Tiwanaku platforms in concept and construction raised stepped plazas.* Unlike the aforementioned examples, whose summit spaces were tapered to small or nonexistent spaces, the summit spaces of the Tiwanaku platforms are expansive, contain multiple points of access, and could accommodate a large number of people.

The importance of Quimsachata Mountain for the design of Tiwanaku is made apparent by the visual alignment formed by the pillars defining the south-facing entrance to the *templete*; over the next millennium, the Tiwanaku continue to reaffirm the ritual centrality of the Quimsachata and Southern Pole in both subtle and obvious methods. For example, the alignment of the east and west walls of the monuments vary ever so slightly to create a nearly imperceptive radial form converging on the peak of Quimsachata. In a more obvious fashion, the entire mass of the Akapana Platform shares the same orientation as the *templete* (2°46' west of south), and thus would also be aligned to the Quimsachata/Southern Pole confluence.

For the monuments constructed after the *templete* and before or during the Akapana platform, the daily path of the sun and its incremental journey along the horizon from solstice to solstice become a major influence in design. The construction of the Kalasasaya signals a critical shift from sunken temples decorated with underworld images and keyed to celestial movements of the nighttime sky, to raised platforms aligned east-west with architectural and iconographic reference to sacred mountains and the passage of the sun. The primary entrance is located on the east side, offset 2 m north of center, and aligns to the position where the sun first becomes visible at equinox; the large megalithic pillars at the platform's southeast and northeast corners mark the locations where the solstice sunrises would first appear over the eastern mountain range. Eleven upright andesite orthostats project over the height of the west side of the Kalasasaya, and mark the setting sun at solstices, equinoxes, and other incremental divisions of the solar year, representing a unique and sophisticated system of horizon-related astronomy.[62]

At first glance, the geometric form of the Tiwanaku site appears to be similar to that of the grid form that ordered many Old World planned cities. However, it is more likely that similar forms result from convergent and quite different architectural purposes, processes, and methods of design. In addition to an order based on alignments to natural and astronomical bodies, Tiwanaku design displays an Andean tendency toward radial space. For example, the gateways of the Kalasasaya, the *templete*, and Kantatallita— three critical monuments that span a near millennium of construction—are connected along winter-solstice sun alignment. To the west this alignment passes through the aforementioned site of Iwawe, but closer to the site, the alignment passes over an early colonial church in the town of Tiwanaku that, according to several sources, was built over an important pre-Colombian structure.

The extensive literature on geometric and astronomical alignments of Tiwanaku constructions is a time-consuming path overgrown with mathematical opacity and rampant speculations. The alignments presented here were personally confirmed using established archaeoastronomical methods. Clearly, more important alignments need to be described, considering the complexity of the horizon, evidence of Andean knowledge of astronomy, and the amount of unanalyzed architecture in the area. These few confirmed observations are sufficient to highlight the next point that with the increased architectural congestion, *the three-dimensional form of the buildings and their placement were based on the visual relations between the buildings and the natural landscape.* Design was no longer based on a one-to-one relationship between architecture and landscape as was the case with the singular *templete.* Such complex design resulted in different experiences of the created landscape.

Experience

A small point of contention among specialists of religious architecture is whether design prioritized the view from above (for the benefit of divine beings) or from the ground (for the lowly mortal). In reality, both design qualities can exist at the same time and place. For example, the primary east-facing doorway breaks with the precise symmetry of the Kalasasaya to appear, from the perspective of someone standing in the center of the platform, to align with the rising sun at equinox.[63] It would be unlikely that the viewer would notice this 2 m adjustment over the 120 m width of the platform.

The *templete* originally framed the Quimsachata between its flanking pillars. Slightly over a hundred meters to the west and a near millennium later, the Quimsachata and Southern Pole configuration is similarly designed as an experience into the passage from the Kalasasaya to the Putuni platform. The main entrance of the Putuni—a monumental gateway of andesite blocks set on a solid platform of slabs of sandstone—would have been approached along a corridor formed by the space between both platforms. Either side of this space is defined by one of the most impressive examples of stonework in the pre-Columbian Andes: along the Kalasasaya side eleven andesite orthostats are interspersed between horizontal coursing of accurately fitted ashlars.[64] Along the side of the Putuni, reused deep gray andesite ashlars have been reworked to fit with precision;[65] adobe walls set on a row of stones would have blocked from view the unsightly sides of the platform made with casually fitted reused stone and riddled with narrow passageways. The corridor space between the Kalasasaya and the Putuni is oriented 0° south and thus places the Southern Pole directly above the peak of the Quimsachata. Such a setting

FIGURE 5.7. *View south of Quimsachata from the space between the Putuni and Kalasasaya platforms.*

can be compared to an architectural canyon formed by the high walls of sky-scrapers that have the undesirable effect of blocking sunlight and views of the landscape. In a similar fashion, the high walls of this canyon block views to the east and west, presenting the Quimsachata and Southern Pole configuration as the only visible and privileged landscape feature (figure 5.7).

The experience and the type of information one could draw during the winter-solstice sunset alignment would have depended upon where one stood (figure 5.6b). From east to west, increasing numbers of people could have viewed it as follows. Within the Kalasasaya, a single observer (A in figure 5.6B) standing on the central platform could note with accuracy the spatial and calendric relationship of the sun to the andesite pillars along the west side. Several more individuals (B) could gather in the courtyard on the east portion of the Kalasasaya and see the sun set over the large north-west pillar of the platform. A small group (C) immediately outside of the Kalasasaya platform could see the sun set within the Eastern Gateway, and a progressively larger crowd standing further east, toward the Kantatallita

Complex, could see the sun appear to descend into the platform and set behind the Ccapia volcano.

As the sun drops below the horizon, the shadow of the Kalasasaya engulfs the *templete* and the area beyond, but the narrow opening of the Eastern Gateway allows a slender shaft of light to shine through.[66] The shaft of light appears to travel across the southwest corner of entrances of the *templete* and continues directly to the monumental entrance of the Kantatallita Complex. The few standing along the pathway of the light would see the beam advance toward them before seeing the sun inside the gateway. To those surrounding this narrow field of view the effect was like a natural spotlight, illuminating an individual in the midst of a shadow cast by the platform. Metal plates and other jewelry could have increased the effect; in fact, the remarkable metallurgical traditional of the Tiwanaku was driven by the desire to increase and vary the luminosity of naturally occurring metals mined from the nearby Quimsachata range.[67]

The final moments of this scenario—an individual covered in metal that is illuminated by the final rays of the sun—are plausible but strictly hypothetical; excavations along one point of this path of light uncovered a burial of sacrificed individuals complete with elaborately decorated serving vessels and other offerings.[68] Based on this chance find, it would seem reasonable to propose that this shaft of light was celebrated in a dramatic fashion. This interplay of light and architecture highlights the final point, which is that *the design of Tiwanaku also took into account the perspective and experience of the viewer.* In addition to design form based on alignments with landscape features to form surprisingly geometric forms, other variables—time, movement, and vision— were important considerations in design.

DISCUSSION: THE PERCEPTION AND VISION OF TIWANAKU RITUAL-POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

From the archaeoastronomical analysis of the *templete*, the site location was based on appreciating the dual view of the Quimsachata/Southern Pole and the Ccapia/winter solstice sunset. At least five major monuments were built close enough to the *templete* to fall within the dual mountain/astronomical viewsheds over the next millennium, increasing the number of spectators and diversifying the opportunities and means to experience space on multiple scales in this intentionally constructed visual relation between architecture, landscape, and cosmos. The primary sacred mountains of the basin could be experienced in the most spectacular manner from a Tiwanaku-built setting,

reflecting, perchance, the aspiration to become the primary location for all mountain worship in the Titicaca Basin. The larger and grander the *huacas*—snowcapped mountains in this case—the more elaborate the monument would have to be to outdo other challenges to its sacred power.[69] Ritually capturing these mountains would direct the flow of pilgrims and offerings to the site rather than to many other ritual sites in the basin; furthermore, and if the modern analog of mountain worship applies to this period, the result of gaining the most important mountain *huacas* would also have the effect of capturing the adoration and related offerings of the related subordinate mountains.

Monumental architecture is often constitutive of negotiations over political power and legitimacy.[70] On some level monumental architecture can make claims well beyond the actual accomplishments of the society that built it; like the proverbial bully who strikes out at others as a result of a deep insecurity, archaeologists debate whether heightened periods of monumental construction reflect a confidence of power or an inherent instability. We know little what the Tiwanaku thought of themselves; there are no representations of rulers inscribed with their claims of divine ancestry and extraordinary accomplishments. Nevertheless, even in this shattered state, without all the niceties that would have graced the summits and tops of the ubiquitous orthostats, we have the remains of an architectural narrative of a political and ritual preeminence as ancient and immutable as creation. Several scholars suggest that the survival of the *templete* was a method to present a claim to antiquity, similar to the manner that other capitals would preserve (or manufacture) a location associated with the original founder(s) of the city.[71] The worn sandstone of the stairs and the eroded blocks defining the interior walls would have been enough to legitimately claim a deep connection with a mythic past. However, in typical Tiwanaku form, this claim to antiquity was projected well outside the 27 m by 28 m dimensions of the *templete*. The original view from the *templete*, circa 300 BC, was an encirclement of pillars marking the natural landscape and sky (figure 5.4). After a millennium of construction, the view of the landscape and sky has dramatically changed. To the east, the summer solstice rises from the Kantatallita Complex.[72] Through the flanking pillars of the larger entrance, the Akapana platform blocks the view of the Quimsachata and crowns its summit with the Southern Pole (figure 5.8). To the west, the Kalasasaya creates an architectural horizon, thus marking the entire cycle of the setting sun with its mass. Instead of a natural distant horizon, then, human-made mountains and horizons measure the immutable cycles of the heavens. From the perspective of the *templete*, the surrounding monuments *are* the landscape, and they would be imbued with both the immutable and sacred
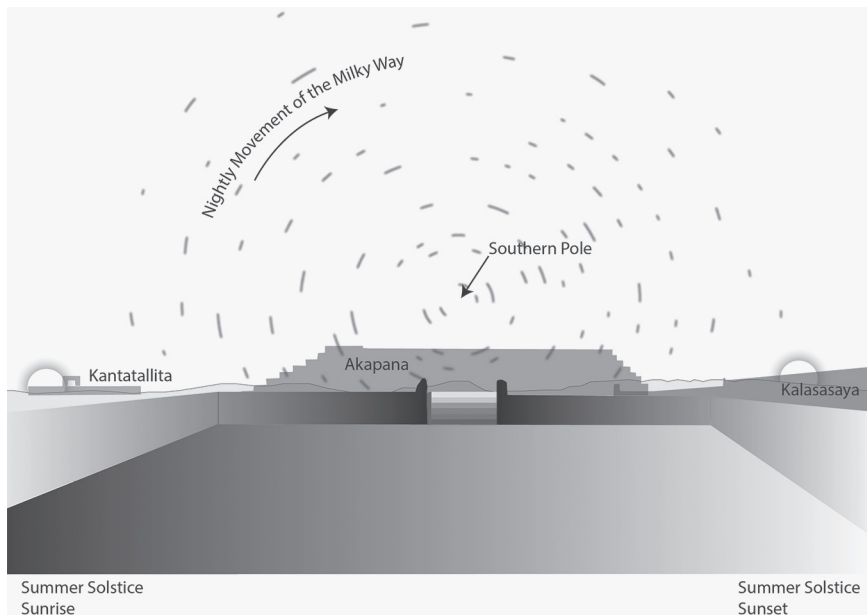
FIGURE 5.8. *Idealized view of the southern horizon from inside the templete. The monuments are superimposed on the horizon, the locations of the winter solstice sunrise and sunset, and the rotation of the Milky Way around the Southern Pole.*

aspect of the landscape and sky. Through this strategic placement of monuments, the Tiwanaku edited a landscape narrative of creation and the cycles of life and placed themselves firmly at the center of that story.

CONCLUSION

The primary ritual and public spaces at Tiwanaku were plazas or courtyards that held sacred idols and were the controlled setting for choreographic interactions with high status and important residents. These plazas were both conceptually and experientially very different from the Western counterparts of the plaza. The Tiwanaku platforms had a panoptical quality, but rather than placing its residents or visitors under scrutiny, it fixed the surrounding landscape under its gaze. This spatial and visual effect was fashioned by either dropping the floor deeply into the ground until the surrounding ground surface fell from view as in the sunken *templete* or, as in the case of the Kalasasaya and Akapana, by raising a large broad surface and encircling it with pillars and gateways that would

frame or create visual points of reference for landscape features and astronomical bodies. The solid construction of the platform could receive the weight of the heavy andesite superstructures without any resulting settling or geomorphic movement, preserving their impressive precision in fit and their precise alignment toward sacred locations and specifically timed astronomical events.

Like any capital of a large polity, Tiwanaku would grow in monumentality, but not in the same form as an expansionist and tribute-based Rome or a Nineveh, where a concentration of the spoils of conquest and taxation would transform the streets from dirt to stone and replace the modest homes of the general populace with the palaces of the powerful. Even once gaining supremacy, a nonliterate but highly sophisticated culture like Tiwanaku would have to constantly reinforce its sacred claims by designing greater and more elaborate settings[73] in an obvious and almost visceral manner.[74] The layout, distribution, and the apparent need to constantly build and modify the monuments is thus the product of a ritual strategy to attract the attention of ethnically and socially diverse groups who resided across a geographically large outlying area, each with its own mythic history and ritual life, and to indoctrinate them within a single unified framework.

NOTES

1. Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), 478.

2. Dennis Doxtater, "Spacial Opposition in Non-Discursive Expression: Architecture as Ritual Process," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 4 (1984): 1–19.

3. Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, 417.

4. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 26–29.

5. Ibid., 112–270.

6. Ibid., 32–33, also emphasizes the promise of archaeology to reveal history situated in and developed in space.

7. Brian Bauer Brian and Charles Stanish, *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Thomas Alan Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power: Ethnography and History Among an Andean People* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Anthony F. Aveni, "Horizon Astronomy in Incaic Cuzco," in *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas* (Los Altos: Ballena Press, 1981), 305–318; David S. P. Dearborn, Matthew T. Seddon, and Brian S. Bauer, "The Sanctuary of Titicaca: Where the Sun Returns to Earth" *Latin American Antiquity* 9 (1998): 240–258.

8. Harry Tschopik, *The Aymara of Chucuito, Peru*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1951), vol. 44, Pt. 2.

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12. Reinhard, "Chavin and Tiahuanaco," 395–422; Johan Reinhard, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains: A Study of the World's Highest Archaeological Sites*, Monograph 67 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California), 2010.

13. Martha B. Anders, "Structure and Function at the Planned Site of Azangaro: Cautionary Notes for the Model of Huari as a Centralized Secular State," *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government* (1991), 165–197; William H. Isbell, "Cosmological Order Expressed in Prehistoric Ceremonial Centers," in *42nd International Congress of Americanists* 4 (Paris, 1978), 269–297; Reinhard, "Chavin and Tiahuanaco," 306–11.

14. Reinhard, *Inca Rituals and Sacred Mountains*, passim.

15. Abercrombie, *Pathways of Memory and Power*, passim.

16. Catherine Allen, "When Pebbles Move Mountains: Iconicity and Symbolism in Quechua Ritual," in *Creating Context in Andean Cultures*, ed. R. Howard-Malvere (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 73–84.

17. Aveni, *Horizon Astronomy*, 305–318; Dearborn, Seddon, and Bauer, *The Sanctuary of Titicaca*, 240–258; Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), passim; Tom R. Zuidema, "Catachillay: The Role of the Pleiades and of the Southern Cross and Alpha and Beta Centrauri in the Calendar of the Incas," in *Ethnoastronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the American Tropics* (New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1982), 203–229.

18. Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky*, passim.

19. Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y Narración de los Incas* (Madrid: Atlas, 1987); Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (Lima: Fondo de Cultura, 1991); Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *History of the Incas*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., no. 22 (Cambridge: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1907).

20. Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990).

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22. Brian S. Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998).

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24. Calancha, *Crónicas Agustinianas del Perú*, passim; Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, passim; Alonso Ramos Gavilán, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana* (La Paz: Academia Boliviana de la Historia, 1976).

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31. John Rowe, "Urban Settlement in Ancient Peru," *Nawpa Pacha* 1 (1963): 1–27; Edward P. Lanning, *Peru Before the Incas* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 1967).

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33. Kolata, *The Tiwanaku*, passim.

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38. Wallace, "Tiwanaku as a Symbolic Empire," 133–144; Bennett, *Excavations at Tiahuanaco*, vol. 34, pt. 3.

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42. See also Smith, *Political Landscape*, 238–270.

43. John W. Janusek, "Vessels, Time and Society: Towards a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland," in *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland: Archaeology and Paleoecology of an Andean Civilization*, ed. Alan Kolata, Smithsonian Series in Archaeological

Inquiry (Washington, DC: Chesham: Smithsonian Institution; Combined Academic, 2003), 2:30–94, compiled and evaluated all the C14 dates for the site of Tiwanaku. While recognizing the difficulties of the excavation methods, dating, and reporting of the excavations through the interior fill of the Kalasasaya conducted by Cordero Miranda and Ponce Sangines, Janusek places the construction of the Kalasasaya platform between AD 300 and 500.

44. Nicole Couture, "The Construction of Power : Monumental Space and Elite Residence at Tiwanaku, Bolivia" (PhD diss, University of Chicago, 2002).

45. Although many of the radiocarbon dates of human and animal bones related to the Akapana have large standard deviations, the median dates allow us to propose a date for the construction of Akapana in the late sixth or first half of the seventh century. See Janusek, "Vessels, Time and Society: Towards a Ceramic Chronology in the Tiwanaku Heartland," 2:30–94, Table 3.1; Linda Manzanilla, *Akapana: Una Pirámide en el Centro del Mundo* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992), 42–45, Fig. 13.

46. Javier F. Escalante, *Arquitectura Prehispánica En Los Andes Bolivianos* (La Paz, Bolivia: CIMA, 1994).

47. Jason Yaeger, and Alexei Vranich, "A Radiocarbon Chronology of the Pumapunku Complex and a Reassessment of the Urban Development of Tiwanku, Bolivia," in *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology II*, ed. Alexei Vranich and Abigail Levine (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, Los Angeles, 2013).

48. Bandelier, "Ruins at Tiahuanaco," 218–265.

49. Alexei Vranich, "The Construction and Reconstruction of Ritual Space at Tiwanaku, Bolivia (A.D. 500–1000)," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31/2 (July 1, 2006): 121–136.

50. Using a theodolite equipped with a solar filter and the standard field procedure outlined by Anthony F. Aveni, *Skywatchers* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), and Clive Ruggles, *Astronomy in Prehistoric Britain and Ireland* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), we set about precisely measuring architectural features and their relationship to each other and to natural features. The lamentable condition of the site presents a related challenge. Centuries of looting have stripped off the façades and even taken many monuments right down to the internal retaining walls that held back the platform fill; A. Vranich, "La Pirámide de Akapana: Reconsiderando el Central Monumental de Tiwanaku" ["The Akapana Pyramid: Reconsidering Tiwanaku's Monumental Center"], *in Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. Evidencias*, ed. P. Kaulicke and W. H. Isbell, Boletín de Arqueología 5 (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú, 2001), 295–308. Subsequent reconstruction work and ad hoc conservation efforts have over the years obscured much evidence

about the original forms of the structures. Our study relies on several techniques to deal with the problem of disturbed remains. First and foremost, we have purposefully limited this study's scope, concentrating on the orientations of the exterior walls and certain stable architectural elements such as upright pillars and stairways, the size and unique form of which made them unattractive to looters quarrying for stone. We consistently measure the orientation of the monuments by taking multiple readings along a line established 1 m distant from the base of any retaining wall or façade in question. Our historical research and our interviews with long-term residents and earlier excavators have helped us to relocate lost architecture and to differentiate new elements from original features.

51. Ponce Sanginés, *Descripción Sumaria del Templete Semisubterráneo de Tiwanaku*, 61–62.

52. During the Late Formative Period the heliacal rise and set of the Yacana constellation occurred at the beginning and end of the rainy season.

53. Unlike the northern hemisphere, where the bright Polaris marks the Northern Celestial Pole, the southern hemisphere does not have a pole star. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic research, however, documents that there was intense interest among historic Andean peoples focusing on the fact that the stars and constellations traveled in a circle around the fixed point of the Southern Celestial Pole; Benitez, "What Would the Celebrants See? Sky, Landscape, and Settlement Planning in the Late Formative Southern Titicaca Basin," in *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology II*, ed. Alexei Vranich and Abigail Levine (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, Los Angeles, 2013).

54. See chapter 6 on Cusco by Christie in this volume.

55. John Janusek, *Ancient Tiwanaku* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

56. The random probability of the Khonkho-Tiwanaku-Quimsachata-Celestial pole alignment is a virtual 0%.

57. See chapter 6 on Cusco by Christie in this volume.

58. The proper term for a large stone interspersed between smaller stones should be *orthostat*. For the sake of simplicity, I use the more common though not completely architecturally correct term *pillar*.

59. Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella E. Nair, "On Reconstructing Tiwanaku Architecture" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59/3 (2000): 358–371; Protzen and Nair, "Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills: A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (1997): 146–167.

60. Adolf Bandelier's 1894 map, Max Uhle's 1893 photographs, the lifetime collection of Arthur Posnansky's photographs, and Cordero's Mirandas meticulous notes,

measurements, and systematic photographs from the 1950s and 1960s were the basis for virtually modeling and incorporating missing architecture.

61. Alexei Vranich, "Plataformas, Plazas y Palacios en Tiwanaku, Bolivia (500–1000 A.D.)," in *Señores de los Imperios del Sol*, ed. Krysztof Makowski, Colección Arte y Tesoros Del Perú (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2010), 143–151.

62. Analogy can be made to the Inca Empire and to other historically documented contemporary indigenous populations, for which such horizon astronomy established the basis for complex calendric and mathematical computations. See, for example, Aveni, *Horizon Astronomy*, 305–318; Dearborn, Seddon, and Bauer, *The Sanctuary of Titicaca*, 240–258; Zuidema, "Catachillay," 203–229; Mariusz S. Ziólkowski, "El Calendario Metropolitano Inca," in *Time and Calendrics in the Inca Empire*, BAR International Series (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 129–167; Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky*, passim; Benitez, "Descendants of the Sun: Calendars, Myth and the Tiwanaku State," 49–82.

63. By the time the rising sun is visible over the uneven mountain range, it has moved slightly north in its daily path across the sky.

64. According my reading of Cieza de León, who visited the site in 1549, this wall was the place where the Incas masons tried to replicate Tiwanaku masonry for their own religious and regal buildings.

65. The intended effect of Tiwanaku stonework, according to architect Pierre Protzen, is to erase the joints between the stones and create a single surface.

66. While the reconstruction of the Eastern Gateway of the Kalasasaya has been justifiably criticized by architects and conservators, the width of the reconstruction's opening is true to the original remains as uncovered in 1903 and published by Arthur Posnansky in his 1945 *Tihuanacu, the Cradle of American Man* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1945).

67. Heather Lechtman, "Tiwanaku Period (Middle Horizon) Bronze Metallurgy in the Lake Titicaca Basin," in *Tiwanaku and Its Hinterland*, ed. Alan Kolata (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), 2: 404–434.

68. John Verano, "Excavation and Analysis of Human Skeletal Remains from a New Dedicatory Offering at Tiwanaku," in *Advances in Titicaca Basin Archaeology II*, ed. Alexei Vranich and Abigail Levine (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, University of California, 2013).

69. Salomon, Urioste, and Avila, *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, passim.

70. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 270.

71. Ibid., 206. See also chapters 2 by Kalas, 3 by Bogdanović, 4 by Rod-ari, 6 by Christie, 9 by Pilat, and 10 by Grigor in this volume.

72. In Aymara, *Kantatallia* means "place where the sun rises."

73. Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, eds., *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, Archaeology in Society Series (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006).

74. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Inomata and Coben, *Archaeology of Performance*, passim.

6

The Inka Capital Cusco as the Model of an Imperial Cultural Landscape

Jessica Joyce Christie

Inka Cusco presents a fascinating case of the material and literary construction of an imperial capital, identifying features of which were copied in many parts of an expanding territory to mark Inka space. Cusco was the capital city of the Inka who set out to conquer vast territories in the first half of the fifteenth century. At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the 1530s, the Inka empire reached from what is now northern Ecuador to southern Chile and from the lowland jungles of Bolivia and Peru to the Pacific Coast (figure 6.1). This chapter is concerned with the role Cusco played in the processes of state formation and the construction of an imperial landscape. The natural setting of the Cusco Valley dotted by the manmade landscape the Inka created will be treated as the performance arena in which the authority of the Inka polity was formulated and strategically exported, constructing a relational ontology of human landscapes.[1]

Archaeological surveys have documented population increases and the construction of agricultural infrastructure in the Cusco Basin after 1000 CE. Colonial Spanish writers have portrayed Pachakuti Inka Yupanki, the ninth Inka ruler, as the protagonist who redesigned Cusco as the state capital in the mid-fifteenth century. Pachakuti erased an earlier settlement and, according to a majority of sources, gave Cusco a set of multilayered forms and divisions: it was designed in the shape of a seated puma; it was divided into an upper (*hanan*) and lower (*hurin*) half, which repeats traditional Andean

FIGURE 6.1. *Map of the Inka Empire. (Re-created by Brian Garrett from Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramos Matos Mendieta eds.,* Variations in the Expression of Inka Power *[Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007])*

territorial and social divisions of towns; it was divided into four quarters (*suyu*), from which the organizational structure of the entire empire (*Tawantinsuyu* or Land of the Four Quarters) originated; the zeq'e system, which comprised forty-one conceptual lines, marked by shrines, radiated out from the Temple of the Sun into Cusco and beyond. This spatial layout wove a network of ideological, economic, social, and metaphorical relations between the state and the capital, the ruler and the natural landscape setting, as well as between the ruler and the peripheral regions of the empire. This chapter explores such relationships and further demonstrates how the urban design of Cusco or elements of it were copied in numerous governance centers and Inka territory in general to mark Inka presence and claim Inka space. Such spatial relations were clearly the product of social constructions but the meaning assigned to particular spaces was not the result of a public consensus; instead it was carefully generated by the emerging Inka state apparatus whose authority was increasingly solidified by assigning such meanings. The following discussion shows how natural settings the Inka selected and then ordered and civilized through their material constructions channeled and reproduced the performance of the state. At the same time, each temporal reproduction sets in motion a slight reinterpretation, spanning the dynamic network of geopolitics that Smith advocates.[2]

This chapter is structured into three major sections. The first section assembles the archaeological information and material documentation as obtained from the multiple survey and excavation projects in the Cusco Valley conducted by Brian Bauer and colleagues. The second section juxtaposes the material data with accounts of the founding of Cusco as narrated in several ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources. Section three sorts out the often-times contradictory information in the archaeological and ethnographic records and outlines my interpretation of Cusco as the multidimensional capital of the Inka Empire. The focus of my reconstruction hinges on the argument that Cusco was created as the prototype or micromodel of an ideological geography that was replicated in different scales at selected sites throughout the empire. I argue that the long-term or "grand" plan of Pachakuti and his successors was to integrate all state territories in a web of nodes designed after the Cusco model and linked by the arteries of the road system. From this perspective, the political landscape constructed in the Cusco Valley was not only local but was driven by the ambition to stamp the entire empire as Inka. It was experienced by Cusco residents and its many foreign visitors who came and temporarily lived there by order of the Inka court. Especially the latter would have perceived Inka spaces and formulated evocative responses that they would have carried back and shared in their local communities. Such local discourses

would have imagined Inka spaces that the Inka polity presented as real physical experiences by constructing state installations in outlying centers. In these ways, Smith's dimensions of experience, perception, and imagination bring to life the construction of Inka political landscape.[3]

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE INKA CAPITAL, CUSCO

Prior to the 1980s, most of the academic literature showcased a picture of Cusco that was primarily derived from ethnographic descriptions. This picture elevated Pachakuti Inka Yupanki, the ninth Inka ruler (ca. 1438–1471), as the historical genius who more or less single-handedly and within a few decades established Inka control of the Cusco region, redesigned the capital, and accelerated territorial expansion. Comprehensive and systematic archaeological surveys accompanied by test excavations conducted by Brian Bauer and many colleagues in the regions surrounding Cusco have since documented that the processes of Inka rise to power were much slower and complex and have called into question some of the accomplishments credited to Pachakuti.

It is now clear that the two great Middle Horizon power players, the Wari empire and the Tiwanaku state, declined in the tenth century.[4] In the succeeding Late Intermediate Period, lasting from approximately 1000 to 1400 CE, the Inka were one of a multitude of ethnic groups, or *senorios*, rivaling for power in what is now the Cusco region. Throughout the Andean highlands, the Late Intermediate Period was a time of turmoil and instability. Many people left fertile valley bottom lands to relocate in higher-elevation ridgetop settlements where they built defensive walls and switched to an economy based upon high-altitude crops and pastoral activities.[5] The most intensive study of Late Intermediate Period settlement patterns has been conducted by the Upper Mantaro Archaeological Research Project in the Jauja region of the Department of Junin. Terence D'Altroy and colleagues have reported that the local Wanka ethnic group left valley-bottom communities and resettled at fortified ridgetop sites between approximately 1000 and 1300 CE. Many of the fourteenth-century Wanka sites were large, extending between 20 and 70 ha, yet social ranking within these centers appears to have been minimal.[6] Similar findings come from the Lake Titicaca region far to the southeast of Cusco.[7] Elizabeth Arkush has investigated Late Intermediate Period defensive hilltop sites in the northwestern Titicaca Basin.[8] Her findings indicate that the majority of these sites were constructed between 1300 and 1450 CE in response to chronic warfare brought on by regional tensions aggravated by factors of climate change.

In the Cusco Basin, major disruptions in settlement patterns occurred particularly in the southeast during the Late Intermediate Period (also referred to as Killke Period in this region).[9] All existing valley-bottom settlements between the Cusco and Lucre Basins were abandoned and one new fortified site was established on a broad ridge above the valley floor.[10] This depopulated area is interpreted as a buffer zone between the Inka who occupied an early settlement of Cusco and the Mohina and Pinahua people of the Lucre Basin. The archaeological record of the Inka's neighbors is dominated by Killke ceramics that have been found in the center of Cusco, in the Cusco Valley, as well as in further outlying areas. For these reasons, the terms *Late Intermediate Period* and *Killke Period* are used interchangeably in the Cusco Valley. Bauer and colleagues[11] note that after 1000 CE, several large new villages and extensive sets of terracing and canal systems were constructed on the northern slopes of the Huatanay River immediately to the southeast of the center of Cusco, where few agricultural settlements had existed previously.[12] Bauer and Covey[13] interpret the ability to organize and construct large public works in order to create surpluses for the elite as an important strategy of the emerging Inka state. In sum, the archaeological record indicates that urban Cusco, the power base of the Inka, grew in size in contrast to the general disruptions and shifts in settlement patterns.[14] Sometime around 1400 CE and perhaps as early as 1200 CE,[15] the Inka began to emerge as the dominant regional polity, conquering and subjugating their neighbors.

Archaeologists have configured a fairly concise picture of Inka Cusco (figure 6.2).[16] Inka Cusco grew between the Saphy/Huatanay and Tullumayo rivers and was centered on the main plaza, which had two sectors separated by the Saphy/Huatanay River: Awkaypata and Kusipata. Victor Angles Vargas discusses the names and spellings of the two sections of the main plaza in Cusco.[17] The Spanish writers spelled *Awkaypata* and *Kusipata* in a number of different ways because the Quechua language had not been written down and each author wrote indigenous words as he heard them. The two names translate as "place of crying" (Awkaypata)[18] and "place of rejoicing" (Kusipata).[19] Angles Vargas relates the names to Inka ritual practices.

A feature of great interest is the foregrounded rock or *usnu* situated in the main plaza (figure 6.2). Nobody knows exactly what the usnu looked like or where in the main plaza it stood because the descriptions by the chroniclers are not consistent.[20] Tom Zuidema reasons that there were two usnus used for solar observations.[21] In authoritative publications, John Hyslop, Zuidema, and Frank M. Meddens have investigated the Cusco usnus, other usnus, and the complex symbolic connotations associated with them.[22] They conclude that

FIGURE 6.2. *Plan of the center of Cusco. (Adapted from Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies,* Inca Architecture *[Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1980])*

usnus could assume a number of material forms: they could be stone pillars, stone seats, stone basins or fonts linked to underground channels, platforms, or truncated pyramids. Depending on their forms, usnus had a variety of functions ranging from an elevated seat of authority that was usually accentuated by colorful canopies to locales for libation rituals and solar observations.[23]

The main plaza was fronted by major imperial buildings identified as the palaces of Inka rulers and as *kallankas* (figure 6.2) (see below). The Qasana compound at the northwest corner of Awkaypata, beside the Saphy River, was probably the palace of Wayna Qhapaq (the eleventh ruler).[24] Beside the Qasana stood the Coracora compound, which Garcilaso de la Vega mentions as the palace of Inka Roqa (the sixth ruler).[25] At the northeast corner, above Awkaypata, the palace of Waskhar (the twelfth ruler) was situated, and near the present chapel El Triunfo, an earlier palace of Wayna Qhapaq may have existed.

The Colonial Cathedral likely took the place of the palace of Wiraqocha Inka (the eighth ruler).[26] The southwest corner of the plaza was occupied by the Amarukancha compound, probably built by Waskhar;[27] separated from it by Loreto Street stood the Aqllahuaci compound, where lived the *aqllas*, young women selected for state and religious service.[28] Hatunkancha compound was located on the southeast corner of Awkaypata and Garcilaso identifies it as the palace of Pachakuti Inka Yupanki (the ninth ruler).[29]

Some of these palace compounds included kallanka buildings. A *kallanka* is generally defined as a great hall or long structure with a gabled roof supported by a row of pillars set the entire length of the long axis and exhibiting numerous door openings facing a plaza.[30] Garcilaso de la Vega provides the most detailed description of the Cusco kallankas.[31] He talks about four great halls, the largest of which was the Qasana compound situated at the northwest corner of Awkaypata.

> In many Inka houses, there were great halls measuring two hundred paces in length and fifty to sixty paces in width; all was one undivided open space where they held their festivals and dances when rainy weather did not allow them to celebrate in the plaza outside. In the city of Cozco, I counted four such halls, which were still standing when I was a boy. One was in Amarucancha, among the houses belonging to Hernando Pizarro, where today the college of Santa Compania de Jesus stands; the other was in Cassana where my schoolmate Juan de Cillorico has his shops now; and the third one stood in Collcampata among the houses that belonged to Inca Paullu and his son don Carlos, who also was my schoolmate. This hall was the smallest of the four, and the largest was the one at Cassana, which could hold three thousand people: this seems incredible, as it was wood that had to cover and vault such vast spaces. The fourth great hall is the one that today serves as the Catholic Cathedral.[32]

To my knowledge, there is no archaeological information about the Cusco kallankas because the contemporary city unfolds on top of their remains. Nor are there radiocarbon dates that would assist in tying palace constructions to the reigns of specific rulers (see below in the section on ethnographic reconstruction).

In the greater context of the Inka capital, the whole main plaza constituted the dividing line between the Hanan (upper) and Hurin (lower) divisions and the four roads of the empire departed from it to the four *suyu* (quarters of the empire). The dualistic and quadripartite structures of Inka social and political organization may well have been reflected in the Awkaypata-Kusipata division itself.

A narrow street exited Awkayata Plaza to the south and led to the Qorikancha, or Temple of the Sun. While the main plaza functioned as the public, administrative, and ideological center of the capital, the Qorikancha was the religious core of Cusco. In Inka times, the Qorikancha displayed an extended *kancha* design. Kanchas were basic Inka residential units composed of a courtyard surrounded by one-room structures and enclosed by a perimeter wall with one controlled entrance. Inside the Qorikancha, the one-room structures were temples dedicated to various natural forces, such as Thunder, Lightning, the Moon, and the Sun. The actual Sun temple projected out west from the kancha design and was supported by a massive curving wall built of precisely cut and fitted cubic stone blocks. The west side must have served as the public frontal façade of the Qorikancha. As Pedro Cieza de León describes, "there was a garden in which the earth was lumps of fine gold, and it was cunningly planted with stalks of corn that were of gold—stalk, leaves, and ears . . . there were more than twenty sheep of gold with their lambs, and the shepherds who guarded them, with their slings and staffs, all of this metal. There were many tubs of gold and silver and emeralds, and goblets, pots, and every kind of vessel all of fine gold."[33] This and other descriptions reported by Cieza de León help the reader visualize the enormous wealth encountered by the Spaniards in the Inka Empire and concentrated in Cusco. In addition, Qorikancha was the central node and starting point of the zeq'e system (the concept of forty-one lines radiating out from the Qorikancha and marked by shrines), discussed below since the primary sources of information come from ethnography.

Leaving the core area of Cusco, we encounter a tremendously important complex of buildings, massive walls, and rock sculptures on a hill overlooking the city in the north: Saqsaywaman (figure 6.3). Saqsaywaman is frequently explained as a fortress due to the monumentality of its rampart zigzag walls and to Spanish accounts that it was used as a military stronghold in the battles between the Spanish and the forces of Manqo Inka in the 1530s. At the same time, numerous Spanish writers state that Saqsaywaman fulfilled multiple functions: it served as a Sun Temple and a royal palace, and it had two towers and many storehouses.[34] Construction began under Pachakuti and was completed by his successors.

The design of Saqsaywaman adapts to the topography of the hilltop. The principal performance stage for public events is a flat esplanade framed by ridge-like outcrops on the southern and northern sides. The southern outcrop displays the well-known terraced zigzag walls composed of irregular stone blocks of varying sizes which were shaped and fitted together so precisely that no mortar was required. This restored set of zigzag terraces faces the esplanade.
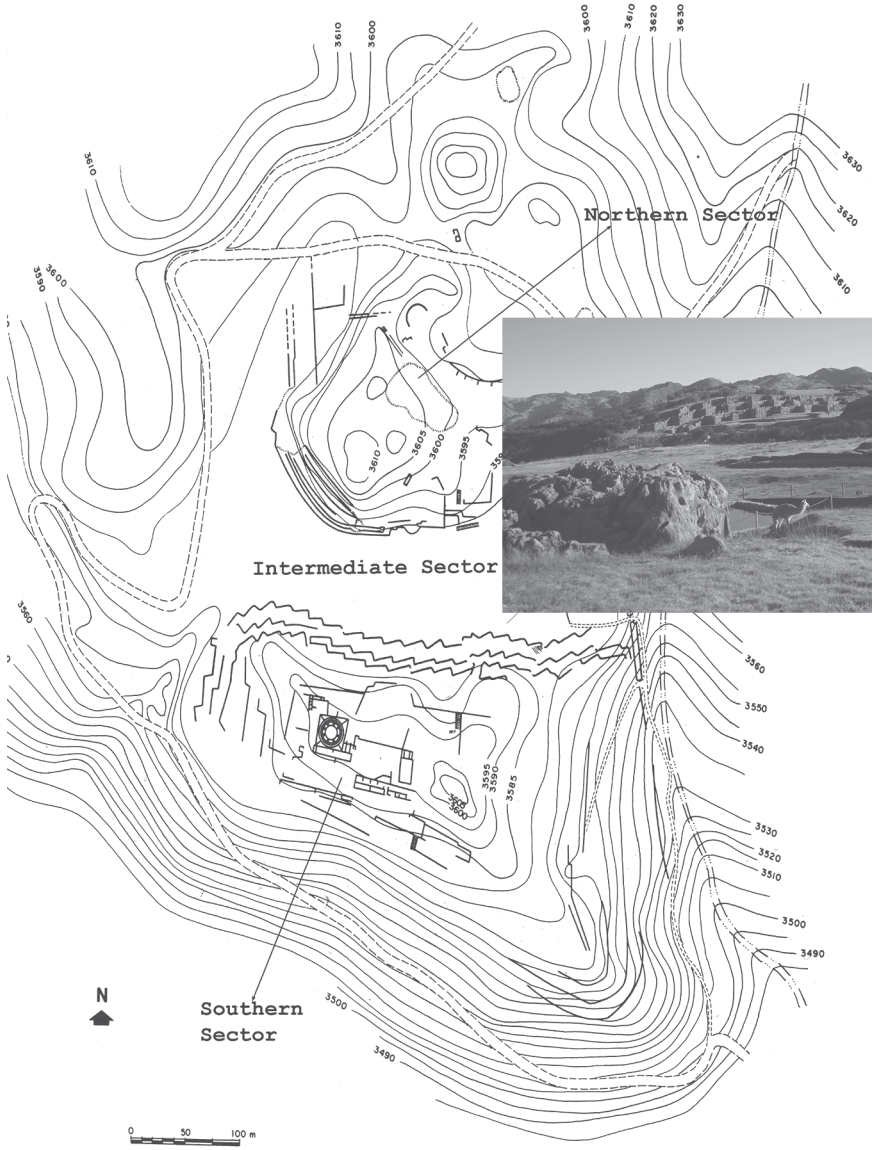
Figure 6.3. *Cusco, Saqsaywaman. (Plan adapted from Gasparini and Margolies,* Inka Architecture, *and photograph by Brian Garrett)*

Cusco archaeologists have discovered evidence of a second set of zigzag terraces on the hillside descending toward the city. Between the two sets of zigzag walls and on top of the ridge are the foundations of rectangular rooms and of at least one circular tower. The northern outcrop contains a sunken flat area surrounded by a low circular retaining wall. It is generally interpreted as a reservoir since sections of an intricate canal system are visible around it. Numerous carved rocks grace its projecting bedrock areas contrasted by cave openings and caverns.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE INKA CAPITAL, CUSCO

Contrasting with the archaeological survey results are the mythohistorical explanations of the origin of the Inka dynasty and the founding of Cusco as the Inka capital, which must be understood as a later retrospect strategy to justify and legitimize the rising power of the Inka state. Based on the two dominant stories of origin, the Inka were not locals but foreigners sent by deities from supernatural places. Scholars believe that the official myth centered on the site of Pacariqtambo.[35] Near Pacariqtambo was a place with three caves called Tampu T'oqo. The Creator God summoned four brothers and four sisters who founded the Inka dynasty from the central cave and other groups who became the ancestral Cusco *ayllus* (extended corporate lineage groups) from the adjoining caves. The four brothers and sisters were paired as couples and Manqo Qhapaq and his sister and wife Mama Oqllu assumed a leadership role. These ancestors began to hike in search of a place to settle and eventually founded Cusco.

The second story places the point of origin on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca. Here the Creator God Wiraqocha called forth the sun, the moon, and the stars from holes in a sacred rock.[36] This rock became the destination of one of the most important pilgrimages in the Andes and was appropriated by the Inka into their state ideology. After setting the celestial bodies in motion, Wiraqocha fashioned humans. The Sun selected Manqo Qhapaq and Mama Oqllu as the principal couple and sent them in a northwestern direction to find a "chosen" valley for their people to settle. Here the first myth picks up the narrative: they reemerged from Tampu T'oqo together with the ancestral ayllus and went on to found their capital Cusco and a new state.

It is significant that both mythohistorical locations of origin have been identified on the ground and have rock art and/or sacred rocks as their centers. Thus it must be noted early on that sacred boulders and carved rock *wak'as*

(complex sacred places endowed with spirits that required offerings and regular maintenance) were vital elements in the construction of a specifically Inka political landscape of origin.

Manqo Qhapaq supposedly became the first ruler in a line of twelve or thirteen successors (table 6.1). Spanish accounts imply that he and his followers were the first to live in what was to become the imperial capital Cusco. Other ethnographic sources, however, indicate that at the time of their arrival, the future site of Cusco was occupied by a village with the name of Acamama. This settlement comprised four sections: Quinti Cancha, or the District of the Humming Bird; Chumbi Cancha, or the District of the Weavers; Sairi Cancha, or the District of Tobacco; and Yarambuy Cancha, which was probably a mixed district inhabited by Aymara and Quechua speakers.[37] Acamama was also divided into upper (*Hanan*) and lower (*Hurin*) halves. It follows that the quadripartite and dual spatial divisions that the Inka appropriated and integrated into their state organization were already present in this pre-Inka settlement. It can be shown that concepts of a four-part order as well as binary oppositions and complementarity were part of a pan-Andean system of thinking.[38]

There is still no consensus in the literature as to whether the first seven rulers were historical or mythological individuals (table 6.1). Beginning with the eighth ruler, Wiraqocha Inka, the ethnographic records become a lot more extensive. Much of the information focuses on conquests and it may have been this ruler who changed Inka military strategies from raiding and alliances to territorial expansion.[39] The stories of conquest begin with the notorious Chanka wars widely discussed in the literature.[40] The Chanka were another local senorio who offered resistance and thus stood in the way of Inka westward expansion.[41] They are said to have outnumbered the Inka army and Wiraqocha Inka fled to his estate at Caquia Xaquixaguana (Juchuy Qosqo) together with Inka Urqon, his son and heir designate, and most of the elite. His other son, Inka Yupanki, decided to stay in Cusco and defend it or die along with a few equally committed men. The night before the battle, Inka Yupanki prayed for assistance and the Creator God appeared to him in a dream and vision, promising additional warriors and final victory. And so it happened: during battle, the number of Inka fighters magically increased as stones turned into warriors (*pururaucas*) and the Chanka were repelled. There followed a period of tension between Inka Yupanki and his father, who remained at Caquia Xaquixaguana. But eventually Wiraqocha Inka traveled to Cusco, placed the fringe of rulership on Inka Yupanki's head, and gave his son the title "Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui Capac Yndichuri," which means

TABLE 6.1. List of Inka rulers.

Ruler 1	Manqo Qhapaq
Ruler 2	Zinchi Roq'a
Ruler 3	Lloq'e Yupanki
Ruler 4	Mayta Qhapaq
Ruler 5	Qhapaq Yupanki
Ruler 6	Inka Roq'a
Ruler 7	Yawar Waqaq
Ruler 8	Wiraqocha Inka
Ruler 9	Pachakuti Inka Yupanki (probably ruled 1438–1471)
Ruler 10	Thupa Inka Yupanki
Ruler 11	Wayna Qhapaq
Ruler 12	Waskhar Inka
Ruler 13	Atawallpa
(European Invasion of 1532)	
Ruler 14	Manqo Inka
Ruler 15	Paullu Inka

Source: Adapted from Bauer 1998 and D'Altroy 2002

"change of time, King Yupanque, son of the Sun." (Juan de Betanzos provides us with one of the most detailed accounts of Pachakuti's life and commissions, which are central to any study of Cusco; therefore I continue to paraphrase him.) In the end, Pachakuti accepted his father's apologies for past offenses, including a failed assassination attempt, and the two participated in the festivities of Cusco together until the death of Wiraqocha Inka.[42] According to Miguel de Cabello Valboa,[43] the victory over the Chanka occurred in 1438 CE and Pachakuti ruled from 1438 to 1471.

Another notable project Pachakuti Inka Yupanki undertook was the rebuilding of the city of Cusco. Betanzos offers a vivid account that depicts Pachakuti as a farsighted urban planner and effective organizer of labor.[44] After making the decision to rebuild the city of Cusco, Pachakuti met with the Inka nobility to discuss how to procure stone and clay. "After this was done, Inca Yupanque outlined the city and had clay models made just as he planned to have it built."[45] After all the materials and workers were assembled,

> Inca Yupanque ordered everyone from the city of Cuzco to leave their houses, take out everything they had in them, and go to the small towns nearby. As this was done, he ordered those houses to be torn down. With this done, cleaned up, and leveled, the Inca with his own hands, along with the rest of the lords of the city, had a cord brought; indicated and measured with the cord the lots and houses that were to be made and their foundations and structures.[46]

Pachakuti had mobilized a crew of 50,000 and they worked for twenty years from the first improvements of channelizing the Tullumayo and Saphy Rivers, which flow through Cusco, until the completion of the building program. When the city was finished, Pachakuti held a town meeting, inviting all the lords of Cusco and the lower classes of inhabitants. He ordered that the sketch of the city and the clay model that he had commissioned be brought to this meeting. With the model in front of him, he assigned houses and lots to the nobility of Cusco and all other residents. He had three lords, whose names are given as Vicaquirao, Apomayta, and Quilescache Urcoguaranca, settle between the Temple of the Sun and the point where the two rivers join. They belonged to his lineage but they were illegitimate sons of lords and therefore held a lower social rank. Pachakuti named this section of his city Hurin Cusco, or lower Cusco, and its far end Pumachupa, which means "lion's tail." The area from the Temple of the Sun on up, between the two rivers up to the hill of Saqsaywaman, he distributed among the prominent lords of his lineage and his own direct descent line. This section became Hanan Cusco, or upper Cusco. Based on this description and references by other writers, the new layout of Cusco is understood as visualizing the body of a puma with its tail at Pumachupa and the head at Saqsaywaman. Pachakuti concluded the rebuilding program with the peculiar order that "in this city there be no mixing of people or offspring other than his own and his *orejon* warriors. He wanted this city to be the most distinguished in all the land and the one all the other towns had to serve and respect."[47]

Although at a first and rather superficial glance, this may look like a unique and detailed account of a precontact imperial urban design, the reader has to be aware that Betanzos's report was colored by his personal life. He married a woman who was a niece of the emperor Wayna Qhapaq and had been the wife of Atawallpa in her first marriage. Thus his in-laws belonged to Pachakuti's descendant kin group and they were his main consultants.[48] It is to be expected that they tried to enumerate the great accomplishments of their famous ancestor and Betanzos himself likely shared their partisanship. Nevertheless, although some of the specifics may have been invented

by Betanzos's family, his account together with those of other Spanish writers substantiate that Pachakuti rebuilt Cusco according to a well-deliberated design with calculated political connotations.

In addition to the puma shape, Inka Cusco followed the dual (Hanan-Hurin) and quadripartite (suyu) spatial divisions that had already structured pre-Inka Acamama (see section above on archaeological reconstruction). Garcilaso de la Vega claims that the Hanan and Hurin halves were instituted by Manqo Qhapaq and Mama Oqllu.[49] Father Bernabe Cobo and Cristóbal de Molina, among other Spanish writers, explain how the Inka state under Pachakuti and his followers appropriated the quadripartite division and recast it into a spatial, social, and ideological mechanism by means of the zeq'e system, which had the potential of serving as a control device for the entire empire.

The urban design of Cusco followed three major systems that geographically and conceptually overlapped (figure 6.2): first, and most important, the Inka divided their empire into four regions, or suyu, which originated in the center of Cusco. Four major roads departed from the Main Plaza (Awkaypata) in Cusco in the directions of these four quarters: Chinchaysuyu in the northwest, Antisuyu in the northeast, Kollasuyu in the southeast, and Kuntisuyu in the southwest. These groupings were extended throughout the entire empire so that each region belonged to one suyu. The second division echoed the topography of the Cusco Valley and grouped the city into two halves or moieties: the upper half, or Hanan Cusco, was made up of Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu, while the lower half, or Hurin Cusco, consisted of Kollasuyu and Kuntisuyu. The Inka associated each moiety with specific rulers: the first five rulers in the dynastic list, Manqo Qhapaq through Qhapaq Yupanki, were affiliated with Hurin Cusco, while the last five Inkas, Inka Roq'a through Thupa Inka Yupanki, were associated with Hanan Cusco.

Overlaid onto these two divisions was the zeq'e system. Zeq'es were imagined abstract lines departing from the Qorikancha/Temple of the Sun in the center of Cusco in a radial fashion. Altogether there were forty-one zeq'es and their directions were determined by the locations of numerous shrines, or wak'as, totaling more than 328. Brian Bauer's field investigations documented that of the 328 wak'as, 96 (29%) were springs or sources of water and approximately 95 (29%) were standing stones. Other shrine categories included hills and mountain passes (32, or 10%), palaces of the royal Inkas and temples (28, or 9%), fields and flat places (28, or 9%), tombs (10, or 3%), and ravines (7, or 2%). Less frequent wak'as were caves (3, or 1%), quarries (3,

or 1%), stone seats (3, or 1%), sunset markers (3, or 1%), trees (2, or 1%), and roads (2, or 1%).[50]

Father Bernabe Cobo explains the zeq'e system as follows:

> From the Temple of the Sun, as from the center, there went out certain lines which the Indians call ceques; they formed four parts corresponding to the four royal roads which went out from Cuzco. On each one of those ceques were arranged in order the guacas [huacas, or wak'as] and shrines which there were in Cuzco and its region like stations of holy places, the veneration of which was common to all.[51]

Cobo was born in Spain in 1580 but spent much of his adult life in Peru and Mexico.[52] He was trained by the Jesuit Order and became well known for his historical writings. In 1653, four years before his death, he completed his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, containing forty-three books divided into three parts from which the quotation above was taken. Most significant in the context of this essay is Book 13, which contains four chapters describing and naming the zeq'e lines and their associated wak'as in each suyu. According to Cobo's account, Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, and Kollasuyu contained nine zeq'es each while Kuntisuyu is said to have had fourteen.

Most importantly, Cobo establishes a relationship between the zeq'es, their wak'as, and social groups within Cusco:

> Each ceque was the responsibility of the kinship units and families of the city of Cuzco, from within which came the attendants and servants who cared for the guacas of their ceque and saw to offering the established sacrifices at the proper times.[53]

Occasionally, Cobo is more specific and notes which kin group was responsible for a particular zeq'e. For example, for the fourth zeq'e of Antisuyu (An-4) he writes:

> The fourth ceque of this road was called Collana; it was the responsibility of the ayllo and family of Aucailli Panaca and had seven guacas.[54]

An analysis of the various kin group names included in Cobo's description of the zeq'e lines shows that the obligation of maintaining and worshipping the shrines along the zeq'es was divided between two broadly defined social groups: the *panaqas* of the ruling Inkas and the nonroyal ayllus of Cusco.[55] The panaqas were the royal ayllus and consisted of the direct descendants of Inka kings while citizens of lower social status made up the nonroyal ayllus of Cusco.

DISCUSSION: RECONSTRUCTION OF CUSCO AS A
LOCAL AND IMPERIAL POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The archaeological and ethnographic reconstructions of Cusco presented above may appear to the reader like two separate mosaic panels with missing tesserae that do not complement each other to form a complete picture. I will begin by summarizing our current understanding of Cusco.

The Inka were a local people in the valley formed by the Huatanay/Saphy and Tullumayo Rivers and had settlements in the area of what was to become Cusco. After the fall of the Wari Empire and during the ensuing political and economic instability of the Late Intermediate Period, most ethnic groups left their valley-bottom lands and relocated to defensible ridgetop sites. The Inka were the notable exception: they held their settlements in the valley and built up their economic infrastructure by constructing large-scale agricultural terrace systems. The resulting food surpluses led from subsistence farming to division of labor. Such a transition required organization and management by an elite who would have collected the surpluses and redistributed them among families whose men worked in the construction of public buildings or roads or served in the army. The Inka probably practiced an early state-level organization of this type between 1200 and 1300. The names of the individuals in charge cannot be archaeologically documented, nor do we have radiocarbon or any other precise dates for the redesign of Cusco into a capital. The most solid archaeological evidence for Late Intermediate/Killke–Period Cusco is based upon the presence and radiocarbon dating of Killke ceramics and suggests that the Killke-Period occupation of Cusco was "quite extensive."[56] It must have corresponded with the ethnographic Acamama (see above).

It is reasonable to suggest that a line of authoritative rulers—Pachakuti who reigned from 1438 to 1471, according to Miguel de Cabello Valboa (see above) and others—transformed the existing Inka settlements into the well-planned imperial capital of Cusco between 1300 and 1500. The design of Cusco was most likely not the brainchild of one ingenious individual, like Pachakuti, but it unfolded as a process initiated by one ruler. Subsequent rulers made changes and additions yet they seem to have adhered to a fundamental plan that was defined by certain architectural elements, spatial divisions, and the treatment of stone.[57] This "grand plan" materialized the capital city of Cusco and was experienced by the people who lived and served there. It was copied at various provincial centers and perceived as a link with Cusco and the ruling state by the local population. And it was ultimately imagined by the Inka rulers as a state mechanism that would help integrate the growing empire. The Inka "grand plan" not only consisted of "brick and mortar" but relied on the calculated

appropriation of pre-Inka and general Andean features and beliefs that were all refabricated into a targeted Inka ideology of the land. The resulting multidirectional relations of the Inka political landscape are elaborated below.

As was described in the archaeological and ethnographic reconstructions, the diagnostic features of Inka Cusco may be summarized as follows:

1. The great central plaza was divided into the two sections, Awkaypata and Kusipata. Awkaypata was framed by the palaces of Inka rulers and some of these palaces opened to the plaza through kallanka buildings, which were long, roofed, hall structures with many door openings. Standing at the division between the two plaza sections, the usnu stone or platform with numerous functions related to the pageantry of state ritual.

2. Four main roads (*qhapaq nan*) departed from the central plaza to the four quadrants of the Inka empire: northwest (Chinchaysuyu), northeast (Antisuyu), southeast (Kollasuyu), and southwest (Kuntisuyu). These divisions originated in the center of Cusco. The pre-Inka settlement of Akamama already had four districts but the Inka redefined the quadripartite division as the structure of their empire (*Tawantinsuyu* or "Land of the Four Quarters") with the intention to extend it indefinitely.

3. The Hanan-Hurin division into moieties and halves was also most likely a pre-Inka and most definitely a pan-Andean structure. The Inka crosslinked this division with their dynastic history as the panaqas of the early rulers were situated in the Hurin and those of the later rulers in the Hanan section.

4. The zeq'e system was a large-scale ray center with its pivot situated in the Qorikancha. The forty-one rayed lines were marked by shrines (*wak'a* in Quechua), which could be natural features, such as springs, caves, and stones, or manmade buildings. Nineteen of the total of 328 wak'as were carved rocks that constituted a potent feature of the Inka ideological landscape, as I have argued elsewhere.[58] The zeq'e lines were grouped into Chinchaysuyu (9 lines), Antisuyu (9 lines), Kollasuyu (9 lines), and Kuntisuyu (14 lines). Within each quadrant, the lines were further subdivided into tripartite hierarchies.[59]

5. The maintenance of specific lines and their shrines was the purview of certain Cusco lineages. The concept of ray centers was not an Inka invention but was borrowed from earlier cultures, probably the Nasca.[60] Again the Inka appropriated it for their own imperial use.

These five features were exported and creatively adopted in many regional centers throughout the empire to construct practical copies of Cusco. These

Cusco replicas played an active role in Inka geopolitics, signaling hegemony, inclusion versus exclusion of neighboring settlements, obeisance versus independence of other ethnic groups, and finally channeling social imagination of the proper political order of the world.[61] In the following, I briefly discuss five selected cases: two royal estates near Cusco, two administrative centers in outlying regions, as well as one governance center in a peripheral area of the empire.

The regions surrounding Cusco were dotted by small settlements related to the Inka state in various ways. One type of settlement consisted of royal estates or country palaces of individual rulers, which included residential and ceremonial buildings, small-scale public spaces, gardens, and agricultural terraces. These were private properties of the rulers and their panaqas and did not belong to the state. The ruler and his private court moved there at certain times and a permanent resident population maintained the estate in his absence. The Urubamba Valley with a warm climate and fertile agricultural lands was the first choice for many rulers to construct their country estates. Some of Pachakuti's private properties line this valley, among them Machu Picchu. Pachakuti's estate of Machu Picchu shares some of the features diagnostic of Inka Cusco. The road from Cusco descends the ridge south of the site and enters the agricultural sector below Machu Picchu mountain. Nestled within the terrace system is a kallanka overlooking a plaza with a carved rock on a lower terrace (figure 6.4). Here the terrace construction creates the open space of an asymmetrical plaza. The rock is often referred to as the Ceremonial Rock.[62] Unlike Awkaypata and Kusipata, which mark the very center of Cusco, this plaza is situated outside the wall, which features the official entrance gateway to Machu Picchu. The material evidence of large numbers of potsherds from drinking vessels found in the plaza[63] suggests that drinking chicha was a common activity. The consumption of chicha was and is an important component of Andean feasting and ritual and it seems very reasonable to argue that Pachakuti organized such festivities for agricultural workers who did not live inside the perimeter wall of his estate and other local people from the surrounding area.[64] The Ceremonial Rock was beautifully sculpted into platforms and steps and could have functioned as a seat and altar during such rituals. Wright and Valencia Zegarra note that some round rocks strewn around this boulder sculpture come from the Urubamba River to make the sacred river that gushes deep below and the watery underworld present.[65] All these observations suggest that the Ceremonial Rock played the role of an usnu.

There is no documentation regarding spatial divisions within Machu Picchu. Many writers have assumed that the western sector, including the temples and

Figure 6.4. *Above: Machu Picchu, kallanka. (Photograph by Brian Garrett) Below: Machu Picchu, view from the kallanka to the plaza with the Ceremonial Rock. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

Figure 6.5. *Machu Picchu, distant view showing potential Hanan and Hurin division. (Photograph courtesy of Bernhard Bell)*

the potential Royal Residence, was equal to Hanan and that the eastern sector comprising the kanchas and the Condor Compound corresponded to Hurin (figure 6.5). Such reasoning is based solely upon differences in elevation. Along similar lines, I argue that Machu Picchu probably had a local zeq'e system. This is the only reasonable explanation for the many small outliers that dot the surrounding hillsides, valleys, and ridges. Many of the Machu Picchu zeq'e lines would have been based primarily upon visibility and secondarily upon physical trails, as Johan Reinhard has amply documented in his discussion of Machu Picchu and its surrounding mountains and outliers.[66] Both hypotheses are visible but lack specific written confirmation in any historical sources.

The second royal estate to be considered is Chinchero, the well-documented property of Thupa Inka Yupanki. Chinchero was organized around a Great Plaza and Structure 11 and several carved rocks form its southeastern corner.[67] Structure 11 was built over a natural outcrop, resulting in a pyramidal volume that consists of four platform levels. The carved outcrop Pumaccacca constitutes the focal point of Structure 11 and sits approximately at its center.

Figure 6.6. *Chinchero, Great Plaza with Structure 11 and Pumaccacca outcrop. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

The carvings are vertical and horizontal cuts forming planes and two sculpted pumas with crossed legs (figure 6.6). Pumaccacca has to be understood in relation to four other carved rocks situated on the level of the plaza, on the third platform, and on top of the outcrop on and around which Structure 11 was built.

The south side of the Plaza is lined by Structures 1, 2, and 3. In particular, Structures 1 and 3 form long rectangles that open to the Plaza with six (Structure 1) and seven (Structure 3) double-jamb windows or entryways (figure 6.7). They exhibit the general characteristics of kallankas and I think at least Structures 1 and 3 fall into this category. The hillside below the Great Plaza exhibits a sophisticated terrace system at the bottom of which passes the Inka road from Cusco to the Urubamba valley. Several carved outcrops are interspersed in the terraces. Thus the major diagnostics Chinchero shares with Cusco are the Great Plaza faced by kallanka buildings and a potential usnu, which in the Chinchero case is the sculpted rock Pumaccacca enveloped by Structure 11.

Strong candidates for copies of Cusco among administrative centers in outlying regions are Huanuco Pampa and Vilcashuaman. Huanuco Pampa is

Figure 6.7. *Chinchero, Great Plaza with kallanka buildings. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

situated in the northern highlands on the *qhapaq nan* (north-south imperial road) and was investigated by Craig Morris (figure 6.1).[68] It has a large plaza with a dominant usnu platform near its center (figure 6.8).[69] Elite architecture understood as the palace complex of the Inka ruler and/or local governor borders the east side of the plaza and is known as Sector IIB. The entrance to this elite sector passes between two kallankas.[70] Sector IIB is composed of a series of patio enclosures used for feasting, with increasingly restricted access as one moves from the plaza to the inner patios. The gateways leading to the individual enclosures are aligned with the usnu platform in the plaza. The design of Huanuco Pampa clearly copies the Cusco plaza.

The layout of Huanuco Pampa further uses many of the spatial divisions developed in Cusco.[71] The qhapaq nan cuts through the city in a southeast-northwest direction, establishing two spatial halves that Morris and Hyslop associate with Hanan and Hurin. Each half is subdivided into two sectors defined by tripartite groupings of buildings created by straight walls and streets. According to this reasoning, Huanuco Pampa was organized into four parts, which Morris and Hyslop correlate with the Cusco suyu.[72] Tripartite
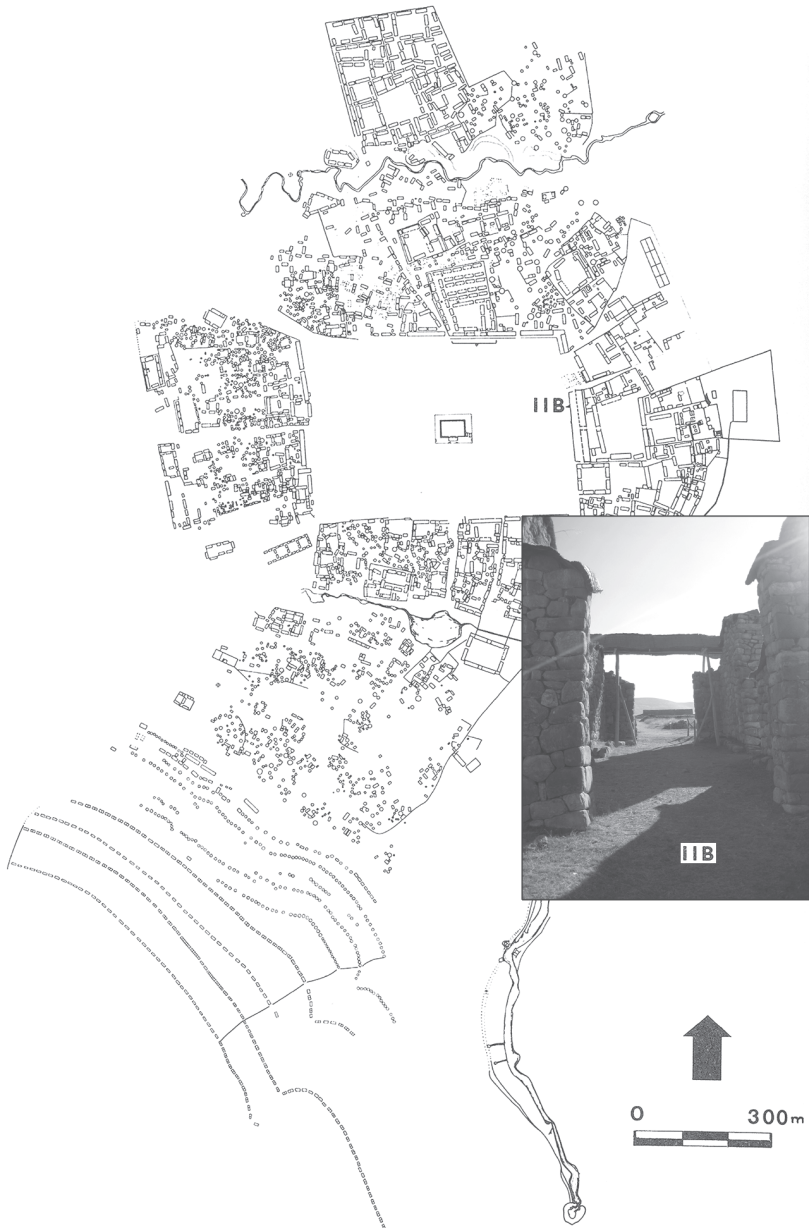
FIGURE 6.8. *Huanuco Pampa, plan with photograph of the alignment between the usnu and Sector IIB. (Adapted from Hyslop,* Inka Settlement Planning, *photograph by Brian Garrett)*

hierarchies of the zeq'e system are possibly reflected in the tripartite groupings of buildings in each quadrant.

Further south and also located along the qhapaq nan was the administrative center of Vilcaswaman, which Cieza de León[73] describes as the geographical middle or center of the Inka empire because the distance from Quito to Vilcaswaman was said to equal the distance from Vilcaswaman to Chile. According to Cieza de León,[74] Pachakuti began construction at Vilcaswaman and Thupa Inka enlarged it and commissioned additional buildings.

The contemporary sloping trapezoidal plaza corresponds with the Inka plaza, which was crossed by the qhapaq nan. The elevated south side of the plaza was crowned by a Temple of the Sun, which is now the Church San Juan Bautista. One block to the west of the plaza rises an usnu that originally consisted of five stepped platforms. This usnu was set into a walled compound and was probably accessed through three double-jamb doorways.[75] The surviving central door opens directly to the single stairway, which leads to the top platform of the usnu where a cube-like stone block with two precisely cut seats still stands (figure 6.9). The remains of a kallanka-type structure are found behind the usnu, which forms part of a palace compound. Although the Cusco diagnostics of a plaza crossed by a major road and nearby usnu and kallanka structures are clearly present at Vilcaswaman, their spatial layout constitutes a variation of the Cusco model.

Vilcabamba the Old serves as the case study of a peripheral governance center. It is also chronologically the latest example since it was Manqo Inka's (1516–1544) last refuge, where he built a new capital that vied to take the place of Cusco.[76] Vilcabamba the Old was first documented by Vincent Lee[77] and is under ongoing investigation by the Ministerio de Cultura (at least since 2005 through 2015). Nicole Delia Legnani has reinforced that Vilcabamba was envisioned as a new Cusco and new Inka center of Qhapaq status in her reading of the Titu Cusi manuscript: for example, because Manqo Inka transferred the Sun idol Punchaw from Cusco to Vilcabamba.[78] Punchaw had been commissioned by Pachakuti and embodied the belief that the Inka were descendants of Inti, the Sun, and it was further coupled with the Inka's sacred right of territorial expansion. Given the fact that the entire site was covered by dense jungle, the surveying and mapping work Lee undertook is absolutely remarkable. At the same time, as excavations by the Ministerio de Cultura and Bauer (2015) have continued, some of Lee's plans have to be altered. According to Lee, Vilcabamba the Old was divided into a physically upper and lower sector of buildings. Roughly in between these sectors the main road entered from the southeast: it passes by fountains that have run dry, crosses a stream, and

Figure 6.9. *Vilcaswaman, usnu. (Photograph by Brian Garrett)*

after being squeezed in tightly between Building Groups 14 and 15, it opens into the main plaza (figure 6.10). This plaza is bordered by Groups 16 and 17 in the southwest and northeast and by a long kallanka hall in the northwest. Lee interprets Groups 14 and 16 as hanan (upper) and 15 and 17 as hurin (lower) sectors in the context of the plaza.[79] On the northeast side of the kallanka and connected to it by a wall sits a large unmodified boulder. It measures nearly 8 m by 12 m across and 5 m high, and Lee thinks it may be oriented "toward the ushnu-like platform of Group 16."[80] I find this association too speculative,
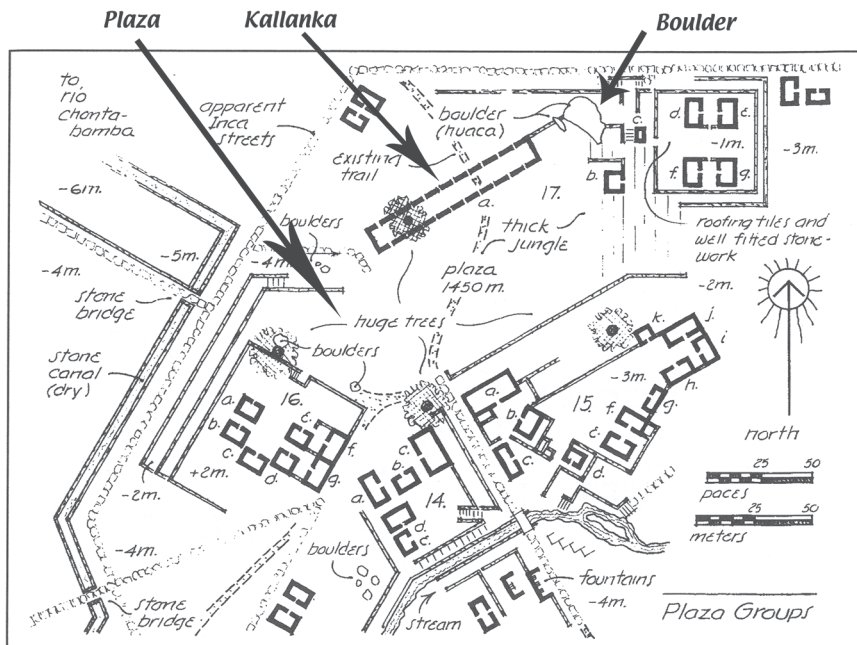
Figure 6.10. *Vilcabamba the Old (Espiritu Pampa), plan drawing. (Adapted from Vincent Lee 2000)*

since the platform of Group 16 is really a terrace accessed by a short stairway, whose function is that of a platform foundation for a kancha formation of houses. The prominence of the boulder and its connection with high-status architecture are unquestionable. It has to be repeated that Vilcabamba is situated in deep lowland jungle, a natural environment unfamiliar to the Inka. High mountains are absent and their symbolic connotations most likely poorly understood by local people. Therefore, it is significant that Manqo Inka placed or left the boulder[81] in such a prominent spot.

I argue that this boulder took the role of the usnu in the Vilcabamba version of the plaza-kallanka-usnu pattern. Although the boulder was unfit to be used as a performance stage, it shared the ideological qualities of stone material with its usnu prototype.[82] If the main road entering from the southeast truly divided the core area into Hanan and Hurin sectors, a bipartite division similar to those documented for Cusco would be present.[83] Even though investigations are ongoing, the evidence discussed confirms that Manqo Inka

attempted to construct his version of Cusco. It serves to underscore the innate authority of the Cusco model, lasting into the decades before the final collapse of the empire.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated that Cusco was not a closed and clearly delimited capital, such as, for example, the Middle Horizon capitals of Tiwanaku and Huari as well as the Chimu capital of Chan Chan appear to have been. On the contrary, diagnostic architectural and sculptural features of Cusco were exported along roads and zeq'e lines and reproduced in multiple locations. This kind of emulation is strikingly different from the emulation of Classic Maya architectural templates and results in distinct geopolitical relations: while the latter appear to have been copied by smaller centers for reasons of prestige to align themselves with the authoritative model, Inka architectural templates were imposed by the state.[84]

The political landscape of Cusco might be viewed as the Inka analog to the Aymara space-time concept *taypi*, which signifies a primordial center and its central place, *taypi qala*, meaning "central stone," which was evoked by the Cusco usnu. Therese Bouysse-Cassagne and Olivia Harris brilliantly explain the complex and overlapping concepts of time and space in the Aymara world-view.[85] The first era was called *taypi* and it marked the time of creation when Tunupa or Wiraqocha called forth the Sun and the Moon from a rock outcrop on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca and shaped the first humans from clay at Tiwanaku. Each group received its specific dress, language, songs, and food, and with these provisions they were sent underground to travel in various directions and to reemerge at their designated local origin places, such as caves, hilltops, and springs. Bouysse-Cassagne and Harris emphasize that this first era is characterized by a first state of concentration in the taypi followed by a state of spatial diffusion to various origin places.[86]

I argue that the Inka coopted this interwoven time-space concept designated by the word *pacha* in Aymara as well as in Quechua. Sometime during the process of state formation, the Inka also constructed a history for themselves by appropriating the pan-Andean creation narratives surrounding Lake Titicaca and Tiwanaku and by inserting their dynastic ancestors Manqo Qhapaq and Mama Oqllu as the first people called forth by the deities. Similarly they reconceptualized the sacred rock outcrop on the Island of the Sun from which the Sun, Moon, Manqo Qhapaq, and Mama Oqllu emerged in the Cusco usnu. The usnu became the Inka taypi qala and was surrounded

by the performance space of the Awkaypata and Kusipata plazas. Thus Cusco was fabricated as a new taypi, the primordial power center of the creation of a state. As the physical layout of the Inka capital took form, a process of spatial diffusion was slowly initiated by the construction of the road system and administrative centers with Cusco diagnostic features. I argue that the redesign of Cusco into the imperial capital created a new Inka taypi and chronologically corresponded with the time of state formation and the period of concentration of power in a centralized capital. After Cusco had fully assumed its administrative and ritual roles, the process of spatial diffusion of imperial power became exemplified by military conquests, road construction, extension of zeq'e lines, and the building of outlying governance centers as local variants of Cusco. It becomes clear that the Inka produced a political landscape of complex relations: they replicated the concept of taypi to validate their economic, political, and ritual relations with conquered tribes.

The replication of Cusco's spatial divisions may also be approached from a more practical perspective. In 1976, Pierre Duviols thoroughly analyzed the *qhapaq ucha*[87] rituals and raised the important question of how the qhapaq ucha parties returning from Cusco to their territories could possibly walk in straight lines following extended suyu divisions and serve all the wak'as in their provinces. He suggests that all Inka settlements likely shared the suyu division and the zeq'e system with Cusco.[88] If so, Inka imperial landscape would indeed have been constructed as a quilt of micro- and macro-units of the suyu quadrants and zeq'e radial centers. Duviols speculates that the planning of such a grid-like political landscape may have been one of the reorganizations undertaken by Pachakuti.[89]

Further, there is multifaceted evidence that the Cusco zeq'e system was not the only one. The concept of ray centers apparently first developed among the Nasca people on the south coast.[90] Nasca culture thrived during the Early Intermediate Period (ca.100–700 CE) and their heartland was situated on the Pacific south coast between the drainage of the Ingenio and Nasca Rivers and reaching into adjacent river valleys. The Nasca are best known for their famous geoglyphs, created by scraping dark gravel from the lighter-colored surface of the pampa. While many geoglyphs form figures of animals, plants, and humans, the great majority are straight lines, many of which depart from hilltops functioning as ray centers. Unlike in the Cusco zeq'e system, there was not one single pivotal point, such as the Qorikancha, from which all lines spread out. In fact, Aveni identified around sixty separate line centers.[91] Further, Nasca lines were not dotted by shrines; only their endpoints were frequently marked by stone cairns. Nevertheless the spatial concept of a radial

design predates the Inka by a thousand years, yet the Nasca lines lack direct ethnographic context.

There is substantial ethnohistoric evidence that numerous settlements had zeq'e systems when the Spaniards arrived in Peru in the sixteenth century. The most notable evidence comes from Cristóbal de Albornoz, who described and documented many wak'as of the Inka Empire and their spatial relations, and from Polo de Ondegardo, who investigated the Cusco zeq'e system as well as others in different parts of the highlands.[92]

Further, most zeq'e lines probably did not terminate at the last wak'as on Cobo's list, the locations of which roughly correspond with the horizon line of Cusco. Rather they extended outward, overlapped with or turned into roads, and were envisioned to continue on to the confines of the empire. Two such extended zeq'e lines have been reconstructed in the regions to the southeast and west of Cusco. Zuidema[93] has examined the southeastern line that led from Cusco to the Vilcanota pass. Following Molina, he reasons that the priests traveled a straight path from Cusco to Vilcanota, visiting nine wak'as. After serving the Vilcanota wak'a, they returned to Cusco following the Vilcanota River and presenting offerings to additional wak'as. Today the Vilcanota pass is called La Raya and separates the departments of Cusco and Puno. In Inka times, it marked the boundary between the Inka of Cusco and the many groups subsumed under the name "Kolla" of the Lake Titicaca Basin. The western line was investigated by Bauer and Barrionuevo Orosco in the Anta region.[94] Their research concentrated on identifying the wak'as listed by Albornoz on the ground and they came up with eighteen possible matches for his twenty-two recorded shrines. Plotting the eighteen locations on a map, they found that two sets of three shrines are aligned on two parallel east-west lines and at the same time follow the general course of the qhapaq nan of Chinchaysuyu. These two sets of three shrines may have been sections of two zeq'e lines originating in Anta.

In sum, there is multidimensional evidence that the diagnostic architectural and sculptural features of Cusco as well as the urban design were not restricted to the capital but were exported to all parts of the empire to compose a political landscape of economic, ritual, and ideological relations. This export was a process that physically transpired through the far-flung Inka road system. The roads, however, were not simply utilitarian infrastructure but they overlapped with, turned into, or played the double role of pilgrimage routes and extended zeq'e lines marked by stone wak'as. I borrow the metaphor used by Michael Sallnow that the roads and zeq'e lines were the pulsating arteries of the Inka state through which human sacrificial blood, transported in its living victims

or in sacred vessels (see qhapaq ucha rites), economic resources such as agricultural crops and tribute (cloth, ceramics), as well as military might were recirculated between the capital, as the heart, and its copies in the provincial centers as its vital organs.[95] In this manner, the relations between the capital center and its peripheries were orchestrated so that rural people would have experienced the presence of the state by witnessing road traffic, by their visits to local centers, and by their participation in organized events. On the level of these local centers, regional authorities and planners (*kurakas* and governors) commissioned local constructions that they perceived as the diagnostic features of Cusco and engaged with the hinterland populations along terms and conditions set by the state. Finally this imperial landscape of relations between Cusco and the periphery was masterminded by the Inka state as personified by Pachakuti and his successors, who imagined it as a strategic mechanism that would assist in integrating their growing empire and eventually the entire world.[96]

NOTES

1. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 31.

2. Ibid., 70–72.

3. Ibid., 73–74.

4. During the Middle Horizon Period (ca. 650–1000 CE), most of the Andean cultural region was under the control of two great states: the Wari Empire, seated in the city of Huari near the present town of Ayacucho, and the Tiwanaku state, with its capital Tiwanaku, near the southern shores of Lake Titicaca. The precise extent of their territories and nature of their relationship continue to be revealed and interpreted through archaeological investigations. Both states were in decline around 1000 CE and their centralized power gave way to multiple local ethnic strongholds and power centers that dotted the Andes during the Late Intermediate Period (ca. 1000–1400 CE).

5. For an overview of these developments, see Brian S. Bauer and Lucas C. Kellett "Cultural Transformations of the Chanka Heartland (Andahuaylas, Peru) during the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1000–1400)," *Latin American Antiquity* (2010): 91–94; Brian S. Bauer, Lucas C. Kellett, and Miriam Araoz Silva, *The Chanka. Archaeological Research in Andahuaylas (Apurimac), Peru*, Monograph 68 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2010), 73–76.

6. Terence D'Altroy and Christine Hastorf, eds., *Empire and Domestic Economy* (New York: Plenum, 2001).

7. See, for example, Elizabeth N. Arkush, "Collapse, Conflict, Conquest: The Transformation of Warfare in the Late Prehispanic Andean Highlands," in *The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest*, ed. Elizabeth N. Arkush and Mark W. Allen (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 286–335; Elizabeth Arkush, "War, Chronology and Causality in the Titicaca Basin," *Latin American Antiquity* 19/4 (2008): 339–373.

8. Arkush, "Collapse, Conflict, Conquest"; Arkush, "War, Chronology and Causality in the Titicaca Basin."

9. The term *Killke* is derived from the dominant ceramic style linked to multiple ethnic groups in the Cusco Basin during the Late Intermediate Period.

10. Brian S. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 86–87.

11. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco,* 71–90; Brian Bauer and Alan Covey, "Processes of State Formation in the Inca Heartland (Cuzco, Peru)," *American Anthropologist* 104/3 (2002): 846–864.

12. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*, 76, Map 8.3.

13. Ibid., 77.

14. R. Alan Covey, *How the Incas Built Their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 84–89; Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*, 71–90.

15. Covey, *How the Incas Built Their Heartland*, 10.

16. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco,* 111–137.

17. Victor Angles Vargas, *Historia del Cusco Incaico* (Cusco: published by the author, 1988), vol. 1: 79–88.

18. Ibid., 81–82.

19. See also Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, "Huakaypata; la plaza mayor del viejo Cuzco" *Revista universitaria* (Cuzco: Editorial de Cultura Andina, 1946): 85–116.

20. See, for instance, Terence D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 115, 329; Brian S. Bauer and David S. P. Dearborn, *Astronomy and Empire in the Ancient Andes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 36.

21. Tom Zuidema, "El Ushnu," *Revista de la Universidad Complutense* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1980): 317–262.

22. John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 69–101; R. Tom Zuidema, *El Ushnu*; Frank M. Meddens, Colin McEwan, and Cirilio V. Pomacanchari, "Inca 'Stone Ancestors' in Context at a High-Altitude Usnu Platform" *Latin American Antiquity* 21/2 (2010): 173–194.

23. See also Jessica Joyce Christie, "Did the Inka Copy Cusco? An Answer Derived from an Architectural-Sculptural Model," *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 12.1 (2007): 164–199; Jessica Joyce Christie, "Possible Late

Forms of the Inka Usnu in the Vilcabamba Region" (paper presented in the symposium, *Inka Architecture of Power*, at the 72nd annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Austin, TX, 2007); Frank M. Meddens, Nick Branch, Millena Frouin, and Colin McEwan, "Locating Usnus: The Inca Rationale for the Placement of Sacred Platforms" (paper presented at the 75th annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Saint Louis, MO, 2010); Colin McEwan, Frank Meddens, Gabriel Ramon, Francisco Ferreira, and Cirilio Vivanco Pomacanchari, "Re-cognizing and Marking the Andean Landscape: Ushnus, Apachetas, Sayhuas, and Wankas" (paper presented at the 75th annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Saint Louis, MO, 2010).

24. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*, 117.

25. Ibid., 122.

26. Ibid., 122–124.

27. Ibid., 124–125.

28. Ibid., 128–129.

29. Ibid., 130–134.

30. Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 196.

31. Inca Garcilaso De La Vega, *Comentarios Reales De Los Incas*, ed. Carmelo Saenz De Santa Maria (Madrid: Biblioteca De Autores Espanoles, 1963), 198, 260–262.

32. Ibid., 198.

33. Pedro De Cieza De Leon, *The Incas*, ed. Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 147.

34. See, for example, Cieza de Leon, *The Incas*, 153–156 [1553:ii:LI].

35. Terence D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 49–52; Brian S. Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State* (Austin: University of Texas, 1992), 109–123. Pacariqtambo is situated a two-to-three-hour dirt road drive south of Cusco.

36. Gary Urton, *Inca Myths* (Austin: University of Texas, 1999), 34–37.

37. Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 7.

38. Ibid., 7–8.

39. D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 63.

40. D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 63–65. Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 22–36. Juan De Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, ed. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 19–43.

41. It must be pointed out that recent archaeological work in the Andahuaylas region, the heartland of the Chanka, conducted by Bauer and colleagues has found no evidence that the Chanka had a centralized political organization (Bauer, Kellett, and Araoz Silva, *The Chanka*). Therefore, they would not have posed a significant obstacle

to Inka territorial expansion and the Spanish accounts of the Chanka wars must be exaggerated.

42. Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 75–77.

43. D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 45.

44. Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 69–73.

45. Ibid., 69.

46. Ibid., 71.

47. Ibid., 73.

48. Ibid., ix–xi.

49. Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, 28.

50. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 23.

51. Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 51.

52. Roland Hamilton, "Cobo, Bernabe (1580–1657)," in *Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Studies, 1530–1900*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 152–155.

53. Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 51.

54. Ibid., 66.

55. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 39.

56. Ibid., 77–78.

57. Jessica J. Christie, *Memory Landscapes of the Inka Carved Outcrops* (Lexington Press/Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

58. Ibid.

59. See R. Tom Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca,* translated by E. M. Hooykaas (Leiden: E. J. Brill, International Archives of Ethnography, supplement to vol. 50, 1964).

60. See Anthony Aveni, *Between the Lines. The Mystery of the Giant Ground Drawings of Ancient Nasca, Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

61. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 115.

62. Ruth Wright, and Alfredo Valencia Zegarra, *The Machu Picchu Guide Book* (Boulder: Johnson, 2001), 6–12.

63. Ibid., 12.

64. Lucy C. Salazar, "2004 Machu Picchu: Mysterious Royal Estate in the Cloud Forest," *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, ed. Richard Burger and Lucy C. Salazar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 21–47, 47.

65. Wright, *Machu Picchu Guide Book*, 8–10.

66. Johan Reinhard, *Machu Picchu: The Sacred Center* (Lima: Nuevas Imágenes, 1991); Johan Reinhard, *Machu Picchu: Exploring an Ancient Sacred Center* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2007).

67. For a detailed analysis of the architecture, see Alcina Franch, *Arqueologia de Chinchero, 1: La Arquitectura* (Madrid: Mision Cientifica Espanola en Hispanoamerica II, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1976), 100–114.

68. Craig Morris and Donald E. Thomson, *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

69. Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning,* 27, 203–206, 215–218. Craig Morris, "The Architecture of Tahuantinsuyo," *The Incas: Art and Symbols* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2004), 1–59, 42–56.

70. Gasparini, *Inca Architecture*, 201–206.

71. Morris in Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, 215–218.

72. Ibid., 215–218.

73. Cieza De León, *The Incas*, 126.

74. Ibid., 126–127.

75. Gasparini, *Inca Architecture*, 271–277.

76. Vincent R. Lee, *Forgotten Vilcabamba: Final Stronghold of the Incas* (Sixpac Manco Publications, 2000), 413; Jessica Joyce Christie, "Houses of Political Power Among the Ancient Maya and Inka," in *Palaces and Power in the Americas from Peru to the Northwest Coast*, ed. Jessica Joyce Christie and Patricia Joan Sarro (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 353–96.

77. Lee, *Forgotten Vilcabamba*. The most recent archaeological and archival work providing ground-breaking context has been published by Brian Bauer, Javier Fonseca Santa Cruz, and Miriam Araoz Silva, *Vilcabamba and the Archaeology of Inca Resistance* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2015); and Brian Bauer, Madeleine Halac-Higashimori, and Gabriel E. Cantarutti, *Voices from Vilcabamba: Accounts Chronicling the Fall of the Inca Empire* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2016).

78. Diego de Castro Titu Cusi Yupangui, *Titu Cusi: A 16th-Century Account of the Conquest*, ed. Nicole Delia Legnani, (Cambridge, MA, 2005), 36.

79. Lee, *Forgotten Vilcabamba*, 413.

80. Ibid., 413.

81. I assume the boulder remains in its original position since I cannot detect any physical evidence that it was moved.

82. Christie, "Did The Inka Copy Cusco?" 164–199.

83. Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, 212–218.

84. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 136–137.

85. Therese Bouysse-Cassagne and Olivia Harris, "Pacha: En Torno Al Pensamiento Aymara," *Tres Reflexiones Sobre el Pensamiento Andino* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1987), 11–59.

86. Ibid., 20.

87. Qhapaq ucha were vitally important state-directed ritual events held at special occasions in the life of the Inka emperor as well as according to the calendar cycle.

When a qhapaq ucha event was called, all local governors and officials were obligated to collect sacrificial offerings as tribute, which included corn, coca, llamas, gold, silver, and specified numbers of the most handsome children. Qhapaq ucha parties were dispatched from all regions of the empire, walking the amassed offerings to the capital. In Cusco, festive ceremonies were held on a grand scale to sanctify all sacrificial offerings as well as political interchanges between the Inka state and outlying centers. After all festivities had ended, the qhapaq ucha parties returned to their communities in a solemn demeanor and taking only straight roads. Upon arrival home, they sacrificed the state-sanctified offerings to all their local wak'as. The famous life-burials of children on high-altitude mountain peaks were qhapaq ucha sacrifices to powerful *apus* (mountain deities). In this manner, qhapaq ucha rites negotiated political and economic relations between the state center in Cusco and provincial settlements and helped cement loyalties.

88. Pierre Duviols, "La Capacocha," *Allpanchis phuturinqa* 9 (1976): 11–58, 24–27.

89. Ibid., 27.

90. Aveni, *Between the Lines*, 143–150.

91. Ibid., 148, fig. 38.

92. Cristóbal De Albornoz, "Un Inedit de Cristóbal De Albornoz: La Instrucción Para Descubrir Todas las Guacas del Peru y Sus Camayos y Haciendas," ed. Pierre Duviols, *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 56/1 (1967): 7–39; Juan Polo de Ondegardo, "Relación de los fundamentos acerca del notable dano que resulta de no guardar a los indios sus fueros," ed. Horacio H. Urteaga, in *Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas*, vol. 3, Colección de Libros y Documentos Referentes a la Historia del Peru, ser.1, (Lima: Sanmarti, 1916 [1571]), 45–189; Brian S. Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 15–19.

93. R. Tom Zuidema, "Bureaucracy and Systematic Knowledge in Andean Civilization," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George Allen Collier, Renato Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic, 1982), 419–58.

94. Brian S. Bauer and Barrionuevo Orosco, "Reconstructing Andean Shrine Systems: A Test Case from the Anta Region of Cuzco," in *Andean Past* 5, eds. Monica Barnes, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Brian S. Bauer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Latin American Studies Program, 1998), 73–87.

95. Michael J. Sallnow, "Pilgrimage and Cultural Fracture in the Andes," in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Michael Sallnow (London: Routledge, 1991), 137–53, 138.

96. See Smith, *Political Landscape*, 73–74.

DEFINING THE LANDSCAPE

In the early 1200s the Mexica/Aztec entered into the high mountainous Valley of Mexico after a purported one-hundred-year migration. According to ethnohistorical sources and corroborating archaeological evidence, the Basin of Mexico was crowded with a network of peoples whose political leaders had organized into diversely sized polities that settled around Lake Texcoco (figure 7.1).[1] The combination of dense settlements and the physical attributes of the highlands of Central Mexico created a highly competitive, internecine environment in which its inhabitants continually jockeyed for power. After several attempts at settling around the lakeshore, the Mexica made a daring move: they established their capital Mexico-Tenochtitlan (Tenochtitlan hereafter) within a marshy island located in the midst of Lake Texcoco.

Mexica leaders actively engaged in a variety of sociopolitical exchanges that included warfare, coercion, and diplomacy from roughly AD 1375 to 1519 so as to thrive within this ambitiously aggressive social environment. The success of this diverse approach facilitated Mexica dominance over most political contenders within the Basin and its surrounding areas. At the height of their power, in the early 1500s, the Mexica inhabited one of the most densely populated areas in the world and their efficacious tactics gained them lordship over an impressively vast political realm.

Making Landfall

Anchoring Authority in the Public and Private Political Sphere of the Basin of Mexico

Eulogio Guzmán

Figure 7.1. *Basin of Mexico, showing the largest post–Classic settlements around Lake Texcoco and the Mexica political capital, Mexico-Tenochtitlan. (Drawing by Jennifer Munson)*

In *The Political Landscape*, Adam T. Smith calls attention to the marginal role landscape has played in examinations of politics for early complex polities.[2] Counter to this trend, Smith argues, the physical and socially constructed landscape has always played an eminent role in shaping the ways in which complex polities maintained power and exerted dominion. Within the field of Aztec studies, the spatial depths of political acts are seldom fully explored. With a few notable exceptions, studies examining Mexica space and architecture mostly focus on the popular discussion of sacred space to accommodate overarching discussions of spatial interests that mostly address religious precepts.[3]

Henri Lefebvre asserts that "space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic."[4] Furthermore, he contends that the privileging of the image in studies of culture has led to a poor understanding of space.[5] In this essay, I argue that the Mexica (like other cultures written about in this volume) were acutely aware of the substantial role that spatial environments play in shaping human interaction and influencing the outcome of political activity. For the Mexica, social memory and politics were intimately fused to images set in space. In fact, this essay along with the others in this book clearly advance Smith's claim that "the creation and preservation of political authority is a profoundly spatial problem."[6] It is for this reason that I argue here that the Mexica blurred boundaries between image and space by integrating both elements seamlessly to produce environments that convinced visitors of their supreme authority; I identify the ways the Mexica addressed the universal human necessity to give political agendas spatial form.

In order to understand the depth of Mexica transactions with their political equals and subjects, an analysis of the spatial environments created by the Mexica is needed. Such a study must take into account archaeological evidence, pictorial representations in codices, and especially the generous ethnohistoric literature available on Nahua culture in general (that is northern people who spoke the Nahuatl language and entered in to the Basin in the thirteenth century), which can comment on the sociopolitical interaction among the Mexica and their political allies and adversaries. This investigation into the political denotation of space is a first contribution to a much needed comprehensive analysis of the spatial dimensions of politics for the Mexica. As it is, this study constitutes an extension of important works by scholars who have addressed the political landscape of the Basin during the late post-Classic (ca. AD 1200–1519).[7]

Because all social activity is a spatial endeavor, my examination of Mexica politics centers on identifying the ways their history continuously referenced

their physical and culturally constructed landscapes.[8] In particular, I examine Mexica political action based on a selective reading of historical events that transpired during their pilgrimage into the Valley of Mexico and that led to the settlement of their capital and the establishment of their expansionistic agendas. My analysis examines this history to show that Mexica carefully assessed the spatial dimensions of their political aspirations. I then explore the ways the Mexica advanced their political agendas by adopting, appropriating, and modifying the social and visual expressions of the physical landscape as well as those of the people inhabiting their immediate and distant environment(s). Accordingly, this essay notes how the Mexica used the planning and spatial layout of Tenochtitlan to publicly and privately assert their sovereignty across time.

This investigation concentrates on Mexica visual tactics mostly around the Basin and at their capital. These strategies, I argue, made repeated economic, artistic, and symbolic references to the physical, cultural, and political realm under their dominion. This essay shows Mexica recognition of this diversity came to them early on during their migration phase, a time when they first inspected, experienced, and traversed the vastly contested cultural ecumene of Central Mexico. From the beginning, I contend, the Mexica assessed the entirety of this landscape as a place where they could cunningly plot their cartographic vision of authority and fulfill their political ambitions of domination by supervising a landscape endowed with diverse subjects.

MIGRATION, THE VIEW FROM THE MOUNTAINTOP, AND SURVEYING POLITICAL RIVALS

Mexica political consciousness was shaped by time and space—that is, by the physical, cultural, and social qualities of the landscape they explored during their purported migration from their northern homeland, *Aztlán* ("place of white"), as well as the events that transpired on the way to their final destination in the Valley of Mexico. This odyssey across diverse regions gave the Mexica an opportunity to survey and assess their geopolitical opponents within their own settings.[9]

The series of events that occurred during the migration pilgrimage are recounted in a number of sources.[10] The varied postconquest narratives recount an array of happenings that occurred both before and after the arrival of Nahua peoples into the areas around Lake Texcoco. One such important event occurred in Coatepec, where the Mexica built an artificial lake and created a small island within it in after their supreme war god, Huitzilopochtli, told

them to do so.[11] Huitzilopochtli directed this event so as to give the Mexica an idea of what their promised land would look like and a short time after the artificial environment was built, Huitzilipochtli instructed the Mexica to move on; a faction of the Mexica who had comfortably settled there also expressed their desire to reside there permanently. The narrative then states that this faction, known as the Huitznahua, was killed at that location.[12] This story and several other episodes before it present a common trope in the migration stories where the challenging of any decision taken by Mexica leadership always ended violently. In some cases the Mexica abandoned the rebellious groups trying to fracture social cohesion in the landscape only to deal with them at a later time.[13] Mexica early history emphasizes the resolution of conflicts by consolidating social relations, separating all dissenters from the main group (sometimes abandoning them in the landscape), or in few other cases sacrificing them to Huitzilopochtli.

That their migration informed and shaped their interest to dominate is evident in what Frederick Hicks points out is a noteworthy feature of Mexica migration histories present in colonial documents: unlike others who settle the Valley, the Mexica always claim they came from somewhere else.[14] This statement suggests the Mexica recognized that their status as outsiders made them special. It seems to have given them the necessary social distance to effectively appraise the crowded competition for resources, as well as note the size and spatial location of all potential political opponents. Their evaluation of this contentious setting made it clear they would have to develop an array of tactics to take control of the diversified lands in the Valley.

Mexica interest in surveying the political landscape is especially evident in their first stop upon entering the Valley of Mexico: the Hill of Chapultepec. The lure of fresh water from these springs, located in the hills southwest of Lake Texcoco, drew all who entered the Basin. Yet the threat of the menacing forces of its Tepanec landlords (one of the earliest Nahua groups to enter the region and the most pugnacious sect in the land) quelled the desires of all previous settlers. However, Chapultepec's strategic placement on a prominent hill that provided a panorama of the Valley proved too big a lure for the Mexica upon their advent. The late-arriving Mexica were certainly aware of the violent consequences even a temporary stop would incur from Chapultepec's belligerent landlords. Why risk the safety of their group by instigating a reaction from the most aggressive people in the Valley right from their start?

The answer seems to be that the commanding view from Chapultepec's high hills enabled the Mexica to reconnoiter the Valley and the densely settled areas surrounding the lake. It likewise provided the Mexica an essential

comprehensive view of the spatial layout and clustering of townships that comprised the political arena of the Valley, making visible the lakeshore's most beneficial areas for settlement. Curiously, although the area was under the Tepanec domain, the Dominican friar Diego Durán mentions in his early chronicle that the Mexica were expulsed by the attacks of many in the Valley, specifically those forces belonging to the southern province of Chalco.[15] This experience alerted the Mexica to the fact that the crowded spatial adjacencies of the differently sized towns in the Valley both affected and intensified all social, cultural, and political interactions/exchanges. In the case of Chapultepec, the lands may have belonged to one polity but in the populated Basin disagreements and skirmishes often involved all settlements, including those with no apparent jurisdiction over disputed areas. This first conflict taught the Mexica a valuable political lesson: their settlement in the Valley challenged the balance of the entire cultural landscape and in order to survive, not to mention dominate successfully, they would have to build relationships and incorporate all groups, not just the major power brokers on the lakeshore.

Chapultepec's vantage point also revealed that all major activity centered on Lake Texcoco. Studies have shown that the lake was the principal commercial and communication artery of all settlements in the Valley and beyond.[16] Although ethnohistoric sources emphasize that the Mexica made decisions to settle different regions based on the counsel of their patron god Huitzilopochtli, Chapultepec's prime scouting location proves the Mexica were also deeply invested in appraising the region for more practical reasons.[17] According to legend, the Mexica made their decision to settle in the marshy areas of the lake after witnessing a number of omens that their patron god Huitzilopochtli had foretold.[18] How much these omens actually played in the final decision to settle there is debatable. From a mythological/religious view, the Mexica god's communiqués substantially contributed to their settling this area, yet an equally important motive was the insight gained from the Chapultepec perspective: anyone settling this central location would be at the heart of all exchanges in the four sub-basins comprised in the Valley of Mexico.

In spite of their being expelled from Chapultepec, the Mexica made the most of this temporary defeat. While their survey from the hill helped them identify the favorable open areas in the landscape, it was their sociopolitical talents and negotiation skills that enabled the savvy Mexica to gain direct access to the Valley as they convinced the peoples to give them land where they could regroup.[19]

The Mexica appealed to the Culhua by offering their services as mercenaries in exchange for land to settle in Tizaapan, a region controlled by the Culhua.

The military success of the Mexica in supporting the Culhua paved the way for intermarriage among their nobles and Culhua elites. This union made the northern-arriving Mexica the latest beneficiaries to inherit the direct royal Toltec lineage that the Culhua possessed. Yet, in spite of the blood relations, harmony between both groups did not last long. After a short stay in Tizaapan, the Mexica orchestrated a skirmish against their Culhua landlords and were chased out of the region and into the marshes in the middle of Lake Texcoco. Although the circumstances were not the most favorable, they found themselves in the area their Chapultepec view had identified as the most tactically advantageous position in the entire Valley. Established polities may have found some comfort keeping tabs on the new invaders in the middle of the lake; however, this placement earned the Mexica the viewpoint they sought. From the center of the lake they could maintain perpetual focus on the sociopolitical landscape they wished to possess. Now, they only needed a high platform that could yield this panoptic view.[20]

CONCEPTUAL SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND THE ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE

Although there are conflicting accounts as to when Tenochtitlan was established, it is generally agreed that by 1325 settlement on the marshland had begun. Most ethnohistorical sources provide limited information about the first one hundred years of occupation, so there is a considerable information gap about this early period of Mexica history.[21] Regretfully, the archaeological record cannot augment the available historical information for this era, largely due to the fact that modern-day Mexico City has entombed the remains of the Mexica capital. In addition, any exploration in this area is compromised by Lake Texcoco's intrusive remaining water table, making it virtually impossible to get to the earliest, deepest remains.[22] In spite of all of the compromised information, not all is lost. A bounty of pictorial documents was created in the ensuing postconquest period that provides a wealth of information with many conflicting and complementary views to those found in the archaeological or historical records. Not surprisingly, scholars move cautiously through this early period.[23]

The final move to the marshes in the lake, some claim, was guided by the Mexica chieftain Tenoch who (accompanied by other nobles) saw a vision of their patron god, Huitzilopochtli, symbolically embodied in an eagle, perched on a bounty of cactus that grew out of a stony outcrop.[24] Ironically, this early act of discovery is celebrated in many colonial manuscripts created after

Tenochtitlan's destruction in a variety of ways. Most representations consistently show a group rather than an individual witnessing this event, underscoring the importance of group discovery and communal testimony in establishing the collective foundation of the Mexica capital.[25] The earliest depiction of this event, imaged on folio 2r of the *Codex Mendoza* circa AD 1540 (figure 7.2), shows Tenoch accompanied by nine other lords seated on mats in an area demarcated by a Formeé design.[26] Scholars interpret this image as a cosmogonic reference to the axis mundi and the religious precepts that dominated Mexica spatial layouts.[27] These scholars also point out that carefully planned spatial alignments were of great interest to all Mesoamerican cultures, and as this elegant drawing makes evident, the Mexica were no exception. In fact, as made clear in the many essays in this book, reference to four points was instrumental in spatial political constructions for many different cultures.[28]

Van Zantwijk comments extensively on the spatial and sociocultural order of the Mexica capital.[29] His dexterous cultural, political, economic, and structural analysis of Mexica space adumbrates the ways in which spatial elements served as parts of a rigidly structured world order and points out that all Mesoamerican societies had specific identifications between location and time, direction, color, deities, and social groups. Among these, van Zantwijk identifies three organizational principles that formed the basis of Amerindian structured conceptions of space: (1) a dual principle whereby gendered deity attributions as well as internal and external aspects of society were affirmed regarding all matters related to the nuclear part of the Empire's core and its relation to outlying provinces; (2) a triple principle that expressed the vertical structure of the universe with lower, middle, and upper sections; and (3) a quadruple principle that referenced the four horizontally planed divisions—the quarterly order of the earth—that served as a metaphor for the totality of the universe.[30] Van Zantwijk's comprehensive analysis of Nahua conceptions of space expounds on the complicated and nuanced manner by which all three principles were woven into a total system used to organize the political realm socially and ideologically. His exhaustive analysis makes it clear that spatial arrangements were rich with religious-political meaning.

Elsewhere, I have argued that this *Mendoza* postconquest image illustrates a common trope in Mexica imagery: the depiction of political sovereignty as an incorporated body politic.[31] Here, I would like to explore the multi-indexicality of the political space alluded to in this folio by briefly relating the presence of the three spatial principles in van Zantwijk's work (mentioned above) to the *Mendoza* image. David Carrasco has argued that the blue lines that demarcate the rectangular boundary at the center of the *Mendoza*

Figure 7.2. *Folio 2r, Codex Mendoza (ca. 1540s), ink and wash on paper. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Arch Selden A.1, fol. 2r)*

frontispiece refer spatially to the actual layout of the Mexica capital bounded by water.[32] The two aqua lines that emerge out of the corners of this central rectangle and meet precisely at the center (where the eagle stands) divide the scene into evenly spaced quadrants that emphasize manmade order. The water, quadrant, and eagle designs rendered in this image depict the compressed spatial universe of the Mexica as tiered into three levels, the underworld (water/canal), the middle world (the quartered tableau marked by the cactus), and the upper world (embodied in the eagle).

The physical distribution of space in the Mexica capital did not actually conform to the conceptual spatial layout present in this image (the city's areas to the southwest and northwest quadrant were physically larger). Instead, this image fixed the ideal view of the ordered world under Mexica rule with its capital at the center, its government heads distributed throughout the island capital, and a sprawling universe filled with subjects as documented in the many pages that follow this image in a variety of ways.[33] Geographically, Mexica subjects are represented by the conquests of the towns of Tenayuca and Culhuacan in the lower register of this folio. In actuality, these two towns were found in opposite spatial directions (the former to the north and the latter to the south of Tenochtitlan), not side by side as rendered here. In this image, importance fell in illustrating the conceptual bi, tri, and quadripartite indigenous ordering principles and not the precise geographic location of these polities. This dualistic spatial reference (specifically territories to the north and south) made an indexical reference to the sociopolitical matters that concerned the nuclear part of the Empire by combining the outlying (conquered) provinces with the center to confirm Mexica order over a vast terrain conceptually ordered into quarters.

As Carrasco points out, the bisected rectangle in the frontispiece symbolically references Mexico-Tenochtitlan and this is why Tenayuca and Culhuacan appear outside the main rectangle.[34] Not surprisingly, the *Mendoza* pages that follow this early page comprehensively document the remaining totality of the Mexica political realm in the years after their establishment; that is to say, these pages record the areas outside of the central tableau that were the entire domain of Mexica control.[35] Conceptually, the scene on the frontispiece made claim to the perfectly ordered universe the Mexica managed. The military, tributary, and behavioral divisions present in the following three sections of this document functioned as optical reminders of how Tenochtitlan's preeminent order oversaw the physical, economic, political, and culturally distinct divided realm they controlled.[36] The frontispiece of the *Codex Mendoza* presents an idealized model of Mexica social achievements (a diversified government) and

its many imaged segments rendered in a condensed cartography of their geo-political space and spatial exploits.

DEVELOPING A SOCIOPOLITICAL NETWORK
BASED ON SPATIAL PRINCIPLES

According to Durán's treatise after the eagle vision, the Mexica dedicated a small wattle-and-daub chapel to their war god, Huitzilopochtli.[37] The erection of this chapel is of notable importance for a variety of reasons, not the least of which may be that it was the first Templo Mayor.[38] The building of a temple as a first act of settlement was standard practice among the Mexica; they had commemorated all previous stops by erecting a temple and supplementary structures that were subsequently abandoned.[39] But this time it was different. This low-platform shrine marked the final stop in their migration, located the heart of their new capital, provided first firm ground, and served as a platform for monitoring the people on the shore.

Eduardo Matos points out that preparation to settle in the fens began at Coatepec, where the Mexica built an artificial lake and created a small island within it.[40] This act, Matos argues, makes it clear the Mexica knew their final settlement would take place on the water. The creation of the artificial lake during this stop marked a research-and-development phase in their migra-tion history. Specifically, their temporary settlement at Coatepec gave them an opportunity to test out and begin planning ways to prepare ground for settlement in a superficial body of water. Their solution involved filling in sections of the shallow lake at a time with debris and plugging compact soils over them to achieve firm ground. Matos has shown that this initial approach was perfected at Tenochtitlan by introducing a lattice-like network of large wooden stakes sunk into the shallow depths of Lake Texcoco to define a firm-ground perimeter.[41] Rubble, silt, and soils from the shores were then set over a demarcated area and laid out in rectangular plots, upon which the Mexica built their settlements.

The settling of this region, the Mexica learned, would necessitate the incor-poration of the physical surroundings. This realization linked expansion with the need to secure and develop favorable political relations. Future growth would always incur material contributions from their immediate neighbors and need to physically integrate the actual surrounding landscape. In the beginning, the Mexica recognized they had no other choice than to enslave themselves to dominant powers in part to secure building goods. Not surprisingly, this cir-cumstance created a perpetual condition for the Mexica: devise strategies that

obtained materials for their island home by every cost-effective and energy-saving measure possible. This tactic is confirmed in historical narratives.

The construction of their humble chapel laid the ground for ensuing social organization. After its foundation, Durán explains, the Mexica broke into four major social groups (each organized around a cardinal point) that was further divided into smaller units in a cellular pattern according to barrios within each of the four major subdivisions.[42] This initial parceling of lands caused unrest among a certain large faction, which separated from the Mexica settlement. This bloc refused to accept the spatial covenant that would make them part of the Mexica-Tenochca group and they moved to inhabit another part of the marshy area to the north, naming that settlement Tlatelolco. Separating from Tenochtitlan did not save the Tlatelolca from the comprehensive spatial gaze of the Mexica. As van Zantwijk made clear, the quadripartite division was a metaphor for the entire universe; by marking their center and laying out four quarters around it, the newly organized Mexica city symbolically lay claim to *all* of the realm beyond its capital. It would take some time, but eventually all, especially their cousins who had just broken ranks, would fall into the all-encompassing political fold.[43] The Tlatelolca had not realized the opportunity they had squandered; their move away from Tenochtitlan's center announced that they were no longer spatially incorporated among the core group that would eventually rule all the land. Their move out from the center was ultimately a move into servitude under the Mexica.

Organized into quarters, the Mexica moved to obtain raw materials to construct their capital by selling or trading items they could harvest in the local markets from their new location. However, reality set in quickly as they were reminded that their every action, in the middle of the lake, created sociocultural ripples and tides for the rest of the polities settled on the shore. Their move into the marshes precipitated a charged encounter with the two most powerful groups, the Tepanec and the Texcocans, the former held jurisdiction over the area the Mexica now occupied.[44] Astutely, the Mexica began their negotiations with the most dominant of the two groups, the Tepanec. Much as they had with the Culhua, the Mexica offered their martial services and became mercenaries for the Tepanec capital, Azcapotzalco.[45] The Mexica thrived in this servitude so much that Tezozomoc, the Tepanec governor, allowed them to keep control over some of the petty kingdoms they conquered as Tepanec mercenaries.[46]

During this early period the Mexica not only conquered for their overlords, they also mended strained political relations and built political capital. For instance, the Mexica moved rapidly to suppress any ill-will that may

have brewed as a result of their early conquest over Culhuacan by request-
ing that the noble offspring of a Mexica-Culhua union who had been raised
during the Mexica's prior temporary settlement in Tizaapan come take the
helm at Tenochtitlan.[47] In 1376, the Culhua-Mexica descendant, Acamapichtli,
became the first Mexica king, or *tlatoani*, literally "speaker." This highly tac-
tical maneuver allowed the Mexica to begin their political consolidation by
claiming Toltec royal descent, a social prestige respected by all southern peo-
ples in the Basin.[48]

Every calculated social move during this early stage proved seminal for the
politically talented Mexica as they turned social misfortunes into political
windfall. For instance, when Acamapichtli's first wife failed to produce an heir,
Mexica nobles rushed to offer their daughters, as was customary, as brides for
their new king. The Mexica, much as was the Mesoamerican tradition, solidi-
fied social ties by widely intermarrying with nobles from incorporated but not
yet integrated polities. This trend continued throughout Mexica history and
into the colonial period. In the case of the half-foreign Acamapichtli, his mar-
riages firmed social bonds between the centralized government and all of the
major representatives spread throughout the island. In addition, Acamapichtli
wed a humble woman who sold legumes in Azcapotzalco and they had a son
named Itzcoatl. Acamapichtli's marriages and kingly achievements made him
beloved among his people, but the Tepanec reacted unfavorably to the Mexica
having their own king and doubled their tribute, which continued until his
death.[49] Huitzilihuitl, one of Acamapichtli's sons, followed his father to the
throne (r. 1397–1417) after the Mexica council, made up of representatives from
the four quarters acting as one, endorsed his candidacy.

Hoping to offset the tribute demanded from the Tepanec, the Mexica
requested a bride for their new king from the ranks of the Tepanec ruling elite.
Tezozomoc, the Tepanec king offered his daughter, Ayaucihuatl, who married
Huitzilihuitl and their union birthed Chimalpopoca, who followed his father
to the throne (r. 1417–1427).[50] Chimalpopoca continued the steady growth of
the city, no longer having houses constructed out of adobe but now of stone,
asserting Mexica permanence and affluence.[51] The success of the Mexica did
not sit well with Azcapotzalco and after Tezozomoc's death one of his cantan-
kerous sons by the name of Maxtla had Chimalpopoca assassinated, leading
the Mexica to elect the socially dexterous Itzcoatl as their sovereign.[52] Itzcoatl
orchestrated a brilliant war campaign against Maxtla's forces at Azcapotzalco,
devising an alliance that would involve the powerful disgruntled Tepanec elite
from the city of Tlacopan and a newly empowered Texcocan nobility that
had been rebuilt by the Mexica. Itzcoatl recognized that to defeat Maxtla he

would have to assemble a stellar team of strategists and he diversified Mexica political organization by creating the post of Cihuacoatl, a principal counselor to the king who held the second-highest rank in the Mexica government.[53] In AD 1428 with the most brilliant strategist at his side, the Cihuacoatl Tlacaelel, Itzcoatl and his coalition embarked on a war campaign that in 1431 defeated Maxtla's forces and gained Itzcoatl and his people their independence.

Vanquishing Maxtla placed Itzcoatl in the privileged position of having complete command of the most powerful force in the land. Perhaps recognizing that Maxtla's tyranny had wrecked Azcapotzalco's dominance, this sagacious leader took the calculated risk of empowering his recently defeated enemies in order to transform them into lifelong allies. Congruent with this thinking, he devised (with Tlacaelel's assistance) a shared governing structure that placed power in the three independent but co-ruling powers known as the Triple Alliance. This triumvirate married the emergent undisputed powers of all the land to the east and west of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan. Doing so merged the most influential Tepanec elite along with their territories and tributary provinces as well as those of Texcoco into one, with Tenochtitlan at the helm.[54] By taking this political action the Mexica sewed up the largest divisions of authority in the Basin and localized power to Tenochtitlan.

No two natural forces were more palpably present in the landscape of the Basin of Mexico than water and fire, and nothing visually captured the harmonious and explosive confluence of these two elements more than the active and dormant volcanoes that punctuated the landscape of the Central Valley of Mexico and ringed the glassy shallow waters of Lake Texcoco and memorialized in the Alt-Tlachinolli glyph (water-fire). It comes as no surprise, then, that the Mexica incorporated these elements into the face of government as memorialized by the Triple Alliance.

Culturally, the Triple Alliance relocated the gods of fire and water to the center of Tenochtitlan. Alfredo López Austin's study of the Old God of Fire, Huehueteotl, showed the fire god was the patron of one of the oldest groups in the Basin, the Otomí-Pame, who were subjugated by the Tepanec.[55] The Tepanec then made this being their tutelary deity. Inversely, Tláloc, the Central Mexican god of rain, was the supreme deity of the principal Tepanec adversary, Texcoco.[56] The forged political union between Texcoco, Tlacopan, and the Mexica, as orchestrated by Itzcoatl and Tlacaelel, fused together nature (water-mountains) and supernatural forces (fire-water deities) within government (the centralized power of the Triple Alliance). The forged Triple Alliance thus reflected the important spatial tenets of the Mexica as a tripartite division

of power that embodied the cultural, physical, and socioeconomic conditions of the landscape in the Basin. This astute ideological maneuver synthesized the political endeavors of the major forces in the land and consecrated the locality of the landscape to the Mexica capital.

GIVING ORDER MATERIAL PRESENCE: CONSTRUCTING TENOCHTITLAN'S SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Mexica political growth and their quest to consolidate power directed the physical development of their capital. Accordingly, they strategically planned the details of their constructions, right from the start. Durán reports that the first temple dedicated to Huitzilipochtli was initially made of nonpermanent materials.[57] A few paragraphs on, he relates that this structure was later covered with a light coat of well-worked small stones. In covering this prominent structure with a different, more durable material, the Mexica asserted their permanence and alerted those on the shore that their political relations were yielding material dividends.

Improved social fortunes secured the Mexica permanent building resources and gave their political aspirations concrete spatial form.[58] Not surprisingly, the Mexica carefully planned all activity in the center of the lake, making every construction an emblematic, high profile, deliberate act of political thought. The Mexica were acutely aware that the architectural forms of every edifice wrought social consequence. In the case of their first temple, the apparent changes got the Mexica into trouble with their overlords of Azcapotzalco, who raised their tribute.[59]

The establishment of this first temple and accompanying early structures marked this location as the heart of their capital (figure 7.3). It lay within a rectangular compound that housed many structures and was defined by a high, wide platform with four gates. Every gate opened to a street facing a cardinal direction within the island but only three of these connected to a wider straight causeway (elevated road) leading out to the island's shore. The construction of the ceremonial center and its gate resonated with the all-important social ordering of the city into quarters enacted at the foundation of their capital, but it was the connection of these gates to four roads in the city and the three causeways beyond that solidified Mexica contact with those on the lakeshore. The three principal roads connected the center of the city to the north, the west, and the south—a possible reference to Mesoamerica's tripartite cosmogonic division, but it especially established contact to the Mexica's most important sociocultural and principal commerce areas.[60]

Figure 7.3. *Island of Mexico–Tenochtitlan/Tlatelolco with major barrio divisions. (Drawing by Jennifer Munson)*

No highway was ever built out to the east of the city across the waters to Texcoco, making it clear the Mexica felt no need to extend the quadripartite conceptual division of the city beyond the island. The roads that extended out from the center to the island's shore marked the ideological construction of an ordered universe and implied the continuation of this conceptual model onto the topography past the island's shore. Practically speaking, building the fourth causeway was not in the Mexica best interest. Such a thoroughfare would have incurred overwhelming costs and caused flooding, and would have choked up the principal arteries in the large sections of Lake Texcoco. The lack of an access road connecting the eastern part of the island to the coast allowed there to be an extended eastern open shore that provided abundant places for canoes to moor in this region. This decision allowed the Mexica to gain high profits from trade and facilitated the transport of heavy raw materials used to build their major structures, as made evident in Leonardo López Luján et al.'s petrographic studies of the mainland that have identified many quarries near the lakeshore.[61] The placement of a fourth causeway to the east would have redundantly asserted what the four main roads already did in the city. Mexica infrastructure seems to have been devised to focus all commercial activity toward them and in this case, the lack of a fourth access road gave all navigating the lake an uninterrupted view of the administrative capital.

Jose Luis de Rojas's work has centered on the economy and society of Tenochtitlan, providing a comprehensive look at the social organization of the island at the time of conquest.[62] His work, and that of notable others, has examined the social organization of the city beyond its quarterly divisions.[63] Tenochtitlan quarters provided a large superstructure that comprised a series of barrios organized according to social, professional, religious, economic, and familial group divisions. Barrios further subdivided into smaller cellular units and this fragmentation continued on down to the household level. The organization of the barrios reflected the many professional and social groups composing Mexica society. Not surprisingly, the relative size and shape of the barrios was irregular. A look at the layout of the barrios making up Tenochtitlan shows their size and shape were less formalized, reflecting more organic, fluid relationships based on social exchanges than rigid ideological constructs. The spatial irregularity of these barrios illustrates that the Mexica conceived of superstructures to order their world, yet they did not enforce them if they restrained the socioeconomic flourishing of political relations.

Mexica flexibility in adapting their spatial regulations to changing social circumstances explains why quarterly segments of Tenochtitlan were not the same size. The Atzacualco quarter, for instance, was the smallest of the

quadrants and Teopan, the largest, was further divided into north and south partitions. The shape of the barrios reflected the particular local necessities of the island as well as the socially complex relations of those groups integrated within the corporate government. The finger-shaped barrios of Atlixco and Ocelotzontecontitlan in José de Alzate's 1789 map, as well as areas designated Zacatlan in Matos's recent essay on the layout of the eastern shore of Tenochtitlan, provide examples: their long shapes reflects the sensible economic interest to moor as many canoes as possible in this high-traffic region by creating a long uninterrupted shoreline.[64] Limiting the number of subdivisions meant there were fewer social groups to supervise. The layout of Tenochtitlan did not only reflect religious precepts, it adumbrates Mexica flexibility to modify sacrosanct spatial constructs that promoted more viable means to administer their expanding government.

THE DIVERSIFIED SPATIAL PLANNING OF THE CEREMONIAL CENTER AND PALACES OF TENOCHTITLAN

Modern-day Mexico City sits directly above Tenochtitlan's vestiges. Ongoing archaeological explorations have provided a wealth of information that helps us understand the political dimensions of the art and architecture at the Mexica capital, and specifically adjacent to the principal religious-civic structure, the Templo Mayor.[65] The Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún claims seventy-eight structures were contained within the walls of the religious core known as the Ceremonial Center at the time of conquest. Although there is not enough evidence today to support this statement, every new discovery brings us closer to this reported number.[66] The structures and platforms housed within this center served several important religious and administrative purposes and provided an area to educate elite youth. The presence of numerous temples dedicated to several divinities expressed Mexica interest in incorporating the religious practices of the disparate peoples inhabiting the wide territory they governed. As López Austin has made clear, religion grew in complexity alongside of Mexica authority.[67] The accumulation and accommodation of a wide variety of cults and the multiple gods in one place symbolically unified the multicultural settlements of the Valley with the already-established barrio, temple, and household shrines found throughout Tenochtitlan. Moveable feasts filled the ritual calendar of the Mexica that honored religious cults and provided opportunities for everyone to participate in the sociopolitical events sponsored by the Mexica government.

Ethnohistoric sources are filled with reports about the ritual ceremonies performed within the ceremonial precinct. These sources make it clear the Mexica devoted a great amount of energy to staging these events, which involved dressing structures and sculptures, beautifying the city, and endlessly accommodating thousands of celebrants. Yet even the most cursory examination of these festivals makes evident that they were staged to commemorate more than a deity's cult or assert a pilgrim's fervor. In addition to memorializing the cult of gods, these rituals also served to welcome all visitors from the surrounding landscape to the capital.[68] Historical sources often mention that the Mexica spared no expense to ensure everyone's participation in these events, including their principal adversaries. Visitors from all over the realm flooded the city for these ritual celebrations. William T. Sanders has argued that the size and proximity of structures in the Ceremonial Center placed limits on the availability of open space, restricting the number of participants who could engage in this area.[69] Many studies have shown Mexica celebrations spilled out of the Ceremonial Center and into the capital's adjacent open spaces as well as the surrounding landscape.[70] In fact these historical descriptions and studies make it clear religious ceremonies were designed to extend Mexica ceremonial space onto more visible, public regions.[71]

The space restrictions of the Ceremonial Center affirmed the status of the high-ranking elites who directed religious ceremonies within its walls and provided the Mexica an intimate setting where certain political bonds could be forged and cemented discreetly.[72] An expansive complementary open area in the form of a capacious plaza abutting the precinct's southern end resolved any space limitations created by the adjacency of structures encountered in the Ceremonial Center, as noted by Sanders. This ample plaza easily accommodated the multitude of visitors and constituents who came to participate in the religious ceremonies, visit the city's market, and conduct official business. This enormous adjacent space makes it clear the city welcomed everyone and it is this preoccupation to accommodate all that certainly influenced the design of the wide roads and causeways that reached out like tentacles to the shore from the center of the capital.[73] Causeways and roads were designed and built to accommodate large numbers of visitors and their size was so large, flat, and straight that they astonished even seasoned Spaniards who witnessed the Old World's most impressively planned cities and trading centers.[74]

The planning of vast spaces in the center continued in the roomy palaces that defined Tenochtitlan's core. At the height of Mexica power, on the eve of the Spaniards' advent in AD 1519, one of the largest royal estates belonged to the emperor Motecuhzoma II. This royal mansion's western façade fronted the large

plaza and abutted the southeast corner of the Ceremonial Precinct. The other largest royal manor belonged to Motecuhzoma II's father, Axayacatl. It was located diagonally across on the plaza's northwest corner and was large enough to accommodate all of Cortés's entourage luxuriously for months. Motecuhzoma's palace was sizeable and according to some was larger in footprint than any of the structures found within the walled Ceremonial Center, making it the largest single structure on the island.[75] This palatial residence was equipped with a variety of voluminous chambers that could accommodate numerous audiences, feasts, courts, and artist's workshops, as well as hundreds of dignitaries at a time.[76] Whereas the main purpose of the Ceremonial Center was to house religious activities, Motecuhzoma's palace was principally used for secular/government purposes. The Mexica designed the palace's spacious halls to impress dignitaries who came to the capital to conduct royal business, and these halls did just that.[77] The fact that the palace held the largest collection of spaces at the time of the conquest proves the Mexica saw a direct connection between owning vast spaces and social prosperity/political growth. Mexica expansion through social interaction was supremely reliant on these enormous spaces. Architecture was seminal in shaping the Mexica's broad political aspirations.

THE MAJESTY OF THE MEXICA TEMPLO MAYOR

Matos's excavations (1978–1989) of the Templo Mayor identified seven major construction phases, which he, Emily Umberger, and Michelle Graulich link to different Mexica emperors governing from AD 1376 to 1520.[78] The subsequent excavations that Leonardo López Luján has conducted have revealed a greater number of excavation phases than originally thought, making it clear that this structure grew in direct relation to the Empire.[79] The steady growth of this edifice, in its many successive extensions, provides material justification of the effectiveness of imperial politics.

Accordingly, no other structure expressed the political interest to represent the plurality of the political landscape under the rule of the Mexica more so than the Templo Mayor. In spite of its many iterations, this edifice was consistently rebuilt in the same fashion, a four-tired, ziggurat-like solid platform with a double stairway leading to dual shrines at its summit, one dedicated to Huitzilopochtli, the patron god of the Mexica, and the other honoring the most important god to all Mesoamerican peoples, the storm god Tláloc.[80] The incorporation of this latter god indicates Mexica shrewdness in integrating a dual political-religious structure that would facilitate the merging of subjects into their imperial superstructure.[81]

FIGURE 7.4. *Excavated remains from the Templo Mayor. Its base shows the diversity of stones employed in building this structure. (Photo by Eulogio Guzmán)*

An examination of the architectural composition that remains today of this supreme civic structure—that is to say, its accompanying embellishment, associated deposits, and sculptures—shows that the multiethnic Mexica used this building to visually assert, showcase, represent, and attentively construct their claims of hegemonic dominance over the sprawling landscape.[82] Accordingly, for the Mexica, this building was the primary material representation of corporate authority on earth.

For instance, in an analysis of the materials used to construct the Templo Mayor, López Luján et al. demonstrated that the Mexica incorporated a variety of stones from quarries all over the Basin, and they cited historical accounts that the Mexica demanded this structure be built by corporate labor and not by one singly supervised group.[83] The many visible layers of construction exposed in the excavations of the Templo Mayor today lucidly illustrate Mexica obsession with incorporating a pastiche of differently sized, shaped, and materially distinct stonework (figure 7.4).[84] This masonry work visually indexed the vast political landscape and provided a material testimony of the physically incorporated geography. Accordingly, leaders from subject lands were summoned to quarry and supervise the transport and construction of the diverse building

FIGURE 7.5. *Offering 98 unearthed at the Templo Mayor and found in construction phase IVb (AD 1469–1481). (Photo by Eulogio Guzmán)*

materials originating from a number of quarries in the Basin. It comes as no surprise then that the Templo Mayor was continually rebuilt, sometimes by the same emperor. The remodeling of the Templo Mayor marked its own construction as well as the expansion of the Empire as never-ending endeavors.

Every Templo Mayor construction phase contained a bounty of deposits interspersed among the building layers. Interestingly, the material wealth of the deposits also corresponds directly to the expansion of Mexica political influence. For instance, the many offerings dating to construction phase IVb (figure 7.5) contained a bounty of diverse objects in terms of flora, fauna, and cultural material wealth. The contents of these many offerings directly referenced the vast political terrain incorporated during the large expansion period attributed to Itzcoatl's successor, the emperor Motecuhzoma I (r. 1440–1469). All construction phases comprised a plethora of complex deposits, but the contents of the offerings became more complex with the expansion of the Empire.

All offerings contained in the Templo Mayor were laid out in precise patterns that constituted religious cosmograms lucidly explained in Leonardo López Luján's landmark work on the subject.[85] Among the vast array of objects were a large number of specialized sculptures that I have dubbed two-tufted

Figure 7.6. *Two-tufted figures from Offerings S, L, and 20. (Photos by Eulogio Guzmán)*
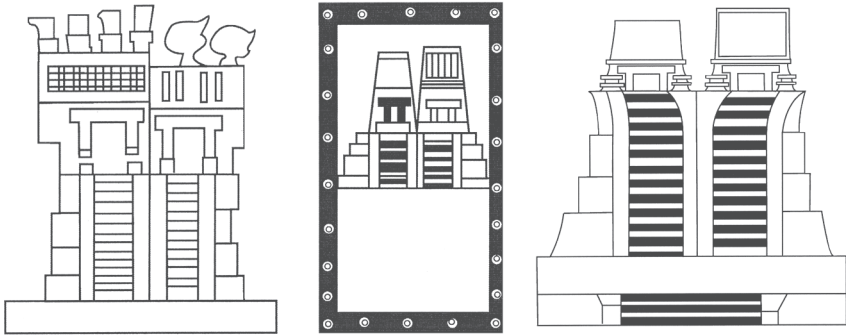
Figure 7.7. *Drawings of temples with twin shrines illustrated in Codex Telleriano Remensis, Codex Aubin, and Codex Ixtlilxochitl. (Drawing by Lisa Boomer)*

figures (Figure 7.6). They take the form of compact individuals that possess a variety of stylistic and iconographic themes and that are sculpted in a number of primary materials My analysis of these objects has shown that the placement of these figures within their associated deposits seem to have symbolically consecrated social bonds between the donors of the figures and the recipient Mexica overlords.[86] I have elsewhere argued that the compact two-tufts decorating the sculptures' headdresses surely referenced the twin-shrines of the Templo Mayor (figure 7.7). The compact body of the sculptures themselves visually recall the temple platforms, perhaps a shorthand reference to the base of the Templo Mayor, where ultimate social covenants between the core and periphery were made and repeatedly renewed within every subsequent construction phase.

This type of social exchange is not surprising, considering established Mesoamerican practices whereby social bonds were developed through a variety

of strategies, including gift exchange. The Templo Mayor offerings and their diverse contents, I have argued, outline a number of complicated social agendas that were an explicit manifestation of the Mexica penchant for cultural ingestion.[87] The offerings clearly show Mexica competitive interest in incorporating all into their political conglomeration by any means available.[88] The many objects found in the deposits from the broad geographic and historical spectrum (among them remains from Olmec, Teotihuacan, Toltec, Mezcala, Huaxtec, and Mixtec cultures at the Templo Mayor) show the Mexica believed every region they coveted and attained had to be represented in every building phase of the Templo Mayor by any means available.[89] It is clear this structure symbolized not only the cosmic realm but likewise the material incorporation of all into their government. Variability was not only reserved to the materials used and deposited in the construction of this edifice, the many architectural embellishments, especially in the form of sculptural elements, that studded this edifice likewise referenced a number of styles that complemented the Templo Mayor's pluralistic material composition. (I make this clear in a forthcoming analysis of portable and monumental sculpture present at this structure.[90])

CONCLUSION: EMULATING THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE, A COMPACT MODEL OF GOVERNMENT

One of the most lucid visual representations of political power is contained in Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Its frontispiece illustrates Hobbes's lengthy treatise on the power of sovereign authority. In it, a looming giant wields a sword and a crosier; a close look at his body reveals it comprises a miniaturized populace (figure 7.8).[91] In this image, Hobbes's colossus looms over the landscape.[92] This scene crystallizes Hobbes's political philosophy that a sovereign must be all-powerful and all-seeing over the territories and subjects he or she governs.[93] Using this image of sovereign authority as an archetype of political power helps to understand how the Mexica used the architecture of the Templo Mayor, their principal civic-religious structure, as a surrogate of their authority, from which they could guard (much as the Leviathan does) the political terrain.

In *The Political Landscape*, Smith remarks that studies examining the built spaces of political institutions often center on hailing architectural achievements as expressions of spatial ingenuity and human creativity.[94] He also notes that more studies are needed that examine how space and physical objects can be used to assert political preeminence.[95] Most important and simply stated, Smith recognizes that there is no single, universal way to use and create

Figure 7.8. *Frontispiece, Thomas Hobbes's* Leviathan, *1651. (© Trustees of the British Museum)*

landscape as a terrain for political authority, as territory can vary greatly from place to place. In other words, the constitution of authority can be articulated in many ways and take different forms. The essays in this volume apply these tenets to a wide variety of regions and provide a number of examples of ways governments modified, altered, and made political exchanges more effective by generating environments that articulated their ideological agendas. In particular this essay examines how the constantly developing political narrative in the Basin of Mexico led the Mexica to obsessively and continuously plan and manipulate the space in their capital in multiple ways.

This brief exploration of the spatial expression of authority in the Basin of Mexico during the late post-Classic (AD 1200–1521) has shown that the Mexica were acutely aware of the physical, cultural, economic, and religious traits of the landscape in the Basin of Mexico. That awareness informed their political courses of action as they planned their capital according not only to religious principles but especially to solutions that promoted their sociocultural prosperity and ideology. The Mexica's never-ending construction and planning of their city, its ceremonial and administrative center, but especially their Templo Mayor, show that they were relentless in manipulating their capital's spatial envelope. Space promoted, guided, accommodated, and fixed much of the social interaction of the polities in the landscape to Tenochtitlan. Their constant manipulation of space brought the Mexica the political realization that they could hold sway over an incorporated, diversified realm as long as they possessed the spatial resources needed to create favorable social conditions; their visual culture played no small role in this endeavor. The Mexica, in fact, used visual culture to assert their sovereignty over a diversified landscape that had been incorporated into their political body and further employed visual culture in all forms to memorialize the contributions from all of its constituents in their rituals, which were performed to mark space and time.

NOTES

1. The best primary sources on the Aztec migration are Diego Dúran, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme*, ed. Angel María Garibay (México DF: Editorial Porrua, 1968); and Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (México: Editorial Leyenda, 1944). Examination of these stories in relation to the painted accounts has identified a number of recurrent themes in their narratives. See the following authors for condensed overviews of the genre: Elizabeth Boone H., "Migration Histories as Ritual Performance," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. David Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 121–151; and her *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), especially ch.8; Michael Smith, "The Aztlan Migrations of the Nahuatl Chronicles: Myth or History?" *Ethnohistory* 31/3 (1984): 153–186; and Rudolf van Zantwijk, *The Aztec Arrangement: The Social History of Pre-Spanish Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1985). The most comprehensive, interdisciplinary study of a document containing a migration story presented in a pre-Hispanic format during colonial times is found in the *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2*, ed. David Carrasco and Scott Sessions (Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 2007). The best ecological approach to understanding the social climate of the Basin is William T. Sanders, Jeffrey R. Parsons, and Robert S. Stanley, *The Basin of Mexico: Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization* (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

2. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

3. For years Ignacio Marquina presented the most comprehensive discussion on architecture in his *Arquitectura Prehispanica* (México DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1951). Although his analysis did not focus on politics, his perspective held importance over time because his unique perspective, as architect and archaeologist, made his commentary on the use and presentation of space insightful. Discoveries made since Marquina's analysis have provided greater information on the architecture and its political associations for the Mexica. A selection of notable works that have delineated some of the political agendas of Mexica space include but are not limited to *Aztec Imperial Strategies*, ed. Frances F. Berdan and Michael

Smith (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996); *The Art of Urbanism*, ed. William Fash and Leonardo López Luján (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2009), 384–422; Robert H. Barlow, "The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica," in *Ibero-Americana XXVIII* (1949); Eulogio Guzmán, "The Visualization of Imperial Dominance: Hobbes's Leviathan, the Mexica Templo Mayor, and the Materialization of Authority," in *Altera Roma*, ed. John Pohl (Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute, UCLA, 2016); Alfredo López Austin and Leonardo López Luján, *Monte Sagrado-Templo Mayor: El cerro y la pirámide en la tradición religiosa mesoamericana* (México DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História/Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2009); Leonardo López Luján, *La Casa de las Águilas, Un ejemplo de la arquitectura religiosa en Tenochtitlan* (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Economica/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 2006); Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "The Aztec Main Pyramid: Ritual Architecture at Tenochtitlan," in *The Ancient Americas: Art From the Sacred Landscape*, ed. Richard Townsend (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1993), 187–196; Michael Smith, *Aztec City-State Capitals* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008); Seis ciudades antiguas de Mesoamérica: Sociedad y medio ambiente (México, DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 2011); Emily Umberger and Cecelia Klein, "Aztec Art and Imperial Expansion," in *Latin American Horizons*, ed. D. S. Rice (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 295–336; and van Zantwijk, *Aztec Arrangement*.

4. Henri Lefebvre, "Reflections on the Politics of Space," in *Antipode* (1976): 30–37, 30–31.

5. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991).

6. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 20.

7. See note 3 for a short list of some of the most salient publications focusing on this subject. In particular, Berdan et al., *Aztec Imperial Strategies* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996) present an impressive examination of several of the political strategies Tenochtitlan had with its periphery. To date this book offers one of the best discussions of the overall spatial distribution of the Aztec Empire. The contributions of this publication are significant, yet the work treated the core and periphery as separate entities and all but ignored the extensive offerings presented to the Templo Mayor by its many constituents. More recently, López Austin and López Luján's *Monte Sagrado* has put forth an impressive and without a doubt the most comprehensive analysis of the Templo Mayor. This notable tome focuses on a vast analysis of the Templo Mayor as a solemn representation of the sacred mountain precepts in Mesoamerican socioreligious belief. The spatial analysis of the Templo Mayor contained therein centers mostly on its symbolic significance but several small chapters outline a complicated political model of

Mexica social order first presented by López Austin and López Luján in Fash and López, *Art of Urbanism*, 384–422 and further developed in *Monte Sagrado's*, chs. 4, 5, and 9.

8. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

9. My use of the term *geopolitics* follows Smith's application and definition of it "as the formation of a political unit in space as coherent and distinct from neighboring politics." Smith, *Political Landscape*, 27, 112–148.

10. See Nigel Davies, *The Aztecs: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1980); Boone, *Migration Histories*; Smith, "The Aztlan Migrations"; van Zantwijk, *The Aztec Arrangement*.

11. Dúran, *Historia*, 32–33.

12. Matos argues that this mythical event more than likely referenced an internecine battle that took place between two rivaling factions for control over the entire group. See "The Coyolxauhqui," in *Escultura Monumental Mexica*, ed. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Leonardo López Luján. (México, DF: Fundación Conmemoraciones, 2009), 329–380, 334–336.

13. See for instance events related to the *Malinalxochitl* narrative in Dúran, *Historia*, 30–31.

14. Frederick Hicks, "Mexica Political History," in *The Aztec World*, eds. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Gary M. Feinman (New York: Abrams, 2008), 5–16, 5.

15. Dúran, *Historia*, 38–39.

16. Edward E. Calnek, "The Internal Structure of Tenochtitlan," in *The Valley of México: Studies in Pre-Hispanic Ecology and Society*, ed. Eric Wolf (Norman: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 287–302; Leonardo López Luján, Jaime Torres, and Aurora Montufar, "Tierra, piedra y madera para el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan," in *Arqueología Mexicana* 64 (2003): 70–75; William T. Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519: A Pre-Industrial Megalopolis," in *The Aztec World*, eds. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Gary M. Feinman (New York: Abrams, 2008), 66–85.

17. Dúran, *Historia*, 31–33, 38–39; Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, 13–15.

18. Boone, *Migration Histories*; Davies, *The Aztecs*; David Carrasco, "City as Symbol in Aztec Thought," in *City of Sacrifice* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 15–48.

19. Durán, *Historia*, 34–35.

20. Michel Foucault discusses issues of surveillance and power related to Jeremy Bentham's concept of the panopticon in an interview with Paul Rabinow in an essay entitled "Truth and Juridical Forms," in *Michel Foucault: Power*, vol. 3, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: The New Press, 1994), 1–89.

21. See Carmen Aguilera, *El arte oficial tenochca: Su significación social* (México DF: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Cuadernos de Historia del Arte 5, 1978); Elizabeth Boone H., "Templo Mayor Research: 1521–1978," in *The Aztec Templo Mayor*, ed.

Elizabeth H. Boone (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 5–69; Davies, *The Aztecs*.

22. Leonardo López Luján "Water and Fire: Archaeology in the Capital of the Mexica Empire," in *The Archaeology of Mesoamerica, Mexican and European Perspectives*, ed. Warwick Bray and Linda Manzanilla (British Museum Press, London 1999), 32–39; and *Casa de las Águilas*, 38–44; López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*, chs. 13 and 15.

23. General discussions of both pictorial materials as well as ethnohistorical documents addressing this early period include Aguilera, *Arte oficial tenochca*; Boone, *Templo Mayor Research*; and "How Efficient Are Early Colonial Mexican Manuscripts as Iconographic Tools?," in *Research Center for the Arts*: *Review* 3/4 (January 1980): 1–5; Davies, *The Aztecs*; Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1959).

24. Numerous presentations of this famous event have produced a great number of opinions on the matter. Among these see Boone, "Migration Histories," 121–151; Carrasco, "City as Symbol," 15–48; López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*; Barbara Mundi, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 11–33; Guzmán, "The Visualization"; Matos "Aztec Main Pyramid"; and Matos, *Los Aztecas, Las civilizaciónes mesoaméricanas* (México DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2000); and van Zantwijk, *Aztec Arrangement* for a range of relevant and revealing commentaries on the events and the social implications of this famed event.

25. Images depicting the eagle vision are found in several manuscripts, including Durán's *Historia* pl. 32; the *Tovar Manuscript* pl. 4; the Codex Mendoza 2r; *Tira de Tepechpan* 5; and the *Codex Aubin* 25v. Only the *Aubin* shows one individual as witness, all the others show more people present at the event. Although the *Aubin* image shows one individual present, the eagle on the cactus is flanked by two non-permanent structures. These structures bear pictorial testimony that more than one person/group was present at the event, as characterized by the Tecpan stone houses. See discussion in Boone, *Stories in Red*, 207–223.

26. Elizabeth Boone, "This New World Now Revealed: Hernán Cortés and the Presentation of Mexico to Europe," *Word & Image* 27/1 (Jan–March 2011): 30–46.

27. Boone, "This New World," 30–46; Frances F. Berdan and Patricia R. Anawalt, *The Codex Mendoza* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Matos, *Los Aztecas*; Carrasco, "City Symbol," 15–48.

28. See especially essays in this volume by Bogdanović (ch. 3), Kalas (ch. 2), Rodari (ch. 4), Vranich (ch. 5), and both essays by Christie (chs. 1 and 6).

29. Van Zantwijk, *Aztec Arrangement*, especially chs. 4 and 6; in *Monte Sagrado*, López Austin and López Luján present a comprehensive analysis of the Templo Mayor's spatio-religious associations; see discussion in note 7 above.

30. López Austin and López Luján, 22.

31. Guzmán, "The Visualization," 19-22.

32. Carrasco, "City Symbol," 15–48, 22–23.

33. See discussion in Carrasco, "City Symbol," 15–48; Guzmán, "The Visualization."

34. Carrasco, "City Symbol," 15–48, 23–24.

35. The first section of the *Codex Mendoza* (Berdan and Anawalt, fols. 2v through 18r) documents the subjugation each Mexica emperor achieved in space and time; the second (Berdan and Anawalt, fols. 18v to 55r), records tributary contributions presented by each respective groups; and the third section (Berdan and Anawalt, fols. 56v to 71v), reports on the proper comportment of all subjects as Mexica subjects.

36. Berdan and Anawalt, *Mendoza*.

37. Dúran, *Historia*, 44–45.

38. This early structure has not been excavated and few ethnohistorical references make substantial references to it. Matos thinks the vestiges of this early temple, which he associates with construction Phase I of the Templo Mayor, may be found under the phase he labels Construction Phase II, but he was unable to excavate this earliest phase due to the city's water table. See his discussion in "El Proyecto Templo Mayor: Objetivos y programa," in *Trabajos arqueológicos en el centro de la Ciudad de México (Antología)*, Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, Coordinador (México DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1979), especially 13–76. Also see pertinent discussions in Leonardo López Luján's work (Matos's successor at the Templo Mayor Project) where he offers several excellent discussions of the problems encountered by archaeologists examining this sensitive area. See his *Las Ofrendas del Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan* (México DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1993), as well as "Water and Fire," 32–39; and López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*, 183–186, 215–223.

39. Durán, *Historia*.

40. Both Durán's, *Historia*, and Tezozomoc's, *Crónica Mexicana*, state that the Mexica built an artificial lake in Coatepec after receiving the mandate from their god Huitzilopochtli. See Matos's discussion of this event in his "Tlatelolco y Tenochtitlan," in *Seis ciudades antiguas de Mesoamérica: Sociedad y medio ambiente*, coordinated by Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (México, DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 2011), 364–384, 366.

41. Matos, *Aztecas*, Matos, "*Tlatelolco*," 364–384.

42. Dúran, *Historia*, 50; Calnek, "Internal Structure"; James Lockhart, *Nahuas After the Conquest* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Arturo Monzón, *El Calpulli en la organización social de los Tenocha* (México DF: Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia, 1949).

43. Van Zantwijk, *Aztec Arrangement*.

44. Durán, *Historia*, 49; Hicks, "Mexica Political History," 5–16, 12–13.

45. Durán, *Historia*, 57; Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, 17.

46. Hicks, "Mexica Political History," 5–16.

47. Davies, *The Aztec*; Richard Townsend, *The Aztecs: Ancient Peoples and Places* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

48. Warwick Bray, "Civilizing the Aztecs," in *The Evolution of Social Systems*, ed. M. Rowlands and J. Friedman (London: Duckworth, 1977), 373–398. The creation of alliances through strategic marriages was a common practice among Mesoamerican peoples. Examples of this phenomenon are discussed in Pedro Carrasco's "La sociedad mexicana antes de la conquista," in *Historia General de Mexico* 1 (Guanájuato: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1976), 165–288; and Elizabeth Brumfiel and Timothy K. Earle, "Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies: An Introduction," in *Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies*, ed. Elizabeth Brumfiel and Timothy K. Earle (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1987), 112–114.

49. Durán, *Historia*, 58–59.

50. Ibid., 63.

51. Aguilera, *Arte Tenochca*, 56–58.

52. Hicks, "Mexica Political History," 5–16.

53. Ibid., 16–18.

54. Although commonly referred to as an alliance of three powers, power was initially shared among the three supervising members of the Triple Alliance, as Hicks has shown, but over time the Mexica emerged as the undisputable senior member of the confederation and became the dominant force of this alliance, with two-thirds of all the tributary spoils going to Tenochtitlan by the time of Spanish arrival. See Hicks, *Mexica Political History*, and his "Alliance and Intervention in Aztec Imperial Expansion," in *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, eds. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and John W. Fox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 111–116. Susan Gillespie, has challenged the existence of such an alliance, arguing that the Triple Alliance was a construction of the colonial period. She argues this point in "The Aztec Triple Alliance: A Postclassic Tradition," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1998), 233–264. However, in *Civilizing*, Bray has shown that the Triple Alliance was not the first alliance to have existed in the region and points to the creation of a similar alliance during Toltec times.

55. Alfredo López Austin, "Huehueteotl: the Old Fire God," in *The Aztec Templo Mayor*, ed. E. H. Boone (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 257–292.

56. The incorporation of the god of fire and rain into the social makeup of government was present at Teotihuacan long before it was seen at Tenochtitlan. There are abundant representations of the storm god at Teotihuacan, especially in areas argued by specialists as centers of government; see for instance the work of George Cowgill, "Rulership and the Ciudadela: Political Inferences from Teotihuacan Architecture," in *Civilization in the Ancient Americas: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey*, ed. Richard M. Leventhal and Alan Kolata (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 313–343; Rene Millon "Teotihuacan: City, State, and Civilization," in *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed. Jeremy Sabloff (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), vol. 1: 198–243; and Esther Pasztory, *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). A great number of sculptures featuring the Old Fire God, Huehueteotl, were found in the network of courtyards present at the Ciudadela, a compound of buildings argued by Cowgill, "Rulership," 313–343, and Millon, "Teotihuacan," 198–243, as one of the major centers of Teotihuacan government. Many braziers bearing the visage of this god were broken into fragments as part of termination rituals and these were found in the courtyards of the Ciudadela's so-called palace courts. On the recurrent presence of smashed stone braziers depicting Huehueteotl in the Ciudadela compound at Teotihuacan see *Memoria del Proyecto Arqueológico Teotihuacan 80–82*, ed. Ruben Cabrera Castro et al. (Mexico: Secretaria de Educación Publica/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1982).

On the obsession and incorporation of Teotihuacan themes into Mexica art and Architecture see López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*; Leonardo López Luján, *La Recuperacion Mexica del Pasado Teotihuacano* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História/GV, eds. Asociacíon de Amigos del Templo Mayor, 1989); and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma and Leonardo López Luján, *Escultura Monumental Mexica*. (México, DF: Fundación Conmemoraciones, 2009); and Emily Umberger, "Antiques, Revivals, and References to the Past in Aztec Art," *RES* 13 (1987): 62–105.

The rain god Tláloc has a host of associations. For an outline of its most salient multireferential characteristics and identities see Philip P. Arnold, *Eating Landscape: Aztec and European Occupation of Tlalocan* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1999); Johanna Broda, "Las fiestas Aztecas de los Dioses de la lluvia," *Revista Española de Antropología Mexicana* 6 (1971): 245–327; Cecelia F. Klein, "Tlaloc Mask as Insignia of Office in the Mexica-Aztec Hierarchy," in *Behind the Mask in Mexico*, ed. Jannet Brody Esser (Albuquerque: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1988), 7–27; and "Who Was Tlaloc?," in *Journal of Latin American Lore* 6, no. 2 (1980): 155–204; Esther Pasztory "The Iconography of the Teotihuacan Tlaloc," in *Dumbarton Oaks Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* 15 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1974).

57. Durán, *Historia*, 49–50.

58. Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, 16, specifically mentions that the Mexica entered in to the service of the Tepanec in order to secure more building materials for their city.

59. Durán, *Historia*, 57.

60. Although the elevated roads to the north and south gave Tenochtitlan access to the general region of their first two exploits, Culhuacan and Tenayuca, the two roads did not connect directly with these two locations, but rather gave the Mexica access to the most populous areas in the mainland. An examination of the location of all of the causeways connecting to the island reveals a more direct route to Tenayuca was through Tlatelolco's causeway heading north and growing out of their city center. See the discussion of the canals in Calnek, "Internal Structure," 287–302; and Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85.

The direction of the third causeway connected the Mexica to the Tepanec peoples. This third rail functioned as a literal bridge to facilitate Mexica efforts in building relations with the Tepanec peoples. Curiously, this causeway did not connect directly to Azcapotzalco, the capital to whom the Mexica were beholden prior to their independence. Instead, this road was directed to the city of Tlacopan, the second-most important Tepanec city. It would so happen that the Mexica would recruit the Tepanec at Tlacopan to join them and the Texcocans in overthrowing Azcapotzalco. After the defeat of Azcapotzalco, the Mexica made Tlacopan one of the three senior members of the Triple Alliance. The causeway connection to this region seems to have also paved a social road that established associate relations between Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan.

61. López Luján et al., "Tierra, piedra y Madera," 70–75.

62. José Luis de Rojas, *México Tenochtitlan: Economía y sociedad en el siglo XVI* (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1986).

63. Studies examining the social organization of Tenochtitlan include the works by Luis Gonzaléz Aparicio, *Plano reconstructivo de la región de Tenochtitlan* (México, DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1973); Marquina, *Arquitectura Prehispana*; Manuel Toussaint, Federico Gomez de Orozco, and Justino Fernandez, *Planos de la ciudad de México: Siglos XVI y XVII: Estudio histórico, urbanístico y bibliográfico* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1938); Calnek, "Internal Structure," 287–302; Monzón, *Calpulli*; Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85. Barbara Mundi's *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015) investigates the transition and layout of Tenochtitlan into the viceregal capital of New Spain. Her work provides many insights into the spatial and social changes Amerindian groups underwent from pre-Hispanic to colonial society.

64. See the reconstruction of Alzate's map in Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85 and Matos's proposed plan in "Seis Ciudades."

65. See discussions in Boone, *The Aztec World* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1999), 21–27; López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado,* 183–207, 215–222; López Luján, *Ofrendas*, 9–29; Matos, *Proyecto Templo Mayor*; and Matos "Tlatelolco," 364–384.

66. This includes the latest discovery of a platform that may have been one of several cuauhxicalco structures found within the Ceremonial Precinct by Raúl Barrera, director of the Projecto Arqueológico Urbano (http://www.inah.gob.mx/index.php/boletines/17-arqueologia/5279-descubren-plataforma-de-la-antigua-tenochtitlan). Archaeologists under the direction of López Luján have likewise discovered platforms that Sahagún may have included in his tally of structures in this area.

67. Alfredo López Austin, "Notas sobre la fusion y la fision de los dioses en el panteon Mexica," in *Anales de Antropología* 2/20 (1983): 75–87.

68. See essays in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes* ed. David Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991).

69. Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85, 74–75.

70. Anthony Aveni, "Mapping the Ritual Landscape: Debt Payment to Tláloc During the Month of Atlcahualo," in *To Change Place*, 58–73; Richard Townsend, "The Renewal of Nature at the Temple of Tlaloc," in *The Ancient Americas: Art From the Sacred Landscape*, ed. Richard Townsend (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1993), 171–185.

71. See Aveni, "Mapping," 58–73; Boone, "Migration Histories," 121–151; Johanna Broda, "Tlacaxipehualiztli: A Reconstruction of an Aztec Calendar Festival from 16th Century Sources," in *Revista en Español de Antropología Mexicana* (1970): 198–273; and Johanna Broda, "The Sacred Landscape of the Aztec Calendar Festivals: Myth, Nature and Society," in *To Change Place*, 74–120.

72. Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85, 74–75.

73. Many of the historical accounts of the religious ceremonies performed in the city mention that for special celebrations the Mexica extended special invitations to their principal rivals, securing their passage, accommodations, and return home safely. One such example can be found in Dúran, *Historia*, 334–340; and Tezozomoc *Crónica Mexicana*, 302–310.

74. Hernan Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); Bernal Díaz, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico 1517–1521*, ed. A. P. Maudslay (New York: Harper, 1928); Herbert Harvey, "Public Health in Aztec Society," in *The Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 57/2 (1981): 157–165.

75. Sanders, "Tenochtitlan in 1519," 66–85. The recent plan of Tenochtitlan that accompanies Matos's recent essay on Tenochtitlan, 2011, shows Axayacatl's palace to be slightly larger in size than Motecuhzoma's house. It should be pointed out that neither of these two palaces has been excavated in their totality. Hopeful excavation of these

important structures in the near future will help resolve many issues related to these structures and the Mexica capital.

76. Susan T. Evans, "Aztec Palaces and Other Elite Residential Architecture," in *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, ed. Susan T. Evans and Joanne Pillsbury (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 7–58; Adrián Velázquez Castro and Emiliano Ricardo Melgar Tísoc, "Producciones palaciegas tenochcas en objetos de concha y lapidaria," in *Ancient Mesoamerica* 25/1 (2014): 295–308.

77. Cortés, *Letters*; Díaz, *Discovery*.

78. Matos thinks the dates on the Templo Mayor make both mythical and historical references. See his *Una visita al Templo Mayor* (México DF: Secretaria Educación Pública/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e História, 1981). Emily Umberger counters Matos's interpretation by arguing for a historical read of the associated glyphs found on this structure. To read her argument see "Events Commemorated by Date Plaques at the Templo Mayor: Further Thoughts on the Solar Metaphor," in *The Aztec Templo Mayor*, ed. Elizabeth H. Boone (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1987), 431–441. Contrary to both previously stated positions, Michel Graulich argues the glyphs associated with the many construction phases of this edifice make mythical references. His argument lays out a third chronology and this can be seen in "Les incertitudes du Grand Temple," in *Les Aztèquez: Trèsors du Mexique Ancien*, ed. Arne Eggebrecht (Hildesheim, Germany: Roemer-und Pelizaeus Museum, 1987), 121–131.

79. The most complete discussions of the phases of construction at the Templo Mayor can be found in Matos, *Proyecto Templo Mayor*; Matos, *"Visita"*; Leonardo López Luján, "Water and Fire," *Casa de Aguilas*, 47–56; and López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*, 207–214.

80. The Templo Mayor platform, base, and crowning shrines were embellished with a vast iconographic agenda reflected in its many intricate designs. See López Austin and López Luján, *Monte Sagrado*, for the most complete discussion of the different elements embellishing this structure.

81. Eulogio Guzmán, "Mexica Portable Sculpture: Symbols of Imperial Power and Cultural Integration," in *Archaeology without Limits: Papers in Honor of Clement W. Meighan* (Lancaster: Labyrinthos Press, 2005), 325–344; Guzmán, "The Visualization."

82. Guzmán, "The Visualization."

83. See López Luján et al., "Tierra, piedra," 70–75; Dúran, *Historia*; and Guzmán, "The Visualization"; and similar examples for Rome and Constantinople in respective essays by Kalas (ch. 2) and Bogdanović (ch. 3) in this volume.

84. Guzmán, "The Visualization."

85. López Luján, *Ofrendas*.

86. Guzmán, "Sculpting Imperialism?: The Diverse Expression of Local Cults and Corporate Identity in the 'Two-Tufted' Figure at the Templo Mayor" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles) (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 2004); "Mexica Portable Sculpture"; and Guzmán, "The Visualization."

87. Guzmán, "The Visualization"; and Guzmán, *Politics and the Fabrication of Authority: Feigned Expressions of Plurality and Artistic Diplomacy at the Mexica Templo Mayor* (Boulder: University of Press Colorado, forthcoming).

88. Guzmán, "The Visualization."

89. The work of several scholars working on materials production analysis of objects found in the Templo Mayor offerings has shown that many objects from cultures other than the Mexica that were previously believed to have been created outside of the capital show local manufacturing techniques. See especially the work of Adrián Velázquez Castro, *La producción especializada de los objetos de concha en el Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlan* (México, DF: Colección Científica No. 519, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2007), and Emiliano Melgar, forthcoming, *La lapidaria del Templo Mayor: estilos y tradiciones tecnológicas* (México, DF: Archivo del Museo del Templo Mayor-INAH, 2016).

90. Guzmán, *Politics and the Fabrication*.

91. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, edited by Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

92. For a general discussion of Hobbes's political theory see Richard Tuck in Hobbes's *Leviathan*; and Duncan Stewart, "Thomas Hobbes," in http://plato.stanford.edu/ for a comprehensive bibliography on the subject.

93. See discussion in Guzmán, "The Visualization."

94. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 25.

95. Objects can be ignored, but carefully planned spatial contexts cannot always be looked over. Masterful arrangements of space in fact, can affect users without their being aware of all the ways planners can design a skeletal framework that can shape and influence every political encounter. For example, in his book *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 1990), Mike Davis presents an impressive accounting of the many ways Los Angeles City planners have unleashed a variety of social policies that are enacted throughout the city to watch and control segments of the population who inhabit part of the city.

8

Provincial Capital vs. Peasant Capital

A Subaltern Perspective on Urban Rise and Fall from Grace

Anne Parmly Toxey

INTRODUCTION

History is rarely recorded from the subaltern viewpoint. This is certainly true for the many histories written about the ancient city of Matera. Located deep in southern Italy, this city has been the prize of invading armies and the destination of incoming immigrant groups for millennia (figure 8.1). Situated in and on a cliff at the threshold between eastern coastal trading cities, such as Bari, and the remote, mountainous interior of the southern Italic peninsula, Matera's poised position has witnessed waves of human migration and settlement. Much of this observation of movement and change has come from *within* the cliff. Matera's most distinctive feature is its indigenous building form: cave structures excavated from the naturally cavernous ridge of soft limestone. Many of these grottoes were gradually augmented with rooms constructed in front of the caves, creating intricate spaces woven into and out of the cliff. An Escheresque network of steps connects thousands of complex spaces, now a UNESCO World Heritage Monument (figure 8.2).

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, most histories on Matera are generally not descriptions of this fascinating city and the lives of its residents but biographies of noble families. Stories and information about the uneducated, non-elite were relegated to oral tradition until recent times with compulsory education—although even now there is little interest in recording a humble and humiliating past. Due to unusual circumstances,

Figure 8.1. *Map of Italy showing location of Matera in the deep south. (Credit: Patrick McMillan)*

however, Matera became a center of extensive academic research and political interest in the 1950s, which produced volumes of data, a history written by Francesco Nitti (a former member of the subaltern class), and recorded interviews with other members of this group.

Supplementing written accounts, the physical city itself—its urban landscape— provides an understanding of the city's social history.[1] It is the record of human actions. Defined as "the interaction of human thought and behavior with the physical environment," landscape "archives . . . social experience and cultural meaning" and therefore "has a cultural message imprinted."[2] Landscape

FIGURE 8.2. *Intricate layers of houses carved into and out of the limestone hillside. (Credit: Anne Parmly Toxey)*

also elucidates the relationship of geography and physical form to the creation of political authority and the enforcement of alterity. In other words, the materiality of place informs both social development and urban form.

In his publication, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities,* Adam T. Smith demonstrates the interdependence of political authority (politics and power) and geography (the landscape, city, individual buildings, and other spaces and places within the polity).[3] Rather than interpreting the built environment as a reflection of socioeconomic forces, he identifies it as a *cause* of a city's socioeconomic structure.

Diagrammed clearly in Matera, the phenomenon of physical setting influencing social form provides a locus for the current study as well as a textbook example of Smith's political landscape model, based on experience, perception, and imagination. Made tangible here are Smith's arguments that space and landscape are dynamic and influential and that politics, landscape, and civic values interrelate. However, this study shifts its focus away from analysis of how space has been used to create and wield power, to how the powerless perceive the space of the city and how it reinforces their lack of political authority.

Over the past approximately 350 millennia,[4] Matera stratigraphically evolved, both socially and physically. Phases of urban development and social change coincide with the rise and fall of the city's significance as an ecclesiastical and secular capital, especially over the past four centuries. While the story of capital status and resultant urban development is often told from the perspective of the ruling elite, this chapter considers the subaltern experience of crowding and shame that accompanied the lives of most Materan citizens as a result of the city's political successes. I posit that life in the "Capital of Peasant Civilization" (one of Matera's monikers) connoted ignominy for residents of the densely populated non-elite quarters, while life in the "Capital of the Province of Matera" (its concurrent title) connoted pride for residents of elite quarters, which also contained the apparatuses of civic and religious authority (the main piazza and the cathedral). In addition to Nitti's firsthand account of Materan history, official studies, outsider observations, and the physical transformations of the city provide circumstantial evidence of life in the peasant quarters (until their near total evacuation in the 1970s) of a city that waxed and waned in political importance.

PREHISTORIC ORIGINS AND CITY FORM

The beautiful integration and adaptation of human settlement to a natural setting achieved in Matera is noted in UNESCO's description of the site on

its World Heritage List: "This is the most outstanding, intact example of a troglodyte settlement in the Mediterranean region, perfectly adapted to its terrain and ecosystem. The first inhabited zone dates from the Palaeolithic, while later settlements illustrate a number of significant stages in human history."[5] Called the *Sassi*, two of the oldest sectors of the city are primarily composed of part-cave, part-constructed homes encrusting the cliff. In centuries and millennia past, residents expanded naturally formed caves and carved new ones into the soft limestone of the gently sloped cliff. They used the quarried stone to build additional rooms in front of the voids. In this vertical city, composed of about twelve levels, the street of one level provides the roof of structures below it. According to Pietro Laureano—architect and author of the UNESCO nomination—the caves, many of which slope downward as one enters, have been developed to maximize the low winter sun angle (figure 8.3).[6] Though humid, the constant-temperature caves provide thermal comfort: a cool respite in hot summer and a warm shelter in winter. The culture that developed here maximized the collection of rainwater through an intricate system of roof gutters, street canals, and cisterns, which augmented the two natural streams (called the *Grabaglioni*) that issue from the crest of the hill and bisect each of the cave sectors. This system provided year-round water to the extensive hanging gardens that graced the site and nourished residents through the early to mid-twentieth century, when the water-collection system was dismantled (figure 8.4).

Like UNESCO, I have so far described the site as an Italian Arcadia, as implied by its misty origins and sketchy prehistoric archaeological record. While the reuse of caves over time has resulted in the loss of diagnostic archaeological material, excavations in and around Matera nevertheless provide evidence of human occupation from the early, middle, and late Paleolithic; Neolithic; Eneolithic; early, middle, and late Bronze Age; and Iron Age. Pastoral tribes, such as the Ausoni, Enotri, Morgesi, Peuceti, Italioti, and Pelasgi, lived in and around these and nearby naturally formed caves and contributed to the development and settlement of the area. The site's architectural, archaeological, and written records become far more intact, however, beginning in the seventh to eighth centuries CE. From this time forward, evidence remains of the site's religious and social complexity intertwined and interrelated with its spatial complexity: a dizzying maze of thousands of cave homes dominated by aristocratic palaces and soaring churches lining the ridge above it. Located both inside and outside current-day Matera are hundreds of Byzantine cave chapels dating from as early as the seventh century. Chroniclers of Matera's early history note eighth- and ninth-century sieges by Goths, Longobards,
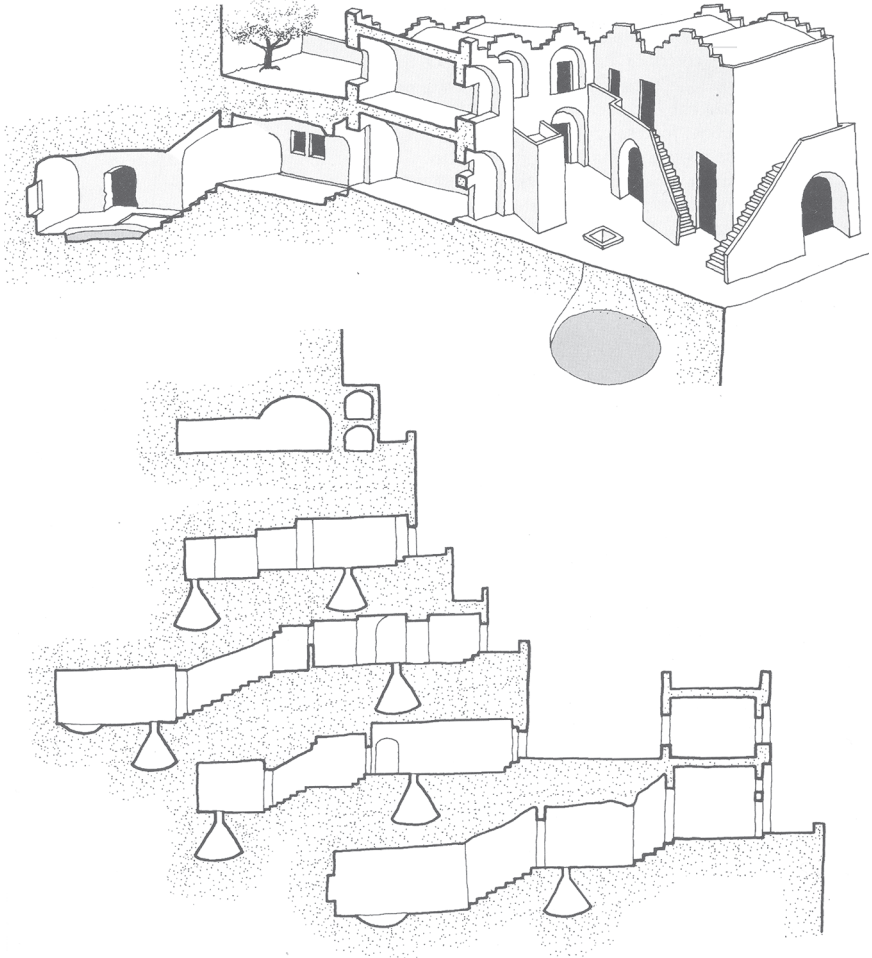
FIGURE 8.3. *Axonometric and section drawings illustrating sloping of cave structures into the hillside. (Credit: Pietro Laureano)*

Byzantines, and Saracens, placing the organization of the municipality in the eighth century or earlier.

In addition to the naturally cavernous site, which lent itself to rupestral habitation, the surrounding geography has greatly influenced the political and social history of the city and its resultant physical form. The city liminally clings to the western edge of the Apulian Murgia (the high eastern coastal plain)
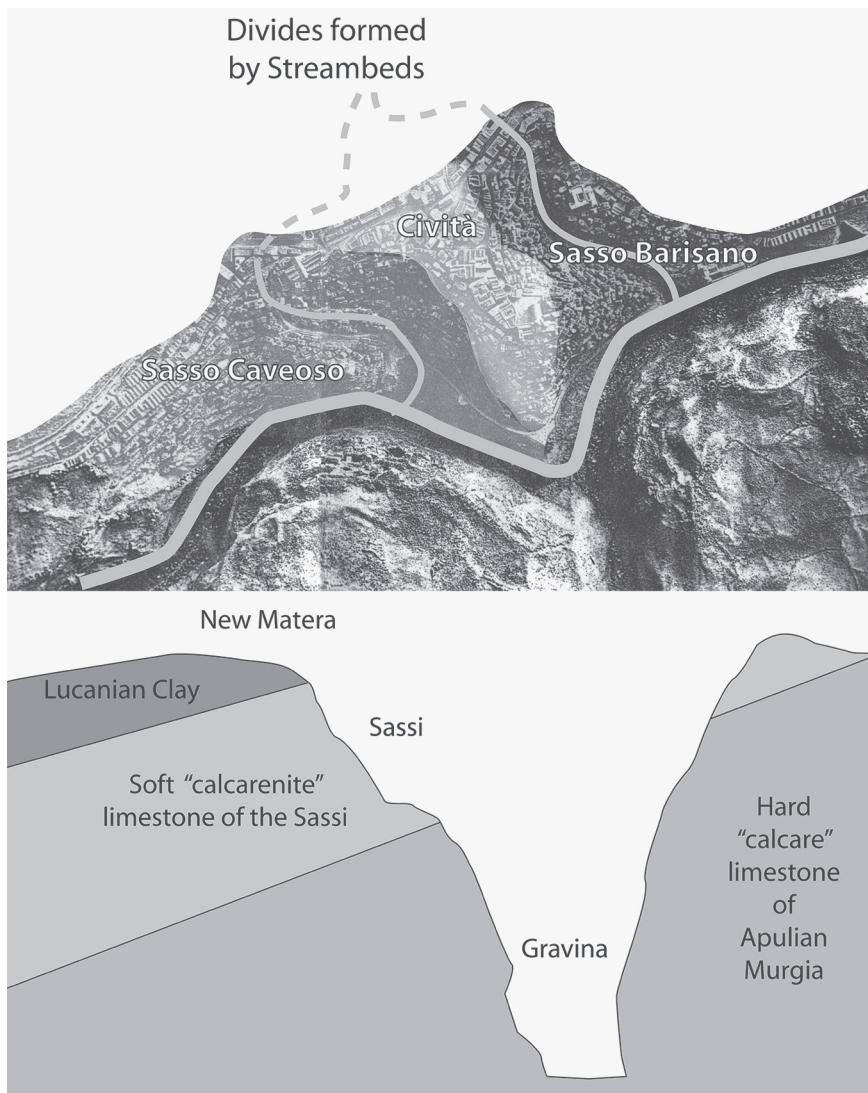
Figure 8.4. *Section and aerial illustration of the Sassi in relation to surrounding geography. (Credit: Patrick McMillan)*

at its boundary with the clay hills of Basilicata. This strategic position and the geographies that structure it have provided for the city's religious, political, and commercial importance, while also exposing it to siege as the quarry

of invading armies. In addition to having Byzantine and later rock churches, Matera has been the seat of a Latin archbishop for 800 years and has served as provincial and regional capital. Within these leadership roles, Matera has absorbed a diversity of immigrant groups seeking political and religious asylum.

Despite the cultural diversity that forms the fabric of the Materan population, citizens of this town associate their culture with distant indigenous tribes and with the Aragon rulers of the city's golden age during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. During the last century of this reign, the city enjoyed an important role in the kingdom as capital of the region of Basilicata. Its most lavish architecture was built at this time, and it is recorded in histories and chronicles as being a prosperous city with fine food and resources.

Though influenced by the Neapolitan seat of government—for example, in architectural details on governmental and ecclesiastical buildings constructed in Matera during this reign—Matera was and continues to be staunchly independent. Materans even collectively assassinated the king's appointed local ruler, Count Giancarlo Tramontano, in 1514 and local nobleman, Count Gattini, in 1860 (the former due to his unreasonable taxation and the latter due to political disagreement over national unification).

Italian national unity established in 1861 and 1871 has always been tenuous, and except when the nation as a whole is threatened (or is competing in international sporting events), Italian citizens feel strongest geographic bonds with their municipalities, a sentiment that diminishes with each larger geopolitical body: province, region, state, and now European Union. As a provincial capital, therefore, Matera exerts considerable political and cultural authority over its immediate surroundings and generates greater allegiance from provincial residents than does Rome (and previously Naples). Also, being the seat of an archbishop and the site of hundreds of churches and chapels (and previously numerous convents and monasteries), the city also imposes religious authority over a broad area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION, BOTH PHYSICAL AND METAPHORICAL

Located on a high spit of land separating the two cave zones is the *Civita*, the central stronghold of the city, which historically housed its rulers, noble families, a cathedral, and the archbishop's palace (figure 8.5). Like other citadels, this one was protected from attack by cliffs, defensive walls, towers, moats, gates, and drawbridges. A sixteenth-century traveler's journal describes Matera as a tripartite city (two Sassi divided by the Civita), whose three distinct zones

Figure 8.5. *Matera's cathedral dominates the Civita, which in turn towers above the Sassi. (Credit: Anne Parmly Toxey)*

had little communication.[7] Social stratification was enacted physically in this arrangement of rulers' palaces towering above the simple cave structures of their subjects. This arrangement vividly illustrates Smith's observation that the elite of a city create spaces that both produce and legitimize their authority—and, I add, that ensure the reproduction of alterity and lack of power among the citizenry—through the idiosyncratic use of landscape.

Between the late seventeenth century and the early twentieth century, three events dramatically impacted Matera's urban form. First, in 1668 the Spanish

Crown elevated Matera from a non-capital city within the coastal region of current-day Apulia to the capital of inland Basilicata. Then, in 1806 the Napoleonic Empire shifted the regional capital away from Matera, leaving this city abeyant and impoverished. Finally, in 1926 the Fascist regime again lifted Matera to a state of grace by naming it a provincial capital, a title that it holds today. Both events of being named capital ushered in periods of prosperity for the city—at least, for the well-to-do. The title brought to the city law courts, magistrates, regional government offices, powerful government families, functionaries, military, banks, commerce, contact with the external world, and prestige—privileges that were lost when the city lost its role as capital in the nineteenth century. Newcomers and new roles expanded the capital city's need for public and commercial structures, as well as houses for new residents.

With the Sassi and the Civita bounded by cliffs, physical growth was limited. During times of capital expansion, therefore, the Civita spread onto the flat ridge above the cave sectors. Hemming the Sassi from above—as the steep cliffs did from below—this physical change in the city's form reinforced the boundary between the elite and subaltern parts of the city and further restricted Sassi growth. This new area (now referred to as the *centro storico*, or historic center) is located on the geographic feature called the *Piano,* which means the plain or flat surface (as described in comparison to the perpendicular city of the Sassi).

Accompanying the first capital appointment, wealthy families living in the cave sectors (many in grand and lavishly ornamented houses and palaces) left for new development on the Piano above the Sassi, where they joined the aristocrats. The combined upper classes, called the *signori* (gentlemen), were composed of noblemen, professionals, functionaries, and landowners. Their departure from the Sassi resulted in a concentration of poorer people in these zones (largely tenant farmers and day-laborers but also artisans and small landholders) and a physical enactment of social stratification. Before this time, the city's small roster of noblemen lived in the Civita, but the great majority of the city with its range of wealth lived mixed in the Sassi. After the departure of the well-to-do, the subaltern left behind were condensed within the cave dwellings, while the signori lorded over them from palaces along the expansive ridge above.

With each wave of development, the city's population increased, both on the expanding ridge and in the packed Sassi, unable to grow due to physical constraints. Caves were dug deeper and constructions became denser to house the growing peasant population. Palaces abandoned by the wealthy were divided into smaller living units. Other structures, such as cisterns and

rock churches, winemaking spaces, stables, and gardens were transformed or redeveloped into houses—a process that continued into the twentieth century. As European standards of living rose, quality of life in the overcrowded Sassi sank—or at least perceptions of it sank. Although the living conditions of the Sassi's peasants were no worse than those of other rural Italian communities, the discrepancy between the haves and the have-nots was more evident in Matera, being a capital city. In this role, Matera was included on the itineraries of visiting clergy and dignitaries as well as wealthy tourists from northern countries. More visible than neighboring villages, the living conditions of the picturesque Sassi became ever more criticized in travel literature. It was Matera's political position that brought visibility to and contempt for these conditions, and it was Matera's political position that eventually brought change.

The extent of separation and segregation between the working and peasant classes in the Sassi and the growing upper classes on the Piano is described in historical texts and is visible in the urban fabric. Travelers' accounts starting in the sixteenth century and continuing through the early eighteenth century are complimentary of the city—its "fresh water," "delicate wine" and "very curious look" (the caves) resembling a "starry sky" at night.[8] They describe the cave structures, in which a majority of the people "still live," suggesting that cave-life was acceptable in the past but not present. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, observers unfavorably compare Sassi occupants with Piano occupants, speaking of the beauty of the latter and the "very ugly, dirty, tattered, wild" character of the former. Disease, delinquency, disorder, ignorance, barbarity, calamity, and abominable filth are attributed to the lifestyle they lead and the way they nourish themselves. Although rotting manure and garbage in the streets, open sewers, and rancid meat are largely blamed for the filth observed, the author criticizes the caves' darkness, humidity, and dangerous perch as contributing to human misery. Danger, not beauty or other advantage, is associated with the city's siting. Meanwhile, the author praises the bread, wine, and water of the city, presumably the Piano.[9]

Matera's presence in foreign travel literature nearly disappears in the nineteenth century along with its loss of title as regional capital and resultant waning importance. Guidebook accounts of Matera are cursory at best, and no aesthetic observations are made. Visitors' impressions of the city as a whole are tainted by the negative image of the Sassi. One author relates that the ancient caverns are said to house the lower classes, while another travel guide asserts that "Matera is a dirty town, and its lower classes are said to be the least civilized of the province of Basilicata."[10]

By the early twentieth century, Matera's squalor had entered academic and political discussions. However the city's presence in travel literature remained scant until the 1930s. Coinciding with the Fascist elevation of Matera to provincial capital and with Matera's growing presence in political and media discourse, the city makes a major comeback in guidebooks, which crown it from here after as "one of the most picturesque cities of Italy."

As the Piano developed from the late seventeenth century onward, measures were taken to exclude the lower classes from this elite realm. Exemplifying what Smith describes as "the insulation . . . from contact with the poor . . . by physically removing or intimidating the undesirable segment of the population,"[11] the urban fabric of the Piano physically reinforced the separation of the Sassi from the functioning of the city. A continuous wall of elite structures, called the *Quinta Settecentesca*,[12] separated the Sassi from the Piano and the rest of the city (both physically and visually) and continues to function today (figure 8.6). Windows and balconies from the elegant Quinta structures, however, were afforded magnificent panoramas of the Sassi and Gravina beyond. These private, panoptic views are referred to as seats at the theater, the spectacle being the Sassi below.

As the Piano was developed by the upper classes, caves that had previously extended the Sassi onto the Piano were either repurposed as cellars for new urban structures or were filled with clay and paved over. Between this act and the development of the Quinta, the dividing line between the Sassi and the Piano hardened, and Sassi residents, though representing the majority of the population, were excluded from the city's civic and religious centers on the Piano. Separate churches served the two populations, as did separate shops, separate roads, separate water fountains, and separate physical and spiritual worlds.

Until the 1930s, access to the Sassi was limited to obscure, narrow stairways disappearing between Quinta houses and used by the peasants and their mules. When a paved road was finally built through the Sassi under the Fascist regime to ease the peasants' hard lives, Piano residents lobbied for the road to bypass the Piano, keeping the peasants and their dirty mules and wagons off the elegant streets of the city center—and reinforcing the segregation of these two populations (figure 8.7).[13] Oral histories recount that from this time forward the two opposed worlds of the Sassi and the Piano no longer met or interacted.

During the Fascist era, when Matera rose to the position of provincial capital, this segregation largely remained intact. The regime's modernization work in the Sassi—culvertizing the *Grabaglioni*, paving them over with the road, developing a sewerage system, and constructing fountains in the Sassi to bring fresh water here from the Apulian Aqueduct (making the cistern system

FIGURE 8.6. *This line of buildings forms the Quinta, which separates the Sassi (background) from the Piano (foreground). (Credit: Anne Parmly Toxey)*

redundant)—resulted in displacement of some residents for the public works projects. For these people, new housing on the Piano was provided, leading to a small amount of desegregation. Despite promises of demolishing the insalubrious Sassi housing and providing new homes for most residents, the Fascist regime focused its construction energies on quadrupling the size of the Piano. To accommodate the new administrative functions of the capital city and the newcomers moving to Matera to fill bureaucratic roles, extensive public buildings and new houses were constructed, as well as a local railroad line. Even though the Sassi improvements only assuaged the harsh lifestyle maintained there without addressing overcrowding, former Sassi residents often praise Mussolini for these modernization efforts. These represented the first phase of a much larger Fascist modernization plan for Matera tied to his rural expansion and agricultural reform programs.

The fact that the lower classes lived physically below the upper classes—and in houses that were associated with primordial existence, even though more than half of the Sassi spaces were not cavernous by that time—kept them
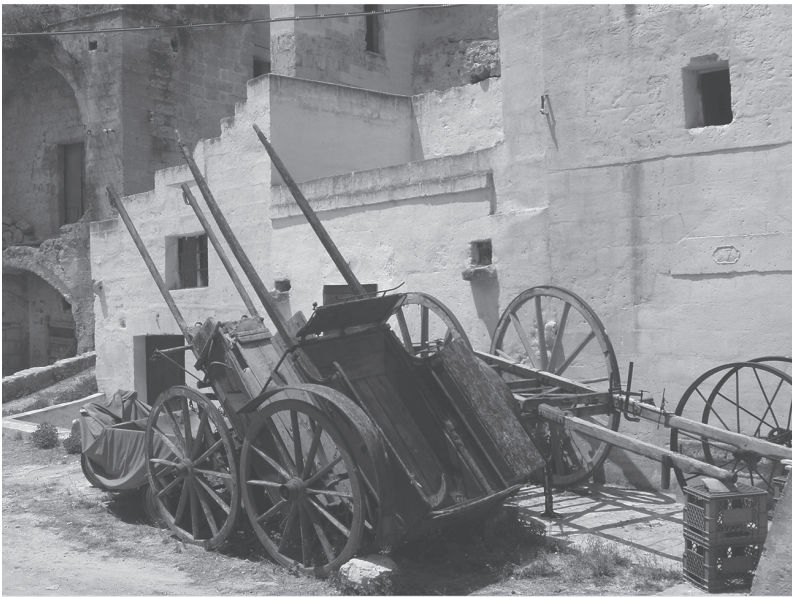
Figure 8.7. *Top: Faded but still visible traffic sign from the mid-twentieth century indicating that merchant trucks and horse-drawn peasant wagons are not allowed in this location. Bottom: Reproductions of peasant wagons in the Sassi today. (Credit: Anne Parmly Toxey)*

subordinate to the elite. In other words, the geography of the site contributed to the social stratification and political organization of the city, just as the geography of the site had previously made it hospitable for human settlement with natural resources and natural defenses. Another contrast between the Sassi and the Piano that is ordained by landscape is the unplanned, haphazard, irregular street arrangement and layout of houses in the Sassi (associated with wildness, irrationality, and femininity) compared with the long, straight streets, and orderly, highly planned nature of the Piano (associated with rationality, civility, and masculinity), which here dominates, subordinates, and controls the barbaric Sassi below. The planned, regular streets of the governing Piano were developed during the city's tenure as a capital.

Though condemned by observers, including the national government, the Sassi situation had been abided because of its similarity with other communities. When Matera became a provincial capital in 1926, however, the city was distinguished from surrounding towns. As a capital city, its backwardness could no longer be tolerated. The mayor of Matera announced in 1926, "the state will not be able to ignore the unusual conditions of the city of Matera. It realizes the urgent need to supply to these the order and decorum of civil life that are thrust upon this city, which is also today becoming a Provincial Capital."[14] According to these words, civil order and decorum are not expected of non-capital towns. Matera's change in status made only *this* city's living conditions unacceptable to the government but did not affect the poverty of neighboring towns. Although the government did follow through and address some of the problems, the increased activity, jobs, and money that accompanied Matera's new role swelled the population, aggravating overcrowding in the physically confined Sassi.[15]

VIEW FROM BELOW

The most powerful critique of the squalor held in the Sassi was made by Carlo Levi in his famous book, *Christ Stopped at Eboli* (first published in Italian in 1946). His perspective was not that of a traveler but of a political activist who had been exiled to the South by the Fascist regime. Unlike guidebooks, his book criticized *not* the peasants and their lifestyle but the ruling classes and political leaders whom he held responsible for their inferior living conditions, illnesses, poverty, and lack of education. Living among peasants in a village near Matera and recounting his sister's direct contact with Sassi residents, he writes from the perspective of the peasant. Wildly popular and translated into several languages, this book brought world attention to the

conditions forced onto Sassi dwellers by wealthy landowners who watched them from above.

Levi greatly esteemed southern Italian peasants and their singular culture; however, he deplored the southern ruling class, whom he blamed for the peasants' plight—especially residents of the Sassi. With lurid descriptions—supplied by Levi's sister, who passed through Matera on her way to visit him—he amplified the circumstances of Sassi residents in order to villainize their overlords as well as the Fascist regime, despite the comforts and improvements that the Fascists had brought to Matera and the Sassi. He spoke of filth, lice, dysentery, starvation, distended stomachs, malaria, black fever, and flies crawling on the swollen eyelids of children with trachoma.

Even if reported here accurately, which is debatable, the abjection and suffering felt in the Sassi were less extreme than some other locations in the South,[16] probably due to Matera's position as an affluent, capital city, although this situation also increased crowding in the Sassi. The fact that Matera's premodern lifestyle took place in a site associated with caves made the story all the more poignant and alarming. And the fact that this took place in a capital city made its situation all the more visible and all the more disgraceful when contrasted to the city's sumptuous and modern architecture on the Piano. Demonstrating the deficit between the premodern conditions of the Sassi and the elevated modern standards of postwar Europe, Levi (whose involvement in Matera continued through the mid-1970s) made an example of Matera, which became known throughout Italy as "the national shame" *(la vergogna nazionale)*. Levi is also credited with branding the city as "the Capital of Peasant Civilization."

Levi was a member of the privileged class but was an outsider to Matera and the South. His attack on this city—which eventually led to the evacuation of the Sassi and the physical and social reorganization of the city—can be compared to the conquests described by Adam T. Smith, such as those of the Urartian regime on surrounding provinces, also resulting in their evacuation.[17] One significant difference, however, is that Levi's war was waged with published words, a weapon not available to Smith's early complex polities. The fact that this conquest, which had powerful physical, social, economic, and political impacts on the city, took place in the non-spatialized world of words is significant. It does not disprove Smith's thesis or diminish his contributions to the study of society and place, but it does complicate the analysis.

Political discussions about what to do for Matera had been taking place for half a century before the appearance of Levi's book; however, this publication and the shame that it wrought catalyzed political and media debates

and influenced postwar elections. A series of laws were passed to renovate the Sassi homes. In the end, however, the Sassi were largely evacuated and the residents moved to new housing on the Piano. This decision was made based on the overwhelming desire to bury the Sassi and the shame that they brought to the nation. In addition, it leveled the playing court, quite literally, by erasing the vertical segregation that was built into the old city.

Moved by Levi's book and intrigued by the concept of a *metropoli dei cavernicoli* (metropolis of cave dwellers) in twentieth-century Europe, scholars flocked to Matera in the 1950s, wanting to study the troglodyte culture and to improve the lives of residents. Coalescing under postwar funding agencies—including the Marshall Plan and *Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* (INU: National Institute for Planning)—one group of researchers carried out a landmark survey of the lives of Sassi occupants. Nitti's efforts belong to this group, which was led by Friedrich George Friedmann, a philosophy professor from the University of Arkansas. After meeting with Levi in Rome, Friedmann arrived in Matera with a Fulbright fellowship to study "the philosophy of life of Italian peasants." Other members of the group, all of whom were noted scholars or professionals, mostly from Rome, included Riccardo Musatti, Giuseppe Isnardi, Francesco Nitti, Tullio Tentori, Federico Gorio, Ludovico Quaroni, Rocco Mazzarone, Lidia De Rita, Giuseppe Orlando, Gilberto Marselli, and Eleonora Bracco. In addition, Adriano Olivetti was involved with the work as a mentor and ideological guide. Their official name was the *Commissione per lo studio della città e dell'agro di Matera,* but they were known as the *Gruppo-Studi* (Study Group).

Working as a team, each member brought a different perspective and field of study to the survey, including philosophy, journalism, geography, history, ethnology, architecture, planning, demography, psychology, economy, palaeoethnology, and engineering. They produced a series of documents in 1956, including that of Nitti. Published by UNRRA-Casas (the Italian sector of the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration, which was a conduit for US aid and idealism into the Italian countryside), this study incorporated other data collected by UNRRA-Casas from 1946 until 1951, when Friedmann's Study Group joined forces.

Their approach was interdisciplinary, rigorous, scientific, and objective, yet also flexible. They humanized the more clinical studies previously conducted on Matera by using an empathetic methodology that approached participant-observation. To better describe their approach, Friedmann called it an "encounter" with the people as opposed to a "study" of them. By "interpreting and penetrating the reality" of the culture through direct

contact and experience, the scholars felt that they achieved a more objective and inclusive understanding of the society.[18] Self-described as "the first organic Italian example of an 'integral study of a community,'" the "dignified" work analyzed the "social, ethical, physical, and economic situation." Their intent was to document the Materan peasant's lifestyle and devise ways of maintaining this culture within modern housing. In other words, the intent behind the study was not abstract but practical: to be used to make interventions and concrete changes in lives. In addition the researchers and their funders hoped to develop a socioeconomic solution that could apply to the rest of Italy's agricultural South.

The model town that resulted from the study was called La Martella, built a few miles from Matera. Forecast as an exemplar, classless, rural village—a southern utopia—the town failed to live up to its goals of preserving the peasant culture. In fact, it failed even as a town due to political problems at the national level, which neglected to provide the services and agricultural fields necessary to support the population moved there from the Sassi. Nevertheless, the Study Group's work influenced much postwar housing in the South, legislation that provided new or modernized housing for Sassi residents, and the creation of a new urban development plan for Matera. The study is also valued today for its meticulous record of southern Italian peasant culture in the mid-twentieth century.

Friedmann describes the Materan peasant's perspective as "a confusing tangle of emotions (that go from shame to pride), [resulting from] the strident contrast among the objective conditions of life (of the peasant) and the nobility of his reactions. This contrast symbolizes to the visitor . . . that *misery* represents rather more than a state of material conditions; it is instead an exasperation of poverty, a way of life, a philosophy."[19] Friedmann's descriptions of the culture are filled with these binaries. Like Levi, he saw the southern Italian peasant as Rousseau's noble savage, living in a world of contrasts: miserable yet dignified, ignorant yet wise, eloquently silent, an unrecognized divinity living in a cave metropolis and possessing a peasant philosophy.[20] He admits the romanticism of his engagement with the research when he writes in 1956: "Today it is clear to me that I was attracted to the epic grandiosity of the fate of peasants, that I was romantically yearning to merge with the very ancient roots of their closed existence, that I wanted to learn their wisdom, and in exchange help provide them some of the ease and hope of the modern world."[21] Friedmann's desire to help was certainly genuine; however, his paternalistic attitude foreshadowed the welfare conditions that developed here at this time and continue today.

One reason for the emotional confusion described by Friedmann is explained in the volume by Tullio Tentori, which is probably the first ethnology of Materan culture. He describes the society as it was through the mid-nineteenth century: composed of two antithetical and impenetrable worlds: that of the privileged (the signori) and that of the subaltern.

> So ingrained was the idea of this polarization of society that even the Church seemed to have adopted different bells to announce the birth or death of a nobleman or of a "poor Christian." Only bonds of dependence and servitude united the two human categories in the structure of the community. The signori were, as conceived by the subaltern world, those able to enjoy life, those with whom no "cafone" [crude term for peasant or boor] was permitted to quarrel or liken himself. And the signori, in reality, felt above the subaltern world by nature and by uncontestable right. Their way of eating, dressing, marrying, adhering to social and religious norms, their way of living, therefore, was clearly different from that of the humble . . . Idleness assumed the value of a symbol, the symbol of being a gentleman; in contrast, the idea of work was associated with weight and condemnation . . . The term *subaltern world* means the human sector that lives in a state of recognized inferiority with respect to the society of noblemen and signori. The principal activities of the subaltern were agricultural [grain production] and pastoral [sheep herding] on which the community was economically based.[22]

Tentori notes, however, this rigid system began to fissure in 1861 with the unification of Italy. At this time, education became more accessible (by law); a democratic electoral system was introduced, as were labor unions; land redistribution programs (begun under Napoleon) were revived; new work opportunities arose with the new centralized national government; and contact with other regions became much stronger and brought new ideas and new fashions to Matera, which had lost contact with the outside world when it lost its position as regional capital in 1806. Leading to more jobs, new commerce was also introduced at this time with the arrival of such modern comforts as transportation and communication services, electric lights, radio, cinema, newspapers, and heating gas. These novelties led to the stirring of new ideas, a growing consciousness of political and social injustice, and an organized peasant movement.

Losing its position as regional capital in 1806, Matera lost its momentum, its military, law courts, functionaries, and contact with the changing world. Deprived of these functions and their associations with the external world, Matera was left behind during the modernizing nineteenth century, its feudal

social orders and mores becoming entrenched in the city's limestone walls. It was only due to unification that Matera was awakened from its slumber and acquainted with the modern world. When Mussolini reinstated Matera as a capital city in 1926, the modernization process accelerated, and another major period of building began, new residents with different ideals flooded the city, and a middle class was born. By the 1950s when the Study Group was analyzing the society, these modernizing changes had already made considerable impact. Despite the romanticism of some of the group's members, such as Friedmann, whose impressions of the city were based on Levi's pitiable descriptions, they were not dealing with an untouched, premodern society but one that was already in the throes of modernization—though still far behind the Western world's urban norms. Suspended between the past and the modern, Matera appeared to Tentori as being in a state of uneasiness. The Study Group's modernization interventions would not be the first experienced by this population, but they would steer some of the changes in motion into positive results.

The extent of change already occurring here in the 1950s can be discerned from some of the written responses that Tentori received from Sassi residents in a survey he conducted of their houses. Although they expose living conditions that were disdained by modern Western standards, the fact that the Sassi residents also disparage them reflects a change in consciousness, a sense of oppression, and a need for retribution. Considered acceptable in centuries past, the conditions that Sassi residents had learned to scorn included family members of different sexes sharing beds and bedrooms, use of one room for multiple purposes, lodging mules in the deepest part of their houses, and, in general, living in crowded spaces, about half of which were humid caves with limited natural light (figures 8.8–8.10). Tentori writes:

> Misery, felt and suffered like an injustice (though not suffered this way in the past due to a lack of consciousness), is stimulating the establishment of justice and releasing the movement to transform society. In all people there is a strong desire for justice, a desire that manifests in a thousand voices and a thousand events. Old, young, babies, men, women implore, pray, beg, and demand justice.
>
> . . . A 15-year-old girl asserted that . . . "we children all sleep on the floor, especially in summer, where we are scared of the animals that cross the house: lizards, roaches, and other insects that enter from the floor and roof of the house, which also drips water all day. Please come see our poor need of help."
>
> A father wrote: "on this little piece of paper I believe it appropriate to express my desire, which is to want a more comfortable and more decent house, being

FIGURE 8.8. *Interior of a peasant home in the Sassi with mule in background and chicken near the beds, ca. 1950. (Credit: Enzo Viti Collection)*

that this one is first of all too small and then very humid. In addition, it is not fair that some people have so many rooms: a dining room, a living room, a studio, while other people do everything in one room: cook, eat, sleep. It is also an impossible thing that we have to sleep in a very humid house because of all the diseases it brings us, also because the house is situated on weak ground, namely a canal that produced humidity . . . the house was sold and the owner of the house chased us out . . ."

A father of seven children describes his conditions: "my house is humid, insufficient for the needs of a family of nine. It is composed of only one room where we must sleep, men and women. It is an old cave that was turned into a house, therefore excessive humidity threatens our health, especially that of the children. It is about 200 meters from the closest little fountain, and it is heavy to transport water, especially because of all the stairs in between. The school for children is very distant. In addition to all this, there isn't a toilet or a window for ventilation. It is necessary that this house not even be used for animals because even these would suffer if living in this burrow. I have been unemployed for a long time and in addition to not being able to find a new house, I couldn't pay the rent for one. Only one of my sons works (a 16 year old) and is paid 200 lire a day. My wife is sick . . . and has no help, and I do not have the ability to help her. Neither the city, nor the mutual aid fund, nor social security gives me

Figure 8.9. *Interior of a Sassi home showing large, prosperous family dining, ca. 1950. (Credit: Enzo Viti Collection)*

anything. I harbor no trust in that which is being discussed [public housing for Sassi residents], I'll only believe it when I have a house."[23]

Giuseppe Isnardi, geographer of the Study Group, also noticed transformations occurring here and elsewhere when he wrote: "Today things have changed, as all of Basilicata is changing, particularly the poorest and most remote, as witnessed by the notoriety and frequency of visitors, both Italian and non-Italian. The lifting of Matera to capital city in 1927 [sic] (which was in reality only a partial reinstating) was a decisive part in all this."[24]

Friedmann, too, noted: "A new kind of consciousness is forming in the peasant. For one thing, he sees the satisfaction of having his basic needs met . . . Once isolated, the respective possibilities to satisfy needs are confronted abstractly and quantitatively, working out the question: 'why to them and not to me?' Also forming is a new sense of justice (since the concept of justice is tied to the degree of ease or difficulty by which we, compared with others, can satisfy our basic needs)."[25]

Despite the optimism revealed by these observers and evidence of changes in consciousness and in lifestyles witnessed in Tentori's interviews, Nitti's

Figure 8.10. *Sassi residents collecting water from a well, ca. 1950. (Credit: Enzo Viti Collection)*

work betrays deep sadness and pessimism. Having personally experienced the poverty of the Sassi, his history of Matera written from the perspective of the peasant is not that of an objective scholar. His passionate study focuses on the sacrifices of the populace and the overbearing signori, who trampled the peasants living beneath them in the Sassi. Without mincing words, he describes the signori as "people worn out politically and deprived of education and culture," and the nobles as people "deprived of ideals and corrupted by spiritual misery stagnated from conceit and arrogance."[26]

Commenting on and quoting from Nitti's work from the perspective of the present, historian Giovanni Caserta writes:

> centuries of iniquity, deafness, oppression, slavery, arrogance, and ignorance seemed to Nitti to have signaled at an anthropological level that the Materan community—between vice and virtue—revealed "a certain incapacity to conform to the modern, tumultuous life of the big city; a very slow and little-developed industrial consciousness; an indistinct need to flee from the uproar of political life." With intellectual courage, especially ardent for a small community searching for glory even where there is not any, Nitti, abandoning all municipal concern, revealed that the populous part of Matera was completely absent of all liberal activity in the nineteenth century. Wonder and disdain grew for the behavior of the "ruling" class (that is the "*galantuomini*" [gentlemen] and the "signori") who, in the tradition of the worst southern nobility, maneuvered between the old and the new, believing that all changes without anything really changing. "In their logic as landowners, the galantuomini found a way to moderate the diverse and contrasting exigencies of liberalism and national unity on one side and of the of conservation of ancient privilege on the other." In this cultural and social scene, privilege was a natural right. However, class consciousness among the populace would sporadically explode in anarchy until the advent of 1945, namely, the dawn of the "democratic Republic founded on work." . . . Regarding government provision of culture and education, Nitti claimed that these were not bread and medicine, and that their provision would only render the nobility more proud and arrogant. In this way, culture and education could widen the gap and accentuate contempt among the peasants. [27]

Despite the overtones of grief and resentment in his work, Nitti concludes on a more optimistic note, based on changes being experienced at that time. He writes:

> The characteristics hitherto alluded to in the Materan community—low standard of living of the rural population, primitiveness of communications and of

transportation, social and moral atmosphere typically patriarchal, feudal agricultural organization, scarcity of commerce and absence of industry, backwardness of craftsmanship, persisting existence of illiteracy, lack of a serious technical culture—explain the reasons of an insufficiency of the sense of a connected life . . .

No surprise, therefore, if the reforms, partially implemented, do not succeed in removing the old social arrangement and end by creating instead a completely new and more complicated bureaucracy with a centralization of power that renders ever more invisible the work of the State, which continues to appear useless because it is an outside and abstract entity, because it is expressed from the outside and is aimed to modify the forms of life of a society that resists all innovative experiments.

But the lowest levels no longer remain estranged to the new events and to the interventions of the State, and are becoming ever more conscious of proper function. It is the new fact of the peasant movement, all an underground world in ferment, having passed through the postwar phases of hindrance and a major consciousness of the problems, and a better organization of trade unions and political parties, and to a more accentuated inclination to action framed within limits of legality, to a major interest in politics . . .

The peasants are a force that cannot continue to be ignored and that can no longer be governed from the outside, even paternalistically, ignoring their collaboration, their real interests, and especially their willingness. [28]

By analyzing the premodern social system, the Study Group accelerated its demise and the rebirth of the modern Materan citizen. The scholars' work led to the literal and figurative elevation of the lower classes to the new middle class living on a level (literally, the Piano) with the upper classes, and leaving their learned shame and misery behind to crumble in the mostly empty Sassi. These sentiments of disdain continue to inform the communal memory. A reluctance to admit family ties to the Sassi even today manifests the shame associated with the place and with these people's previously perceived social inferiority.

This situation is gradually beginning to change, thanks to international accolades that have triggered the arrival of tourists to Matera. In addition to being inscribed on the World Heritage List and defined as a national monument, Matera has been named the European Capital of Culture for 2019. These titles and the resulting public and institutional support of preservation efforts are again tied to the city's capital status. Surrounding towns with similar cave structures have not received this attention. With the closure of local industries and the current national economic crisis, the government and community of Matera are placing their hope in the Sassi's tourist draw to float the local economy.

Despite the revived title of Capital of Peasant Civilization used for marketing purposes, the occupants of the Sassi today are wealthy, cosmopolitan residents and tourists. In fact, much of the real estate is being claimed for elite cultural tourism. Apart from a few peasant-themed restaurants and museums, most of the spaces are being elegantly renovated to meet the sybaritic tastes and expectations of the new occupants. The contradiction intensifies with the city's preservation guidelines, which allow dramatic internal changes and modernization to Sassi spaces while rehistoricizing exteriors. Not considered to belong to the site's architectural history, twentieth-century exterior changes to the Sassi are being removed through such efforts as replacing aluminum window frames with new wooden ones (that require painting and maintenance) and requiring doors and shutters to be painted green or brown (often replacing old, hand-made wooden doors and shutters in a variety of colors with new, industrially made ones, painted green).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

While Matera's importance as a tourist center grows, so does its role as a capital city. More and more regional government offices are being established or expanded here, and the young local branch of the regional university is expanding quickly. In large part to attract and satisfy tourists, the city is rapidly becoming a cultural Mecca with significant museums and musical offerings—to the extent that Matera has been chosen as the 2019 European Capital of Culture. Preservation of the Sassi (which is bringing both world attention and money to the city) married with Matera's political role within the region is directly responsible for these changes.[29]

Although not a literal case of colonialism, the example of Matera illustrates the words of Jane M. Jacobs, who writes, "these expressions and negotiations of imperialism do not just occur *in* space. This is a politics of identity and power that articulates itself *through* space and is, fundamentally, *about* space . . . The politics produced by places in the process of becoming or being made anew is, then, also a politics of identity in which ideas of race, class, community and gender are formed."[30]

Pre-1950s Matera graphically demonstrated how social structures are constituted geographically. Here, space became intertwined with concepts of status and class, which were then reified in the physical place, in social behavior, and in cognitive structures. Clothing, food, lifestyles—all aspects of social being—were determined by where a person lived. Physical barriers of geography became social barriers. Over time, Matera became a three-dimensional

class model of social stratification. These physical and cognitive barriers limited physical and social mobility of the Sassi dwellers, whose presence was unwelcome on the elegant Piano.

It took several decades for the forced social leveling that occurred in the mid-twentieth century to dismantle the old hierarchy and restructure Materan society into a single middle class with relatively equal privileges, all living on a level plane. Although displays of social status are less visible than before, there remains a consciousness of historical class division—an awareness of where one's grandparents lived: on the Piano or in the Sassi. Ironically, those without ties to the Sassi (former Piano residents and newcomers) are the ones who embrace this site today, value it, and invest in its preservation, while those with previous ties to the Sassi have been less enthusiastic about the renovation taking place, many refusing to return there even for a visit. Their middle-class status depends upon this physical and emotional distancing of the Sassi from their lives.

We see repeated in the present and in the past the operation of politics through landscape. The materiality of Matera—its physical geography as well as the social order witnessed by its architecture—continues to inform the cultural politics of the city. Its cave structures, the physically enacted social stratification that developed from these, and the city's capital status led to the popularity of Levi's book and the events of the 1950s that completely redefined the culture, economy, and physical city of Matera. Vestiges of the old order, however, remain intact in the city's geographic imagination. While Matera's hierarchical landscape no longer reflects its power structure, the inequality of this long-lived experience remains alive in the collective memory, if not in practice. Attempts to erase these bitter memories are tied to the refusal to own this history and, in fact, to annihilate the Sassi, or at least to keep the Quinta intact so as to keep the view of the Sassi removed from the city. By physically avoiding the Sassi and trying to forget their histories there, some former residents allow the space of the Sassi to exert power over them and influence their movements and thoughts.

Landscape is not inert. It is a social construct that is constantly being negotiated. It is an active field of appropriation and identity creation.[31] Even the refusal to engage with the Sassi is a spatial act and one that informs the ex-Sassi group's identity. Matera's politics of identity and place have upturned the previous equation and transformed the Sassi into a tense and contested space, a social battlefield. The Sassi have become a status symbol of antiquity and Old World architectural prowess for yuppies, doctors, professors, writers, artists, architects, and other aesthetes and intellectuals, while the site is tainted

and continues to hold shame and contempt for other members of the population. When associated with Matera's subaltern population, the space of the Sassi was one of political impotence imposed by the ruling elite of the Piano. Through the narratives of world heritage and architectural mastery, the same landscape is now creating political and social authority for the new occupants. The continued power of the elite can be seen in this ability to reorganize space and exert control over social reproduction.

Can Smith's formulations of the influence of the physical landscape on the production of political authority accommodate the Sassi's complete reversal from a villainized site of alterity to an embraced site of privilege and cultural production? I believe that the answer to this question involves time and the fact that sociopolitical changes in Matera are occurring faster than physical changes in the landscape. While Smith's intent to spatialize political authority verges on environmental determinism, he does introduce a temporal element, which allows for change over time.[32] The transformation of the Sassi from an integral part of the city to a marginalized one took place over several centuries and was tied to Matera's rise and fall as a capital city—a process that beautifully illustrates Smith's landscape argument. However, the Sassi's rapid recent changes—first the evacuation of the Sassi and social leveling that accompanied this, then the Sassi's about-face from a site of national shame to one of world heritage—occurred within mere decades and do not reflect a shift in the city's capital status. I do not believe that Smith's construction can adapt to this change, as it is not formulated to study the impact of words on landscape. If politics are embedded in the physical environment, which, according to Smith, exerts an influence on experience, perception, and imagination, then how can the Sassi change meaning through a speech act: the passage of a national law (lifting the Sassi from shame to monument) or the publication of Levi's book? Admittedly, the tainted perception of the site by Materans has not adapted as quickly, but it is changing nonetheless. This, significantly, is not due to physical, social, or political changes but is largely due to the Sassi's role as an economic engine of the city through the tourist trade. In the face of the city's loss of manufacturing as the foundation of its economy, the tourism industry is rapidly growing in importance.

The complete reversal in social meaning attached to the urban geography of the Sassi (from the viewpoint of the elite) exemplifies the fact that although geography *contributes* to and *influences* social structuring and the shaping of social processes, it does not in itself *determine* these processes. The lesson of Matera refutes any residual claims of environmental determinism. Different social forces interacting with the spaces of the Sassi and the Piano led to

different social structures and social relations. Returning to the definition of landscape, we see inscribed in the continually contested and reworked urban form of Matera the rich and continuous record of human engagement.

NOTES

1. For a thorough development of the urban history of Matera, see Anne Parmly Toxey, *Materan Contradictions: Architecture, Preservation and Politics* (London: Ashgate, 2011).

2. Robert B. Riley, "The Visible, the Visual, and the Vicarious: Questions about Vision, Landscape, and Experience," 203; and Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," 4, in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

3. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

4. This date was used by Pietro Laureano in his nomination of Matera for the UNESCO World Heritage List. To arrive at this date, he averaged the carbon dating of human settlements in Matera and surrounding caves (which ranged from 100,000 to 700,000 years BP). These data were developed by scientists working for the Ridola National Archaeological Museum in Matera.

5. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/670, accessed November 26, 2011.

6. Pietro Laureano, *Giardini di Pietra: I Sassi di Matera e la Civiltà Mediterranea* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993), 69.

7. Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia et isole pertinenti ad essa* (Venice: Paulo Ugolino, 1596), 223.

8. Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, vol. 1. (Sala Bolognese: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1975, reprinted from original 1702 publication), 266–267.

9. Abate Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio nel Regno di Napoli* (ca. 1780).

10. John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy; Being a Guide for the Provinces Formerly Constituting the Continental Portion of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* (London: John Murray, 1868).

11. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 8.

12. *Quinta* is a theatrical term for backstage. In architecture, it means an edge. *Quinta Settecentesca* means the eighteenth-century edge and refers to the boundary between the Piano, or city, and the Sassi.

13. Alfonso Pontrandolfi, *La Vergogna Cancellata: Matera negli Anni dello Sfollamento dei Sassi* (Matera: Altrimedia Edizioni, 2002), 24.

14. Pontrandolfi, *La Vergogna Cancellata*, 21.

15. The population increased by 70 percent between 1921 and 1951, rising from 17,900 to 30,390 residents. Between 1936 and 1951, agricultural jobs rose from 4,542 to 4,910, industrial jobs rose from 2,308 to 3,931, commercial jobs rose from 452 to 545, and "other" jobs rose from 895 to 2,021 positions. Livia Bertelli, *International Competition for the Arrangement of the "Sassi" of Matera: Historical-Urbanistic Architectural Investigations on the "Sassi"* (Matera: BMG/Italian Republic Ministry of Public Works, 1974), 20, 22.

16. See, for example, Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian Architecture, 1944–1985* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1989), 25; Graeme Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1995), 298; Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943–1988* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 122, describing conditions of Calabria that are obviously worse than Matera; Luigi Piccinato, "Matera: i Sassi, i nuovi borghi e il Piano regolatore," *Urbanistica* 15–16 (1955): 147; and in his introduction, Cid Corman, *Sun, Rock, Man* (New York: New Directions Book, 1970), n.p., similarly describes Matera's affluence in relation to the "undisguised, unmitigated" poverty of neighboring villages.

17. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 156–164.

18. Riccardo Musatti, "Motivi e Vicende dello Studio," in *Saggi Introduttivi (1): Commissione per lo Studio della Citta e dell' Agro di Matera*, edited by Federico G. Friedmann, Riccardo Musatti, and Giuseppe Isnardi (Rome: UNRRA-Casas, 1956), 3. All translations made by Anne Parmly Toxey.

19. Federico Friedmann, "Osservazioni sul mondo contadino dell'Italia Meridionale," in *Quaderni di sociologia* 3 (winter 1952), 149, quoted in Musatti, *Motivi*, 7.

20. For examples of his binaries, see Federico G. Friedmann, "Un Incontro: Matera," in *Sassi Introduttivi (1): Commissione per lo Studio della Città e dell' Agro di Matera*, by Riccardo Musatti, Federico G. Friedmann, and Giuseppe Isnardi (Rome: UNRRA-Casas, 1956), 11–12. See also Musatti, *Motivi*, 7; and Carlo Aymonino, "Matera: mito e realtà," *Casabella Continuità* 231 (1959), viii.

21. Friedmann, *Sassi Introduttivi*, 11.

22. Tullio Tentori, *Il Sistema di Vita della Comunità Materana: Riassunto di un'inchiesta etnologica* (Rome: UNRRA-Casas, 1956), 5.

23. Tentori, *Il Sistema*, 25–26. His survey continues with the following:

> An even more precise description of his living conditions was given by another father: "the house where I live with my wife and my three young children is truly a doghouse and not [fit] for civil people. Think of a house situated 50 meters from the Gravina torrential stream, at the point where all the city's sewage is released, forming a cascade of all manner of stuff that falls into the torrent below, where it stagnates until a rain carries it away, by which time it is old. The stable in this same house, other than being dangerous for serious injuries, is completely deprived of all comforts.

Due to insufficient space, the three children, aged 12, 8, and 6, sleep in one bed, sexes mixed. It is so humid that water collects under the beds when it rains a lot. There is no bathroom, not even a drain for disposing of wastewater. Think of the morning, after five people have used a terra cotta chamber pot. This filth must be conserved at least until two the next morning to empty it into a black well (uncovered) located 60 meters from the house (at other hours one is not allowed to dispose of waste without facing severe fines). For lack of space, this filth—a meal for flies, conserved for at least a day—is kept either in the kitchen or in a corner of the house, or even under the bed, covered with rags to muffle the stench and to hide it from view when visitors come by. Because of all this filth, which is greater than I've described, we are continually plagued and even infested by roaches, rats, salamanders, and other small disgusting creatures that crawl across our beds at night. Not to mention flies, living with which has become a habit. Think also of the serious problem of water that I transport with jugs a distance of 200 meters. One can't obtain a jug of water without waiting in line for at least half an hour or more at a public fountain . . . To avoid this, I lose several hours of sleep to go get water from the fountain at 3 AM. To conserve water, which costs effort and sacrifice, I wash with water used by my child to wash. I have three children, each of which has suffered from diseases attributed to a dirty house, like malaria, smallpox, conjunctivitis, diphtheria, typhoid, and paratyphoid B. After all this, the owner succeeded in evicting me because the judge admitted the urgent conditions of the house. At the end of the legal extension, I will be given the house. This is a serious problem. The local authorities, with the exception of the Hygiene Office that comes to give vaccinations and distributes anti-typhoid pills, etc., do nothing concrete to deal with all this human misery. The allocation of public housing along via Passarelli aroused such discontent among the really needy population because the houses were assigned to people who already had comfortable homes but who were constrained by large families or who paid high rents. In my opinion, for the allocation of public housing, the commission should give preference to those who live beneath animals, because the major part of the people who were allocated houses were not forced to conserve chamber pots under their beds. I hear talk of much construction and of the abolition of the Sassi: this would be a really big job. This has been discussed for years. Even my deceased grandmother told me that during her life she always heard talk of demolishing the Sassi, and effectively, I have seen some new constructions built. I believe that one day the eternal plague of the Sassi of Matera will be healed." (26)

24. Giuseppe Isnardi, "L'Ambiente Geografico," in *Sassi Introduttivi (1): Commissione per lo Studio della Citta e dell' Agro di Matera*, ed. Federico G. Friedmann, Riccardo Musatti, and Giuseppe Isnardi (Rome: UNRRA-Casas, 1956), 25.

25. Friedmann, *Sassi Introduttivi*, 12–13.

26. Quoted in Giovanni Caserta, "Introduzione," in *Matera 55: Radiografia di una Città del Sud tra Antico e Moderno*, by R. Musatti, F. Friedmann, G. Isnardi, F. Nitti, and T. Tentori (Matera: Edizioni Gianatelli, 1996), 15.

27. Caserta, "Introduzione," 16–17. Mention of anarchy references Matera's history of assassination of noblemen (namely Count Tramontano in 1514 and Count Gatini and his companions in 1860) and the citizens' involvement in southern peasant revolts in the first half of the twentieth century.

28. Francesco Nitti, *Una Città del Sud: Saggio Storico* (Rome: UNRRA-Casas-Prima Giunta, 1956), 55–56. He further states:

> If the bourgeoisie, more or less consciously, is for the State and from the State awaits solutions to the problems of the South, then the peasants are against the State, because the State to them appears to be tyrannical and distant. The true and more evident sign of the conflict between the two classes is here between the Sassi and the Piano (which is the new part of the city), between old and modern: these two cities in one [are] two aspects of a civilization.
>
> Many things have happened to bring together the peasants of the Sassi and the "civilized" of the Piano. The strengthening of the economic state of the peasants—even if this is always less than needed—the development of democratic institutions, the new studies and the surveys of the socio-economic conditions of the city, with particular regard to the state of the peasants, the construction of rural villages for the evacuation of the Sassi, a certain thirst for progress that accompanies the desire (sometimes confused by escape from the closed circle of the small and wretched provincial life)—all this signifies that this peasant society is in movement.

29. Toxey, *Materan Contradictions* analyzes the effects of preservation on Matera and its surroundings.

30. Jane M. Jacobs, *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 1–2.

31. See Barbara Bender, "Introduction," in *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives*, ed. Barbara Bender (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 3.

32. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10–11, 105–111, and in particular, Fernand Braudel's concept of *longue durée* on 48–49.

9

La Parola al Piccone

Demonstrations of Fascism at the Imperial Fora and the Mausoleum of Augustus

STEPHANIE ZEIER PILAT

Although Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) and Italian Fascism (1922–1943) are linked to the city of Rome in our collective consciousness today, the relationship between the regime and its capital was not always a straightforward one. Mussolini initially fashioned himself a political outsider, the leader of a band of angry revolutionaries who opposed the political culture and bureaucratic institutions of Rome. When he founded the Fascist Party in 1919, the First World War had weakened an already fragile state. Inflation, a decrease in factory production, rising unemployment, and the thousands of soldiers returning home from war fostered a volatile social climate in the years following the war. Throughout 1921 and 1922, successive prime ministers formed and dissolved governments—often after just a few months in office. Mussolini's Fascist Party was envisioned as a counter to the existing political culture, a new movement that channeled the anger of the disaffected. Just as Republican Turks sought to distance themselves from the culture of Istanbul when creating a capital in Ankara or American Tea Party activists rail against the perceived corruption and stagnation "inside the beltway" of Washington, DC, the Fascists pointed to Rome as the root cause of the nation's problems, not as the potential solution. As a 1925 article entitled "Rome in the thought of Benito Mussolini" explained, "Until recently, it was a sign of a strong spirit to speak ill of Rome: parasite of other regions, beggar of the state, at the service of employees,

city of slackers and boarding houses."[1] References to the government, state employees, and the physical city of Rome were almost interchangeable in this early Fascist rhetoric. Revolutionary action, according to Fascists, was necessitated by what they perceived as a feeble and ineffective central government in Rome. Despite this antipathy toward the physical and cultural landscape of the capital, taking control of Rome and her institutions was, from the beginning, a central goal of the Fascists. Rome was still the famed historic capital of the peninsula and they never seriously imagined creating a new capital elsewhere. Indeed, on October 24, 1922, at a gathering of 40,000 Fascists in Naples, a plan was hatched to march on Rome the following week. Mussolini, fearing that the plan would fail, did not take part in the March on Rome. When the rather unorganized and ill-equipped Fascists did enter the capital on October 28 a weary King Vittorio Emmanuelle III (1869–1947) did not direct the army to act against them; instead the King invited Mussolini to Rome and asked him to form a new government as prime minister.

The Fascists' ascendance to power created a dilemma for the three-year-old movement: how could the young and idealistic men who were drawn to Fascism by its radical rhetoric avoid being corrupted by what they perceived to be a stagnant and bureacratic capital? For a force so vehemently opposed to the government to assume leadership of that very government was problematic; the vast power of the institutions of the capital threatened to dilute and defile the strength and character of the anti-establishment movement. The Fascists had to devise ways to resist succumbing to the capital's influence or at least ways to demonstrate that they were transforming the culture of Rome and not the other way around. Moreover, as the angry young men who marched on the city in 1922 grew into middle-aged family men with secure government jobs, the problem worsened. As Christopher Duggan describes the situation in the 1930s, "The fascist party was a corrupt clientelistic machine, run by dull middle-aged placemen; the bureaucracy was inefficient; and everywhere cynicism and indifference seemed rife."[2] Because the Fascists had evolved into the very type of authority they had so strongly opposed, the need to distinguish themselves from their predecessors became increasingly important. As a consequence, over the more than two decades of Fascist rule, the urban landscape of the capital became a canvas upon which the regime sought to express its revolutionary roots. Physical interventions in Rome's urban fabric became a central means through which the regime demonstrated that it was still aggressively and even violently acting on Rome. A broad range of construction, demolition, and renovation projects were undertaken in the capital during the Fascist era including roads, rail lines, post offices, ministry buildings, administrative

offices, a new university, and a new sports complex, the Foro Mussolini. New neighborhoods, such as the Garbatella, and villages outside the city center, like Primavalle, were built to house the influx of Italians seeking work in the capital as well as those displaced by the many construction projects in the historic center. While all of the projects effectively demonstrated Fascist action, certain projects had particular symbolic and political associations.[3]

Among the most important sites for demonstrating the regime's revolutionary streak were those connected to the city's imperial legacy, particularly the Imperial Fora and the Mausoleum of Augustus, where large swaths of urban fabric were removed in order to "liberate" the ancient ruins below. Not only were the two sites of international interest and centrally located, they enabled archaeologists and architects to symbolically connect the imperial ambitions of the Fascist state to the Roman Empire. Mussolini played an active role in shaping the final designs and promoting the work at both sites as signs of progress, but such politicization of imperial sites was hardly new. As Gregor Kalas explains in chapter 2 of this volume, third-century reconstructions in the forum had provided a means for the reigning tetrarchy to connect themselves to Augustus.[4] Moreover, through building projects in the forum, the tetrarchy sought to "vanquish the immanent decay inherent in the passage of time," just as the Fascists sought to renew the capital both physically and culturally centuries later.[5] Given the vested political significance of imperial sites and the Fascists' use of them in the modern era, an examination of how the work at the two sites was represented presents an opportunity to consider the question posed by Adam T. Smith:

> How do polities emerge as landscapes—as experientially discrete territories, as places perceived to evoke enduring commitments of people to land and as imagined accounts of the sources of enduring attachments between subjects and regimes rooted in space and time?[6]

How, in other words, did the Fascists reshape the historic landscape of their capital city as a means to inspire dedication and attachment to the regime by those Italians hungry for an aggressive approach to transforming Italy?

Spiro Kostof and Italo Insolera have documented the modern history of planning and construction at the two sites.[7] Kostof argues that Mussolini's interest in reclaiming and restoring ancient sites in Rome was connected to his imperial ambitions as well as growing out of the perceived need for "better circulation, slum clearance, and the curbing of unemployment."[8] In what follows, I build on Kostof and Insolera's work through a close reading of the ways in which the process of demolition and reconstruction at the Imperial

Fora and mausoleum were represented in journal and newspaper articles. Using Smith's analytical categories of experience, perception, and imagination,[9] I highlight how interventions at the Imperial Fora and Mausoleum of Augustus sites became central to a campaign of the imagination as the Fascists sought to display their aggressive and active nature. In other words, while shaping experiences and perceptions were certainly key drivers of the work, an analysis of the representations of the work reveals how exploiting the imaginative potential of the projects grew increasingly important as the Fascists sought to continually demonstrate their revolutionary character.

In the case of Fascist Rome, the maintenance of power and legitimacy was secured not simply by building new palaces or institutions, but also by reshaping the existing landscape of the historic capital. In this sense, work in Fascist Rome paralleled similar developments in Tehran in the 1930s as detailed by Talinn Grigor (chapter 10, this volume).[10] In both cases reconstruction and demolition became influential vehicles through which authority was translated into an imagined understanding of history and progress illustrating how, as Smith argues, "authority is practiced through rather than within landscapes."[11] In the case of Rome, one of the reasons the demolition and reconstruction work at historic sites took on such importance for the regime was because they were able to help bridge some of the ideological contradictions of Fascism by reflecting both conservative and progressive tendencies. As Jeffrey Schnapp argues, it was precisely the need to paper over the philosophical poverty and internal contradictions of Fascism that made cultural representations of critical importance to the regime:

> Neither monolithic nor homogeneous, Fascism's aesthetic overproduction relied upon the ability of images to sustain contradiction and to make of paradox a productive principle. Hence the rhetorical figure that (perhaps inevitably) lurks at the core of every analysis of the Fascist phenomenon: oxymoron.[12]

It was this lack of a clear and precise meaning in aesthetic productions that enabled the Fascists to present themselves as both modern and traditional as well as progressive and conservative. The meaning of the remaking of the landscape of Rome was not simply embodied in the projects themselves but equally in the ways in which the work was staged and represented. Tracing the evolution of representations over the course of the work at the Imperial Fora and Mausoleum of Augustus illustrates how the balance between the conservative and the progressive strands of Fascism shifted as the regime matured. By the late 1930s, the modern and destructive side of the work often overshadowed the ancient value and historic significance linked to resurrecting

the Empire. As a case study of how a political power is manifest in capital landscapes, this examination of the interventions undertaken at Rome's imperial sites in the 1930s illustrates the importance that *process* and *representations* can have in terms of framing and clarifying the meaning of demolition and reconstruction projects in the collective imagination.

THE IMPERIAL FORA

When Mussolini was appointed prime minister in 1922, the site of Rome's Imperial Fora, located between the Capitoline Hill and the Colosseum, was buried beneath a working-class neighborhood and cow pasture. The area north of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine had been built up with a maze of narrow streets and dense urban fabric much like that still found today in the Monti area nearby. Beneath the neighborhood lay the ruins of the Imperial Fora of Caesar, Augustus, Nervi, Trajan, and Vespian. The adjoining stretch of land, site of the Roman Forum, was largely an open field. The lack of new development in the area was not due to a shortage of ideas on the part of planners and politicians. Between 1871, when Rome became the capital of the newly unified Italy, and the Fascist ascent to power in 1922, planners had regularly proposed to clean up and reorganize the city in order to make it once again fit to serve as a national capital.[13] Master plans published by the city in 1873, 1883, and 1909 generally focused on minor alterations to the Imperial Fora area, such as widening streets and rebuilding select dilapidated structures. The concept behind this type of intervention, *diradamento* ("thinning"), called for preserving as much of the urban fabric as possible while making small and calculated interventions where necessary.[14] Initially, leading architects supported this approach and the first plan for the Imperial Fora area completed under Fascist rule in 1925–1926 reflected the *diradamento* concept.

The contextually sensitive approach to the Imperial Fora area did not last long under Fascism. In the second version of the 1925–1926 plan a dramatic shift in concept is evident: planners proposed demolishing the entire neighborhood atop the Imperial Fora. Demolition work began shortly thereafter, despite the fact that the 1925–1926 plan never became law. In 1932 a detailed plan for the area was published; it proposed the demolition of a wide swath of urban fabric to make way for the reconstruction of the Imperial Fora and the construction of a new avenue designed to link Rome to the hills beyond, the Via dell'Impero.[15] Much of this demolition work was, however, already complete. In all 5,500 dwellings were destroyed when the area was cleared. Certain ancient monuments, such as the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine and

the Markets of Trajan, were singled out for preservation or reconstruction. Three churches, however, were included in the demolition plans.[16]

Ultimately, the concept of *diradamento* did not guide urban interventions into the imperial landscape of the capital. Instead, a new approach, *sventramento* ("disemboweling") empowered designers and archaeologists to remove massive chunks of the urban fabric in order to maintain or resurrect other structures. Instead of a careful assessment of the existing urban fabric and localized interventions, *sventramento* allowed grand visions for the Fascist capital to guide designs. The demolition of the existing neighborhood was followed by the rapid construction of the new Via dell'Impero. Many of the relics of ancient Rome, which had only recently emerged from beneath the earth, were almost immediately buried under the dirt and paved over for the new road.

Adam T. Smith defines the experiential sense of the term *political landscape* as "an experience of form that shapes how we move through created environments."[17] In the case of the Imperial Fora, the experience of this newly transformed landscape was dominated by the enormous modern road running through the historic site, reflecting a particular appraisal of history. Through their shaping of experience, the Fascists expressed which periods and parcels of history were valued—the ancient and especially the imperial—and which histories were viewed as disposable—the medieval and the working class. Their approach gave preference to modernization projects at the expense of preserving the urban fabric and, in certain places, at the expense of preserving antiquity. The route and size of the new Via dell'Impero illustrates this privileging of modern traffic needs most clearly, as it was designed largely irrespective of the existing neighborhood it replaced or the monuments of ancient Rome below it. As Spiro Kostof has noted, the path of the Via dell'Impero cuts diagonally across the orthogonally arranged fora. Furthermore, the new road was vast; it was 30 m wide and 900 m long, and it covered between half and three-quarters of what was initially excavated on the site. Both the existing neighborhood and the ancient monuments were to submit to the new Rome, not the other way around.[18] The experience of the Fora area today is still dominated by the vastness of the road, which plows directly through the archaeological sites.

Smith defines the perceptual sense of political landscapes as "a sensibility evoking responses in subjects through perceptual dimensions of physical space."[19] Perceptions of the Imperial Fora area were shaped in part through the staging of events on the site. On October 28, 1932, the tenth anniversary of the Fascist March on Rome, Mussolini inaugurated the Via dell'Impero.

Fascist troops, who had first entered the city ten years earlier, marched in triumph down the new road constructed at the behest of their leader. For those who may not have immediately read the ongoing work as an illustration of Fascist action and power, the anniversary march and rallies such as that celebrating Hitler's 1938 visit served to frame understandings of the work and explicate meanings. The coupling of the transformed landscape and the human action on site became a powerful means through which the regime sought to solidify the connections between themselves and the historic legacy of the city. Such events in and of themselves, however, reached a limited audience; only through representations in the media were these events broadcast to an international audience. Newsreels and newspaper accounts communicated the Fascist events at the Imperial Fora to the world, planting the seeds for the interconnectedness of the regime and its construction site: the capital.

Leading up to the inauguration of the site, another type of event featured prominently in press accounts: the demolition and reconstruction work itself. The way in which the process of transforming the capital was showcased in the press reflected the regime's attempt not only to shape perceptions of the site but also to define the relationship between the ancient Roman Empire and the Fascist regime in the collective imagination. It is in these representations of the process that Smith's third analytical category, imagination, which he defines as "an imaginative aesthetic guiding representation of the world at hand," comes into play.[20] An examination of these representations shows that although it would be easy to read the work at the Imperial Fora as primarily guided by desires to shape visitors' experiences or perceptions of the sites, characterizing the nature of the regime in the imagination was equally important. The shifting and relative importance of preserving antiquity, providing for modern traffic needs, and staging Fascist action was illustrated in articles published in the journal of the city of Rome, *Capitolium*, throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[21] Over a period of fourteen years (1927–1941), accounts in the journal evolve from a documentary approach to a propagandistic framing of the work. In both the early and late articles the historic significance of these two sites is evident; what changes over this period is the increasing focus on showcasing the work itself as a demonstration of Fascist aggression.

One of the earliest articles about the work at the Imperial Fora is the November 1928 story entitled "*Un Visita di S.E. il Capo del Governo ai Lavori in Corso per la Grandezza dell'Urbe*," which documented Mussolini's annual visit to the ongoing works at the Fora.[22] The visit was also the occasion for Mussolini's announcement of a broader vision for Rome, one that would be driven not only by necessity, but also by grandeur.[23] Photographs show

Figure 9.1. *Mussolini's visit to the work at the Imperial Fora. (From* Capitolium, *1928)*

Mussolini walking among the ruins with government officials and work-ers (figure 9.1). The photographs highlight the process of reconstruction by capturing the site with men at work amidst piles of construction materials. Overall, however, the 1928 photos have a documentary quality rather than a fully propagandistic tone about them. They appear less staged and more natu-ral than those that follow. Although both imperial history and Fascist action are present, the meaning could be subject to different interpretations.

Four years later the November 1932 issue of *Capitolium* was entirely dedi-cated to the construction of two new roads, the Via del Mare on the oppos-ing side of the Capitoline Hill and the Via dell'Impero. These two roads had originally been conceived of as twins, both leading directly from the heart of Rome, the Piazza Venezia, out to the sea and the surrounding hills. Instead of the usual handful of articles in each issue, the November issue included just two articles. The first, "*La Via dell'Impero e La Via del Mare,*" by Antonio Muñoz, was thirty-five pages long and included fifty photographs of the ongoing work.[24] While some of the photographs were of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine or views from the Via dell'Impero, the majority

Figure 9.2. *Demolition underway at the Imperial Fora. (From* Capitolium, *1932)*

of images in the issue depicted the ongoing work and included half-demol-
ished buildings and piles of rubble and construction materials (figure 9.2). At
first glance, it is difficult to see the photos of the ongoing work as illustra-
tions of progress, for the photographed area looks as if it has been violently
ripped apart or bombed. In fact, however, the glorification of violent destruc-
tion, which had roots in Italian Futurism, was part of the ideological founda-
tion of Fascism.

Recalling the creed of Italian Futurism helps shed light on the destruc-
tive underpinnings of Fascism as related to aesthetics. Started in 1909 by
the poet Fillippo Marinetti, the Italian Futurist movement sought to propel
Italy forward through the violent destruction of the past. From the begin-
ning, Marinetti and the Futurists linked aesthetics and violence celebrating,
for example, "war as the only true hygiene of the world."[25] Marinetti joined
Mussolini's Fascist Party after the First World War and shared with it a simi-
lar understanding of how to advance Italian society.[26] According to this shared
concept of progress, the obsession with the past in Italy was preventing the
nation from advancing. In order for society to move forward, Marinetti called
for the destruction of all vestiges of history writing: "Away and set fire to the
bookshelves! . . . Turn the canals and flood the vaults of museums! . . . Oh! Let
the glorious old pictures float adrift! Seize the pickax and hammer! Sap the
foundations of the venerable towns!"[27]

Futurists' and Fascists' bonds were formed in part by their shared belief in the positive potential of violence and destruction. The Fascist concept of progress differed, however, from Marinetti's in that not all of history had to be destroyed in order to move the nation forward; but rather select parts of the past warranted destruction while others warranted recovery and resurrection.[28]

The Futurist aestheticization of violence and its connection to Fascism help us make sense of the curious depictions of the work at the Imperial Fora. Instead of celebrating the final product or designs, the photographs of the work showcase the process and aftermath of demolition as a sign of progress. This glorification of destruction can be seen in a pair of "before" and "during" photographs included in the 1932 article (figure 9.3). The "before" photograph shows a clean and orderly piazza with buildings neatly lining the edges. The "during" photograph depicts a huge pile of rubble spilling into the Piazza out of a partially demolished building. Whereas people are absent in the first photo, in the second photo, people and cars are busy moving about the site. These two photographs illustrate that the traditional "before and after" pairing has been subverted; the "after" here is not an improved, orderly, or finished piazza but is rather one actively being destroyed.

The national newspaper, *Corriere della Sera,* also covered the work at the Imperial Fora. Watercolor illustrations of the site graced the front covers of the paper's Sunday supplement, *La Domenica del Corriere*, on both the ninth and twenty-third of October 1932. The fact that the work would feature so prominently in the national press during the weeks leading up to the tenth anniversary of Fascism indicates that it was to be perceived as one of the major accomplishments of the regime. The October ninth cover, for example, depicts robust men hauling buckets, shoveling dirt, pulling wheelbarrows, and swinging pickaxes (figure 9.4). The caption describes the work:

> The final work at one of the most significant projects that will be inaugurated in Rome on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution. The new street that traverses the imperial forum leading from the Vittoriano to the Colosseum joins the monument of the new Italy to the most famous monument of ancient Rome.[29]

Despite the mention of the Imperial Fora and the Colosseum in the caption, there are no remnants of antiquity pictured in the illustration. The foreground and middle ground of the image depict a flat plain of dirt, free of the pieces of gigantic columns and bits of ancient walls one might have expected to see. In the background the enormous white Vittoriano stands out among a grouping of smaller buildings in shades of brown. Looking at the picture, what grabs the viewer's attention is not the architecture or site at all, but rather the bodies
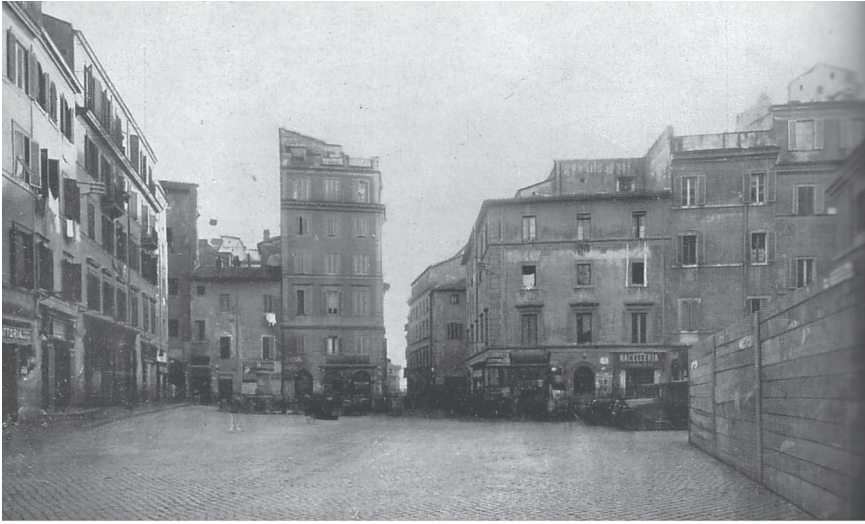
FIGURE 9.3. *Photographs of the Piazza Montanara before (top) and during (bottom) demolition. (From* Capitolium, *1934)*

in action. Whereas the dirt is a washed-out cream color, the sky is light blue, and the buildings are muted tones, the working men wear bright colors: one wears a bright yellow shirt with a red bandana, while others are in hot pink and bright blue. This color scheme draws the eye first to the contrasting colors
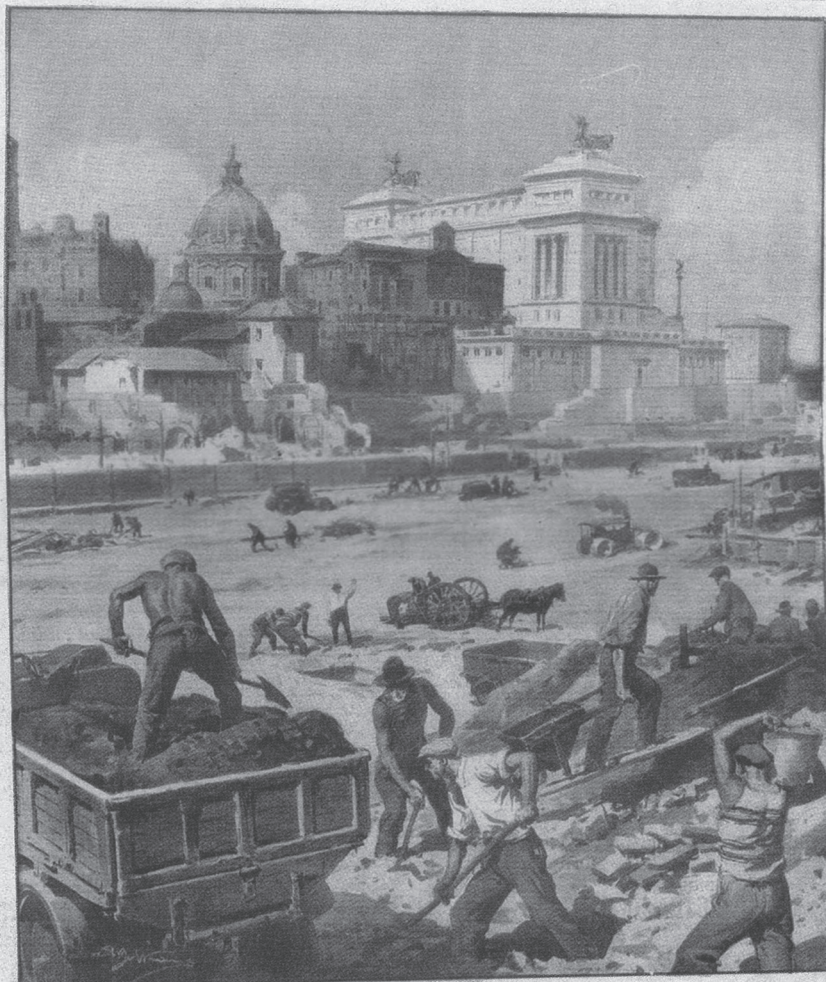
Figure 9.4. La Domenica del Corriere *cover from October 9, 1932.*

the men are wearing and second to their active bodies. Instead of portraying the work at the Imperial Fora as a resurrection of Rome's ancient heritage by showcasing the relics of that past, the cover illustration highlights the Fascist accomplishments at the site: the ruins of antiquity are absent, allowing the workers' bodies in action to take center stage.

The *Domenica del Corriere* cover illustration from the twenty-third of October, just days before the inauguration of the Via dell'Impero, is also a watercolor painting (figure 9.5). Mussolini stands among a group of construction workers on the site, looking to his right side at a construction worker who is standing on higher ground with one arm raised. Other workers in the foreground have their right arms raised in a salute as well. The crowd behind Mussolini is a sea of arms and shovels protruding up into the air. Further in the background more men stand with arms and shovels raised amid the backdrop of the Colosseum. The title reads:

> The periodic visit of Mussolini to the grandiose works of renovation in the capital, undertaken according to his will, raised the enthusiasm of the workers. Days ago the laborers working to pave the great street next to the Colosseum gathered, cheering around the Duce and improvising a warm demonstration.[30]

The caption focuses on the people involved, the Colosseum, and the new road but does not mention the Imperial Fora on the site. Unlike the earlier cover illustration, this one clearly draws attention to the historic significance of the site by placing the Colosseum in the center of the background. Yet, whereas the buildings and ground are muted tones, the workers are once again in active poses and dressed in bright colors, with six of the most visible workers in colorfully striped shirts. The Colosseum stands silent and passive in the background acting primarily as a means of orienting the viewer to the site.

The visibility of the workers' bodies in these depictions brings to mind David Horn's account of how, through the rise of the social domain and its attendant technologies such as censuses, social work, and urban planning, the bodies of individual subjects became sites of intervention and control for the Fascist government. The body of the state and the individual became interdependent and were often imagined and discussed almost interchangeably. "Organismic and corporeal metaphors," according to Horn, "permitted a productive slippage among the discourses of the biological sciences, social sciences, and nationalism, and a blurring of the boundaries of their objects: the biological individual, the population, society, and the nation."[31]

The development of the social sciences during this period thus enabled a newfound connection between an individual body and the nation through

Figure 9.5. La Domenica del Corriere *cover from October 23, 1932.*

the concept of the social body. Managing individual bodies in terms of disease, hygiene, housing, and reproduction became a potential responsibility of government, and employment was among the social interests that government could influence. In fact, creating jobs was one of the key justifications for the construction projects undertaken in the capital. Fascist power was being translated into individual bodies at work, which came to symbolize a productive nation moving forward. Furthermore, Mussolini's presence among the workers reminds us that it is through his authority that reconstruction occurs.

Together the published images of the work at the Imperial Fora in both *Capitolium* and *Domenica del Corriere* demonstrate that the depictions of the work gradually focused more on the process of demolition and the human action on the site than on the historic value of the ruins being recovered. At the Imperial Fora, the need to stage and glorify Fascist action had begun to outweigh preservation concerns even when it came to the most significant archaeological sites. The imaginative potential of the site as a means to represent "the world at hand" and Fascist identity in that world had begun to be realized.[32] This approach would grow more intense at the Mausoleum of Augustus as the Fascists turned their attention toward an expansion of their empire and a celebration of Rome's first emperor, Augustus.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS

Located near the Tiber River on the northern side of the historic city center, the Mausoleum of Augustus, built starting in 28 BCE, is a massive set of stacked cylindrical forms. By 1922, the area around the mausoleum was made up of a mixture of early modern and nineteenth-century buildings, including three churches. During the long span of time between Augustus's death in 14 CE and the era of Fascism, centuries of additions and reconstructions had left the original structure of the mausoleum barely visible. Over the centuries, the mausoleum had housed a circus, hanging gardens, a bullring, and finally in the nineteenth century one of Rome's largest concert halls, which was built directly on top of the cylindrical base. The ground plane of the city of Rome rose over the centuries, leaving the original floor level of the mausoleum well beneath the streets and sidewalks of the modern city that grew around it.

The area surrounding the Mausoleum of Augustus was regularly the target of development plans in the early decades of Rome's modern reign as capital.[33] As with many other proposals for the rapidly growing city, the twin justifications for intervention were usually characterized as traffic and "hygiene"— meaning slum clearance. Early plans, published in *Capitolium*, proposed

calculated interventions: demolishing select buildings surrounding the mausoleum, cutting new arteries through the dense urban fabric to connect nearby streets, and renovating rather than removing the concert hall. The first official plan completed after Mussolini's ascendance, in 1925–1926, maintained this considered approach, focusing on traffic and clearing away select buildings. Marcello Piacentini, a leading Roman architect, was involved in the 1925–1926 plan for the site and designed a renovation proposal for the auditorium inside the mausoleum.[34] Thus, in the early years of Fascist rule it was not evident that Augustus's tomb would ultimately be returned to its original state; it was after all a functioning auditorium.

One of the earliest indications that political perception was to play a greater role in the design of the site was the first officially Fascist design of the area by the Federazione Fascista dell'Urbe (figure 9.6). Designed by Enrico Del Debbio, the plan diagram depicts ideal viewing points and cones of vision using dashed lines, revealing that the architect was carefully considering how the monument would be best viewed. Thus by 1927, the mausoleum was beginning to be conceived of as a meaningful monument, which would necessitate careful staging. It was around the same time that the idea of removing the concert hall and returning the mausoleum to a ruin began to be discussed by archaeologists such as Gugliemo Gatti and Antonio Colini.[35] The desire for reconstruction of the ancient monument as a symbol of empire was beginning to take precedence over the usefulness of the concert hall, which had been in use since the nineteenth century. In other words, desired perceptions were dictating the experience of the site. As a consequence, Del Debbio envisioned the mausoleum as an object in space to be viewed by spectators from particular points. The perceptual and symbolic importance of the site was further illustrated by a 1932 plan, which departed from earlier designs in two significant ways. First, it proposed returning the mausoleum to a ruinous state. Second, while previous designs left some of the buildings that surrounded the Piazzale virtually untouched, the 1932 plan proposed a more sweeping intervention: for the first time the whole area of the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore was envisioned as a sort of Fascist stage set for the emerging ruin of the mausoleum. At a minimum, new façades for surrounding buildings were to be constructed so that all of the buildings would appear compositionally unified. Many of the surrounding buildings were to be demolished and replaced by new ones. The only exceptions were the three surrounding churches.[36] Thus the design of the area reflected a desire to shape perceptions of the site by surrounding the ancient tomb with modern Fascist constructions, thereby joining the two moments in history.

Figure 9.6. *The first page of the* Capitolium *article on the inauguration of the demolition at the Mausoleum of Augustus, 1938.*

The architect Vittorio Morpurgo developed the final changes to the design with suggestions from the city government and from Mussolini himself. Morpurgo retained much from the previous plans, including the scope of the area plan and the goal of returning the mausoleum to a ruin. He also investigated numerous solutions regarding which direction the site would face, but it was Mussolini who ultimately decided that the site should face the river, requiring the demolition of a block between the mausoleum and the site, which had only recently been constructed. Mussolini later further instructed that the Augustan altar of peace, the Ara Pacis, be relocated to the site adjoining the river.[37] The ancient altar commemorated Emperor Augustus's victorious conquests and framed these ancient conflicts as necessary for and leading

to a period of peace. Since the late 1920s Mussolini had asserted that colonial expansion was necessary in order for Italy to deal with its own overpopulation. The more visible location of the Ara Pacis chosen by Mussolini provided a tangible illustration of Mussolini's own attempts to connect colonial expansion to peace through the site design. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, for example, was promoted as a means for the nation to achieve peace and stability, an argument echoed by the ancient altar commemorating peace won through war. The visual emphasis on the ruin of the mausoleum framed by Fascist buildings and the addition of the Ara Pacis to the site highlighted the ways in which the project was being used to frame understandings and shape perceptions of the relationship between Fascism and the imperial history of Rome.[38]

The press coverage of the demolition and reconstruction work at the Mausoleum site was more far reaching, reflecting an aim of defining Fascism in the collective imagination as violent and assertive. In addition to documenting the planning process, the press coverage highlighted the demolition and construction process at the mausoleum from 1935 to 1941, when the work was completed. Depictions of the project reveal how carefully constructed images enabled the Fascists to embody and reflect the paradoxical nature of Fascism. Official newsreels and the journal *Capitolium* concocted this recipe using three primary imagery types: depictions of demolition and reconstruction underway; wistful and hazy images of the partially recovered mausoleum; and architectural drawings and models of the project.

Mussolini inaugurated the demolition of the buildings surrounding the Mausoleum of Augustus on October 22, 1934. The two-minute-long newsreel of the event, "*Inizio delle demolizioni per l'isolamento del Mausoleo di Augusto*," focused on the hidden monument and the action of the men on the site.[39] The newsreel began with views through the narrow streets surrounding the imperial tomb. Glimpses of the mausoleum are captured beneath the layers of buildings that developed around it. Mussolini then arrives on the scene and gets to work by first removing loose roof tiles by hand. He then takes up his pickaxe and begins his violent attack on the structure encasing the mausoleum. Close-up footage of Mussolini swinging a pickaxe is interspersed with that of dozens of men swinging their pickaxes and debris falling the long distance to the ground below. Mussolini's speech at the site did not mention the new buildings that would be constructed around the mausoleum; rather he focused his attention almost exclusively on the demolition. He introduced the theme by reciting the long list of streets that were erased a few years before to make way for the Via dell'Impero and then continued with the corresponding list of those that would be lost with this new demolition project, disparagingly

FIGURE 9.7. *Mussolini center stage swinging the pickaxe to demolish buildings around the Mausoleum of Augustus. (From* Capitolium*, 1938)*

referring to the buildings on the site as "local color." Mussolini cited the usual concerns of "hygiene" and traffic as well as "beauty" as justification for the destruction of 120 houses.[40] The improved flow of traffic was cited as evidence that the project was not purely motivated by archaeological concerns but also by a desire to meet the needs of modern life. The short film reflects the Fascists' developing talent for using reconstruction projects in the capital to showcase their violent actions toward the landscape of the city; taking center stage is their leader at work.

One of the most notable *Capitolium* articles about the work at the mausoleum is the coverage of these groundbreaking ceremonies of 1934, which carefully frames the events of the day in print media. The first page of the article on the inauguration of the work shows the Duce swinging a pickaxe next to the heading "La parola al piccone" ("Let the pickaxe speak!") (figure 9.7). In an accompanying photo, we see dozens of men gathered around Mussolini and scattered across rooftops of the urban landscape, many of whom are swinging picks, actively destroying the "local color" of the capital (figure 9.8). Nowhere is the sense that Fascists are violently attacking the landscape of the capital more clearly articulated than in this photo. As the caption describes, "Il Duce makes the first strike of the pick for the liberation of the Mausoleum of Augustus," once again reminding us that the work is accomplished through the authority and bodily presence of Mussolini.[41]

Comparing the 1934 photograph of Mussolini swinging his pickaxe while surrounded by men engaged in demolition with the 1925 photograph of Mussolini

FIGURE 9.8. *The opening page of an article on the work underway at the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore. (From* Capitolium, *1937)*

surveying the work at the Imperial Fora illustrates the development in the use of imagery during the decade that separates the two photographs (figures 9.1 and 9.7). The 1925 image captures Mussolini in mid-stride, walking with a group of men in suits among the ancient ruins. The 1934 photograph portrays Mussolini in action with pickaxe raised in mid-swing, surrounded by men on

the rooftops of the city. Whereas in the first photograph the group of men walks briskly as politicians might be expected to do, in the second photograph they are physically and violently demolishing the city. Rather than bureaucrats surveying the landscape, the 1934 image pictures revolutionaries attacking the capital. While the 1925 photograph focused closely on a particular scene, the 1934 image, in contrast, stages the Duce's actions and those of the dozens of men among the unending rooftops of the capital. It is not simply a calculated intervention at a single site, the generic nature of this sea of rooftops suggest a violent assault on the physical landscape of the capital from above. These depictions of the work recall Smith's description of Urartian monarchs who similarly presented construction as "episodes of conquest, advancing a claim to political legitimacy based on the power of the king to subdue the 'wilderness' and call forth an ordered landscape."[42] In this case, the "wilderness" being subdued was the devious and disorderly urban fabric of the capital. Images and newsreels of Mussolini leading a band of Fascists swinging pickaxes were evidence of the Duce's power to discipline and order the landscape of the city.

While such portraits of the demolition were perhaps the most obvious indications of the destructive and revolutionary nature of the regime, other types of imagery communicated different facets of the broader message—that Fascism was advancing a dramatic transformation of Italian political culture. The 1937 article, "Augusteo Romantico," for example, includes a series of somewhat hazy photographs of the mausoleum with piles of rubble and partially demolished buildings (figure 9.8). People are absent from the photographs, creating an eerie sense of timelessness. Other depictions of the process provide similar hints of the human action involved without including any actors. A photograph published in 1937, for example, shows the site with a pile of rubble or debris in the foreground, cranes in the background and stacks of building materials in the center (Figure 9.9). These atmospheric depictions suggest that reconstruction of the mausoleum is indicative of greater cultural and physical shifts that were, in these suspended moments, quietly unfolding. By capturing the physical transformation of the historic city, the images recall the palingenetic myth of Fascism as defined by Roger Griffin, "At the heart of palingenetic political myth lies the belief that contemporaries are living through or about to live through a 'sea-change,' a 'water-shed' or 'turning-point' in this historical process."[43] The photographs capture sites frozen in time, suspended in a moment of pause as if the actors had just exited the stage. The evocative quality of such images transforms the project from a normal construction site into an allusion to an unfolding "sea-change" and projects this moment beyond the site as an imaginative tool.
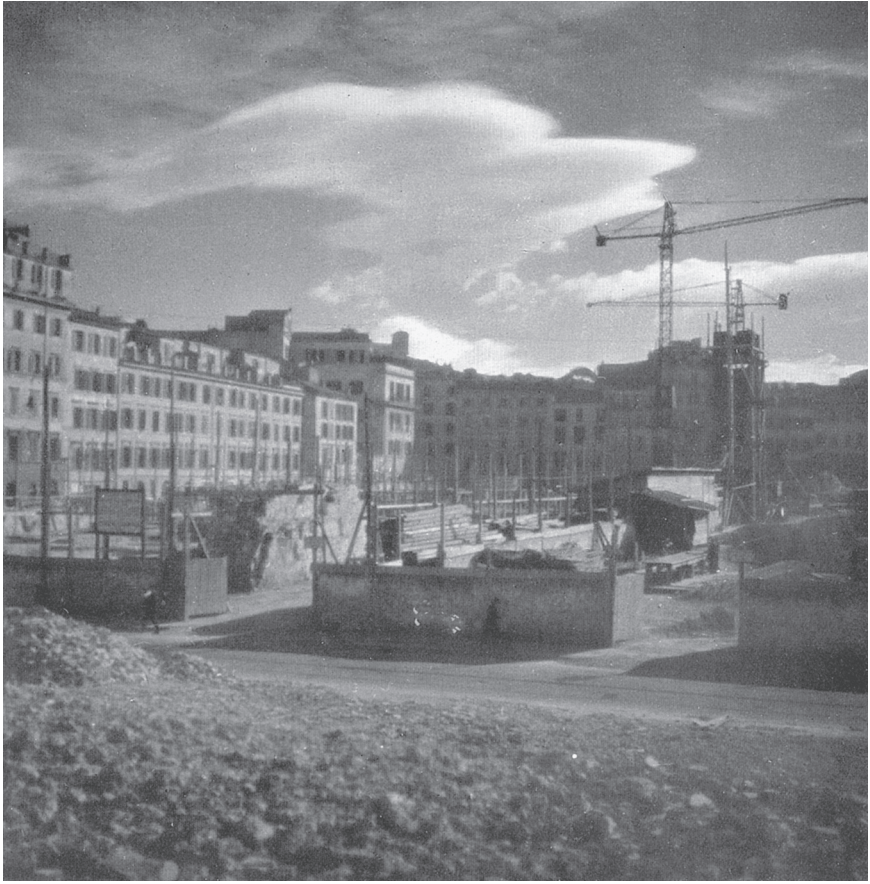
FIGURE 9.9. *Photograph of the work underway at the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore. (From* Capitolium, *1937)*

Other articles pointed more directly to how the work was to be interpreted by exploiting the symbolic potential of the site and overtly linking the ancient empire to the modern one. A 1938 article, for example, closes with these words, "a religious silence reigns on the isolated and high plateau of the sacred urn of the founder of the ancient empire where the people can gather together to listen to the words of the founder of the new Italian empire."[44] Through the decisive words and actions of Mussolini, "the founder of the new Italian empire," the sacred site and its apparitions were being properly honored. By the late 1930s the decision had already been made to return the mausoleum

to a ruin and there was no longer any mention of the functioning concert hall. In fact, the reconstruction was posited as a project to rescue the monument from grotesque accretions surrounding the mausoleum. Anna Notaro has analyzed the way in which the work at the mausoleum and the 1937 exhibition commemorating the bimillennial of Augustus were used to reflect the newly established peace with the Catholic Church.[45] Indeed, the reverent and sacred overtones in such depictions illustrate how the representations of the work drew on religious traditions and sentiment to evoke a connection to a broader worldview in which the ancient empire was being resurrected through Fascism.

Architectural drawings and models constituted a third featured type of imagery represented in the *Capitolium* articles. A 1935 article on the site included dramatic photographs of an architectural model of the project, showcasing the new piazza formed by the three churches.[46] Publishing the models, sketches, and architectural drawings turned the process of design itself into an exhibition of Fascist visions and plans. These articles provided evidence that the Fascists were always simultaneously destroying, building, and planning for their next project. A new feature introduced in *Capitolium* in 1937 further indicated the ongoing importance of such architectural schemes: each issue began featuring a proposed plan of an area of the city as the last page of the journal. By concluding every issue with future plans, readers would have been given the clear sense that the work in the capital was never complete. Just as the Fascist revolution was supposed to be perpetual, so too were the Fascist actions on the urban landscape of the capital. In the collective imagination, the Fascists were always at work somewhere and, at the same time, planning their next attack on the city.

CONCLUSIONS

A 1933 *New York Times* article reveals that the goal of presenting the work in Rome as indicative of the nature of the Fascist regime was at least partially successful. In "Mussolini Builds a Rome of the Caesars," Valentine Thomson explains, "work is Mussolini's gospel. His creed, which is action, demands immediate and tangible results."[47] Thus for a time, the work undertaken at the two sites and the representations in the press were understood, even by outsiders, as a demonstration of the action-oriented character of the regime. Yet Smith reminds us that the modern relationship among landscapes and the bodies of subjects and rulers is often quite different than that portrayed through Fascist representations of demolition and construction.

Smith's analysis of two depictions of authority—one ancient and one modern—illustrates the differences between modern and ancient means of constituting political authority through landscapes. Smith compares a reconstruction of Queen Puabi of Ur's death pit (ca. 3000 BCE, reconstructed in 1928) to Andy Warhol's silkscreen of an electric chair (1965). The queen's death pit was filled with the sacrificed bodies of humans and animals surrounding the queen's corpse; it illustrates the physical connection between the body of the ruler and those of the subjects. Moreover, the queen's death pit concretely located authority both in space and in the body of the queen. Warhol's silkscreen of the electric chair, in contrast, was eerily absent of any human activity or even bodies of subjects or rulers. As Smith explains, Warhol's modern portrait of authority is "profoundly unlocatable, simultaneously nowhere and everywhere"[48] in stark contrast to the firmly grounded ancient death pit. The clear differences between these two portraits of the relationship among authority, the bodies of subjects, and space highlight the ways in which the constitution of political authority has changed in the modern era. Warhol's *Electric Chair* depicts a new vision of authority, which Smith characterizes as "a modernist vision of authority established by the absence both of the condemned . . . and of authorities."[49]

The Fascist attention to demolishing and reconstructing the historic landscape of their capital as a means of establishing and maintaining their power has more in common with the ancient queen's death pit than Warhol's modern portrait of authority. In both the death pit and the Fascist representations of their work, the bodies of subjects, the body of the leader, and a locatable physical landscape are present. Moreover, as noted earlier, the presence of Mussolini among the workers in the representations of the process recalls the Urartian carvings discussed by Smith, which suggested that construction work by all was made possible through the leader.[50] Comparing the Fascist representations of the process of demolition and reconstruction to Warhol's *Electric Chair* and the queen's death pit, we find that, one on hand, little has changed in terms of how authorities use landscapes to represent their power and their relationship to their subjects. On the other hand, Warhol's *Electric Chair* highlights that profound changes in the constitution of authority were developing in the twentieth century and suggests why the pageantry of Mussolini swinging a pickaxe seems superficial and glib today. Fascist representations of their work in the capital fail to evoke the same sense of power and fear of the *Electric Chair,* which resulted directly from the sense that the authority it depicted was impossible to locate and bodiless.

The ways in which political authority was constituted changed in the twentieth century as global political power became less visible and the political

landscape became more ubiquitous. During the Cold War, for example, technology increasingly allowed political authority to have an unlimited reach, irrespective of the bodies of leaders or subjects. As Tom Vanderbilt describes the American Cold War landscape:

> Battlefields were everywhere and nowhere, an abstract space on wall-size screens in situation rooms, prophesied in emanating-ripple damage estimates on aerial photographs of cities, filtered down to backyards where homeowners studied government-supplied plans for bomb shelters...The Cold War was—and is—everywhere in America, if one knows where to look for it. Underground, behind closed doors, classified, off the map, already crumbling beyond recognition, or right in plain view, it has left an imprint as widespread yet discreet as the tracings of radioactive particles that blew out of the Nevada Test site.[51]

As Vanderbilt highlights, political authority in the modern era no longer maintains the strong connection to either precise visible markers of the physical landscape or human bodies of rulers and subjects. Thanks to technology, political authority is increasingly placeless and faceless in the modern era. Given this newfound construction of authority, the Fascists' attempts to demonstrate their character and might through the violent destruction of their capital appears somewhat misguided, even naïve, in retrospect. The case of Fascist Rome illustrates that although authorities continue to use landscapes for their imaginative power, their ability to command respect and dominate subjects through the use of landscape may be more limited in the modern era as authority becomes increasingly reliant on technology, more anonymous, and ultimately disconnected from place.

NOTES

1. "Fino a poco tempo fa era segno di spirito forte dir male di Roma: parassita delle alter regioni, pitocca dello Stato, attendamento d'impiegati, città di fannulloni e di affittacamere." Alessandro Bacchiani, "Roma nel pensiero di Benito Mussolini," *Capitolium* 1 (1925): 107. All translations by author unless otherwise noted.

2. Christopher Wagstaff Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 230.

3. For a more comprehensive history of the reshaping of Rome during the Fascist era see Paul Baxa, *Roads and Ruins: The Symbolic Landscape of Fascist Rome* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Italo Insolera and Alessandra Maria Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre: Cronache da una citta che cambia* (Roma: Palombi, 2003);

Borden W. Painter, *Mussolini's Rome: Rebuilding the Eternal City* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

4. See chapter 2 by Kalas in this volume.

5. Ibid.

6. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 154.

7. See Italo Insolera, *Storia Moderna dei Fori di Roma* (Roma: Gius, Laterza & Figli, 1983); Insolera and Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre*; Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome, 1870–1950: Traffic and Glory* (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1974); Spiro Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce: The Planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome," in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, ed. Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin (1978), 270–325.

8. Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce," 271.

9. Smith, *Political Landscape*, passim.

10. See chapter 10 by Grigor in this volume.

11. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 107.

12. Jeffrey Schnapp, "Fascism's Museum in Motion," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45/2 (1992): 88.

13. On the various plans see Virgilio Testa, "Attuazione del Piano Regolatore di Roma," *Capitolium* (1933): 417–440.

14. Kostof, *The Third Rome,* 18.

15. Ibid., 50.

16. Ibid., 60.

17. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10.

18. Kostof, *The Third Rome,* 24.

19. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10.

20. Ibid.

21. On the Fascist use of the city as a stage for action see Diane Ghirardo, "Architecture and Theater: The Street in Fascist Italy," in *Events Arts and Arts Events*, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 171.

22. A. M. Colini, "Una Visita di S.E. il Capo del Governo ai Lavori in Corso per la grandezza dell'urbe," *Capitolium* 4/8 (1928).

23. Ibid., 404.

24. Antonio Muñoz, "La Via dell'Impero e La Via del Mare," *Capitolium* 8 (1932): 521–556.

25. Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism," in *Theories of Modern Art*, ed. Herschel B. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 286.

26. On the connections between Futurism and Fascism see Richard Jensen, "Futurism and Fascism," *History Today* 45 (1995): 35–41.

27. Marinetti, *The Foundation*, 288.

28. On the Fascist understanding of history see Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991).

29. "Gli ultimi lavori a una delle opere piu significative che saranno inaugerate a Roma nel Decennale della Rivoluzione. La nuova strada che, attraverso I Fori Imperiali, condurra dal Vittoriano al Colosseo, congiungendo il monumento della nuova Italia al piu famoso monumento della romanità." "La Domenica del Corriere," *Corriere della Sera*, October 23, 1932. Cover and caption reprinted in Insolera and Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre*, 80.

30. "Le periodiche visite di Mussolini ai grandiosi lavori di rinnovamento da lui voluti nella Capitale, sollevano l'entusiasmo degli operai. Giorni fa le maestranze che lavorano a spianare la grande via presso il Colosseo si sono strette, acclamando, intorno al Duce e gli hanno improvvisato una calorosa dimostrazione." "La Domenica del Corriere." Cover and caption reprinted in Insolera and Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre*, 85.

31. David Horn, *Social Bodies: Science, Reproduction, and Italian Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 18.

32. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 10.

33. On the various plans for the site see Virgilio Testa, "Attuazione del Piano Regolatore di Roma, Piano Particloareggiati di Esecuzione: La Zone del Augusteo," *Capitolium* 9 (1933). The best source in English on the modern plans and developments at the site is Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce."

34. For Piacentini's renovation proposal see "La Trasformazione dell'Augusteo," *Capitolium* 1 (1925): 24–27.

35. A. M. Colini, "Il Mausoleo d'Augusto," *Capitolium* (1928); Guglielmo Gatti, "Il Mausoleo di Augusto: Studio di Ricostruzione," *Capitolium* (1934).

36. Virgilio Testa, "Attuazione del Piano Regolatore di Roma, Piano Particloareggiati di Esecuzione: La Zone del Augusteo," *Capitolium* 9 (1933): 107–128.

37. For an analysis of the final changes to the design see Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce," 302–304.

38. For an analysis of the relationship between Fascism, the Empire, and the Catholic Church as related to the reconstruction of the mausoleum and the 1937 celebrations of the bimillennial of Augustus's birth, see Anna Notaro, "Resurrecting an Imperial Past: Strategies of Self-Representation and 'Masquerade' in Fascist Rome (1934–1938)," in *The Hieroglyphics of Space: Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 2002).

39. "Inizio delle demolizioni per l'isolamento del Mausoleo di Augusto," (Italy: Luce, 1934).

40. Benito Mussolini, "Per l'isolamento dell'Augusteo," in *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini* (Firenze: La Fenice, 1956).

41. Antonio Muñoz, "La Sistemazione del Mausoleo di Augusto," *Capitolium* 13 (1938): 491.

42. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 160–1.

43. Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism*, 35.

44. "Un religioso silenzio regna nella isolata ed alta platea, ove su quella che fu la sacra urna del fondatore dell'impero antico, il popolo potrà raccogliersi ad ascoltare la parola del Fondatore del nuovo impero italiano." Antonio Muñoz, "La Sistemazione del Mausoleo di Augusto," *Capitolium* 13 (1938): 508.

45. Notaro, "Resurrecting an Imperial Past."

46. Ermanno Ponti, "La Sistemazione del Mausoleo di Augusto," *Capitolium* 11 (1935): 251–255.

47. Valentine Thomson, "Mussolini Builds a Rome of the Caesars," *New York Times*, March 19, 1933, SM6.

48. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 3.

49. Ibid., 2.

50. Ibid., 162.

51. Tom Vanderbilt, *Survival City: Adventures Among the Ruins of Atomic America* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 15–19.

10

Tehran

A Revolution in Making

Talinn Grigor

In his study *The Political Landscape*, Adam T. Smith highlights the political clashes of the 1990s in Moscow, Belfast, and Jerusalem to reinforce often underestimated importance of spatiality not only as backdrop for political activities but also as the very stake of political struggle.[1] The Iranian Revolution of 1978–1979 is considered by many as one of the most important events in the twentieth century. It not only ended the institution of monarchy and established a republic in Iran but also managed to shift the rules of the global power game. Embracing Smith's discussions of capital cities as primary spaces for political contestation,[2] this study maintains that the processes and the meanings of the Iranian uprising are intimately tied to the history of Tehran, Iran's capital city. A manifestation of social and economic stratifications, Tehran's urban space is, and has always been, *the* condition for political contestation. Since its foundation, topographical and morphological development of Tehran embodied its social segregation and economic promotion. Already in the Safavid era (1501–1722), it had become an active religious center of Shi'ism, with its distinct culture of protest. In the sixteenth century Tehran was encircled by walls and it acquired the status of a city. This coincidence of urbanism and power politics was further intensified by the fact that Tehran acquired a reputation for having "clever though rebellious and quarrelsome" inhabitants.[3] In 1785, under the Qajar dynasty (1785–1925) Tehran became the capital city of Iran. At the end of the

twentieth century, it enabled one of the most important modern revolutions in history. In effect, from the very beginning, Tehran was a revolution in making.[4]

Like many ancient capital cities in the Middle East, Tehran emerged as disembedded capital—the center of political authority outside historically dominant urban centers[5]—yet Tehran was only five miles northwest of the city of Ray, which marked the legendary site of Ragha, the city of universal and sacred nature mentioned in the Zoroastrian holy book, the Avesta. The creation story of this ancient city began with the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda, who summoned Ragha into being as the twelfth city of his vast universe: "At the beginning there was fire. All creation seemed to be aflame. We had drunk the sacred haoma and the world looked to be as ethereal and as luminous and as holy as the fire itself that blazed upon the altar."[6] A site on the Khorasan highway and the Silk Road, Ray connected the east and the west in Persia and was an important site for economic and cultural exchanges. A revolt against the invading Arab armies in 643 left the city in ruins, after which a Muslim garrison town was established nearby. Ray became a religious center of great importance as a result of the Shah Abdol Azim shrine (ninth century). The shrine contains the tomb of Abdol Azim al-Hasani, a fifth-generation descendant of Imam Hasan. Subsequently, Ray became a favorite summer residence for Muslim dynastic rulers such as the Abbasids, Seljuks, and Buyids, until its complete destruction in 1220 by the Mongols. Ray maintained its holy aspect, but never flourished either politically or physically.[7] This proved to be a blessing for Tehran, to where the survivors of Mongol invasions migrated, five miles northwards, and settled permanently.[8]

The recorded history of Tehran began around the late fourteenth century. The Timurids, who were fond of Tehran's gardens and pomegranates, built a palace on the northern edge, on the present site of Golestan palace, thus initiating an urban growth-pattern that defined major aspects of its subsequent social geography. With an altitude of 3,900 feet above sea level, the province of Tehran sits between the Alborz mountain range in the north and the Salt Desert in the south. It is positioned on the northern edge of the great central plateau, which rises steadily toward the north, with a difference in level of several thousand feet between its southern and northern borders. As a result of its geographic and topographic setting, the constant tendency to move north characterizes the urban expansion of Tehran. This north-south growth has endured to the present day, compelled in part by a need to move away from the desert toward the mountains as the source of fresh air and clean water.

By the 1960s, this spatial north-south urban axis of expansion took on a sociological dimension that impacted the politics of Iran's class struggle. Southern

Tehran included the industrial area and cemetery of Ray that merged with the former fortified Qajar Tehran. The north consisted of rich and lush Shemiran and areas up to the slopes of the Alborz mountain range. The poor south, with the dense bazaar and Qajar residential quarters, was seen as a contrast to the well-to-do north with modernist villas, modern mini-markets, and fresh air and water. Although this vertical axis of social promotion initially evolved out of historic and geographic needs, spatial segregation and social struggle came to be embodied in the northward urban expansion of Tehran in two decades preceding the Iranian Revolution of 1979.[9] The ruling monarch who in 1959 moved his court to the northernmost point of the city socially and symbolically strengthened this historical urban development. By so doing, he exacerbated the effect of the vertical axis of social promotion.

During the last two centuries, therefore, Tehran's morphological development has been marked by three major stages of transformation that occurred in the 1860s, 1930s, and 1960s, respectively. In each undertaking, "Tehran's urban space [was] a manifestation of, and the conditions for" major sociopolitical changes in Iranian modern history at large.[10] Social power relations are imprinted in the urban patterns of the city and therefore the city stands, even today, as an urban manifestation of deep-rooted social stratification.

NASER AL-DIN SHAH'S BEAUTIFICATION AS PROGRESS

Smith highlights the role of the ruler as the singular embodiment of the regime, its political apparatus, and its political identity in selected spaces within ancient cities that, through their charismatic dimensions, reinforced the creation and reproduction of structures of authority.[11] Centuries after the formation of some of the earliest urban landscapes in southern Mesopotamia, the role of ruler seem to have remained closely intertwined with the formation of distinct, architecturally and aesthetically defined political landscapes of Tehran. However, only after the 1850s, urban revolutions mirrored sociopolitical revolutions. The role of ruler remained important as each phase of Tehran's modern transformation took place by the order of the ruling monarch—Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (r. 1848–96), Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925–41), and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1941–79), respectively—and pushed the boundaries of the city to the north; each also positively reinforced Tehran's vertical axis of social promotion.

Tehran acquired the status of a city in 1553, when on the order of Shah Tahmasp I Safavid (r. 1525–1576) a wall of 114 towers and four gates along with a bazaar were erected. This aimed to protect the city from potential Ottoman

attacks and to serve as a refuge in times of need for officials fleeing Qazvin. In 1589 Shah Abbas the Great (r. 1587–1629) erected gardens (*chahar-bagh*) and plane groves (*chenarestan*) in the northern edge of the city, but Pietro della Valle in his 1618 descriptions insisted that "Tehran possesses nothing, not even a single building worthy of notice."[12] This contradictory perception of Tehran resonates with similar questioning of the "reality" of Samarkand, Tamerlane's capital in central Asia, lofty and monumental yet erected by coercive means, which prompted Smith to caution against subjective generalizations of the relationships between political organization and landscape aesthetics.[13] The Safavids established a temporary court and Shah Suleiman (r. 1666–1694) erected a palace in the Tehran citadel. By the eighteenth-century Afghan raids, Tehran was large and important enough that the invading army opened up a new gate to the north of the citadel to provide a secure passage by circumventing the inner town. While Karim Khan Zand's (r. 1750–1779) seat of government was in Fars, he had plans to unite and control the entire empire with a capital at its geographic center. In effect, in his ambition to restore the borders of Safavid Iran with a capital not in Isfahan, but in Tehran, Karim Khan commissioned architect Ostad Gholam Reza Tabrizi in 1759 to fortify the city walls and erect an audience chamber, administrative buildings, and private quarters. In 1760, Karim Khan was ready to move his power base to Tehran.

It was the founder of the Qajar dynasty, Aqa Mohammad Khan (r. 1794–1797) who besieged Tehran. On March 20, 1785, he not only declared it the imperial seat of his dynasty, but also the seat of the caliphate.[14] By then, the city of 15,000 inhabitants consisted of one and a half square-mile area, enclosed within the Safavid wall, circular towers, and a forty-foot-wide moat (figure 10.1). It had six gates, a citadel, and an extensive bazaar that served as the spinal cord of the urban layout. Four living quarters (Sangelaj, Bazaar, Udlajan, and Chalemaydan) flanked the economic center, and the royal compound lodged diverse social classes and professions. People from all walks of life gathered in the two main open spaces at the heart of the city: the Citadel Square (*meydan-e arg*), flanking the southern wall of the citadel, and the Herbs Market (*sabzeh meydan*) across that same wall as the entrance to the northern tip of the bazaar. Russian Orientalist Ilia Nikolaevich Berezine was the first, in 1842, to depict Tehran on a map with European conventions. He was followed by Augustus Krziz, an instructor at the newly founded Dar al-Fonun training school, who made a blueprint of the city between 1857 and 1858.[15] Unlike subsequent urban developments, the topography and the physiognomy of late-eighteenth-century Tehran neither mirrored nor bolstered the hierarchical structure of the sociopolitical system.

Figure 10.1. *Map of Tehran. Date: 1796; population: 15,000; area: 1.5 square miles. (From Madanipour, Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis)*

In the 1850s, Tehran had grown so large that 10 percent of its inhabitants were living outside the walls. Under the order of Naser al-Din Shah, who intended to modernize the country in the first decades of his long reign, the city experienced its first major urban change. The longest-reigning Qajar king at the most crucial moment in the history of Iran's modernization was pivotal to the urban changes that took place in Tehran. As a man who had traveled throughout Europe, his ideas about modernity and its appearance came to influence the way Tehran modernized itself. Naser al-Din's reformist prime minister, Amir Kabir, oversaw outward improvements to the citadel, including the extension in 1865 of the Golestan Palace by the design of Haji Abd ol-Hasan Me'mar Navai: it marked the exact location of the Timurid palace in the north of the walled city. Two years later, the Sun Palace (Shams ol-Emareh) was added to the eastern wing of Golestan by Ostad Mohammad Ali Kashi. The mechanical clock, visible from the royal courtyard on one side and the public Naser Khosrow Avenue on the other was a manifestation of the king's conception of "progress" and of the temporal qualities of
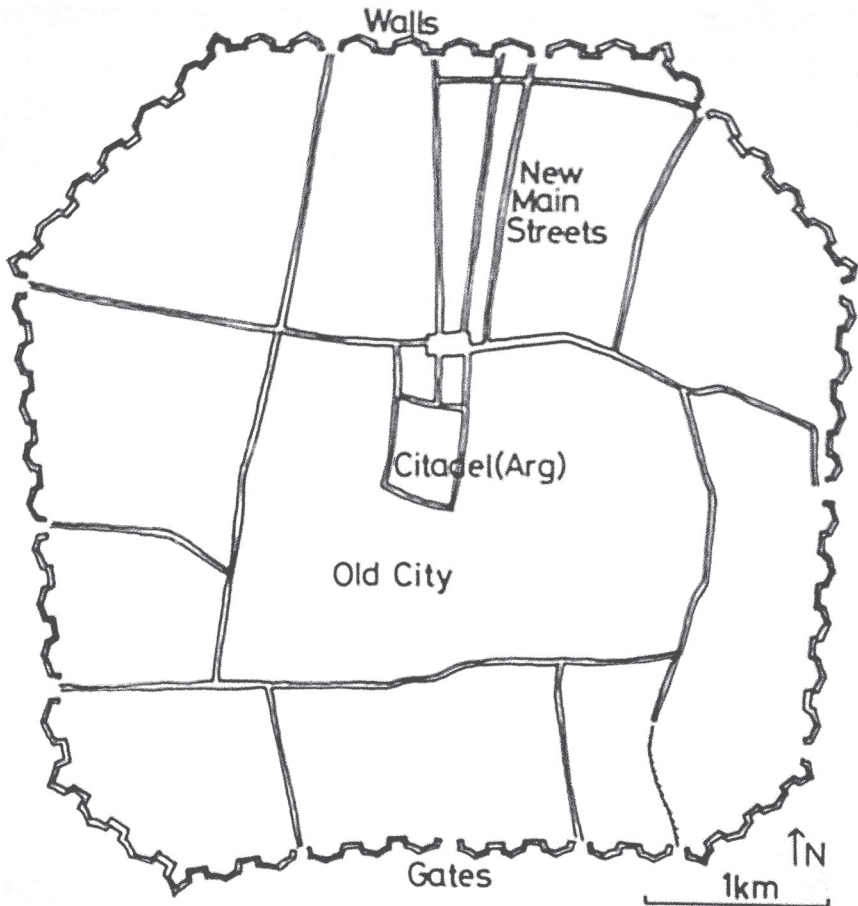
Figure 10.2. *Map of Tehran. Date: 1890; population: 150,000; area: 7 square miles. (From Madanipour, Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis)*

the modernity that went hand in hand with the major structural changes in the city.[16] While his reformist prime minister Amir Kabir oversaw outward improvements to the citadel, the main urban transformation occurred in 1868 when the king ordered the widening of the city boundaries. The king's grand vizier Mostowfi al-Mamalek, his minister of the capital Mirza Isa, and the French teacher at the Dar al-Fonun, General Bohler, were assigned to draw up a master plan. An official map was published by Abd-al Ghaffar Najm al-Molk in 1890.[17] A perfect octagon, the new walls and rampart had twelve

gates. Tehran had expanded on all sides and had thus grown four times its Safavid area (figure 10.2).[18]

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with a population of 150,000 and an area of seven square miles, Tehran became a model to be admired and mimicked throughout Iran. These urban renewals had altered the power relationship of its inhabitants. The northward expansion of the city had set an urban growth pattern that became chronic and subsequently defined future social relations. As the political and economic elite moved to the north, the merchants and the clerics decided to remain in the Safavid urban pockets in the south. The construction boom attracted unskilled workers from the rural areas who began to settle outside the southern wall and the four gates that flanked it, while the northern properties within the new walls were occupied by the aristocracy, modern institutions such as the newly established Imperial Bank of Persia, as well as European embassies and villas.[19] The fact that the number of gates was multiplied meant that the state increased its revenue from the gate tax and thus helped initiate a socio-urban segregation between the inside and the outside of the city walls. These were further accentuated by the rearrangement of Tehran's main public spaces: the Citadel (*mayden-e arg*) and Herbs Market Squares that had until then served as the meeting point of the mixed population were relocated to the north of the Golestan Palace, away from market and mosque, and closer to the northern neighborhood. The commercial and social center of the city became the Tupkhan-e Square (figure 10.3).

By the end of his reign, Naser al-Din Shah's urban policies had given birth to a new relationship between Tehran's morphology and a pattern of social segregation and promotion on the north-south axis that has been characterized as "bipolar urban structure," on which the "bipolarity of the city . . . came to be an ever enduring north-south divide": the king and the state at the top, the poor and the destitute at the bottom; in this unique case, physically, as the king was in the north (the highest point in the city topographically), and the poor were in the south (the lowest point in the city topographically).[20]

REZA SHAH'S RENEWAL AS INFRASTRUCTURAL CONSTRUCTION

The second and the third phases of Tehran's urban renewal occurred not under the Qajars who had made it their royal seat, but under the Pahlavis who transformed it into the modern capital of a nation-state. After a failed attempt to make Iran a republic in 1924, Reza Shah—an officer in the Persian Cossack army—declared himself king in 1925. Between 1926 and 1941, the king
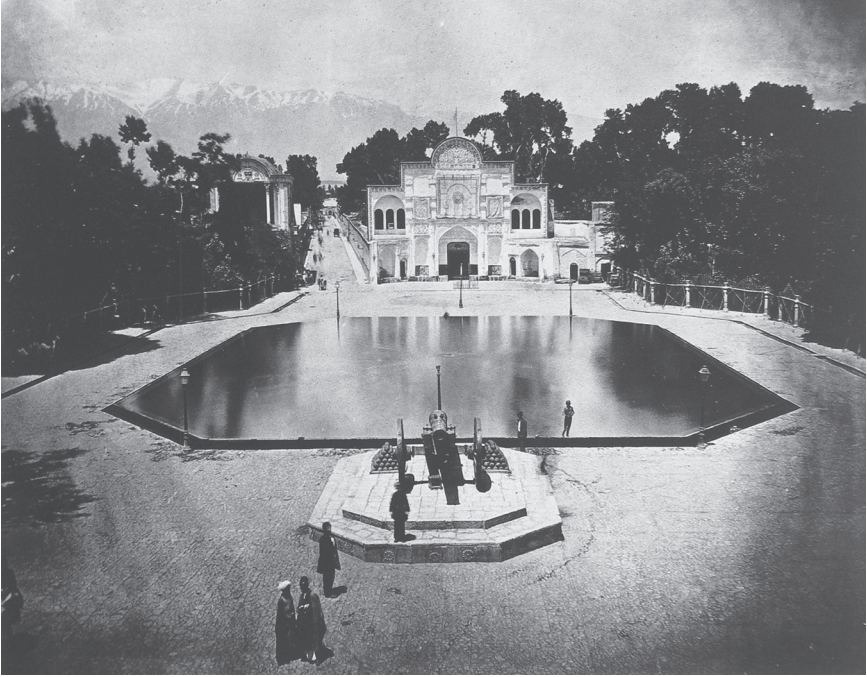
Figure 10.3. *Citadel Square (Meydan-e Arg), Qajar Tehran, 1890s. (Photo from commercial postcard)*

and his secular ministers aimed to modernize the urban fabric as rapidly and forcefully as they foresaw the advent of a new, secular, and thoroughly modern Iran.[21] Reza Shah deployed Tehran as the site of power from which he could centralize the state and homogenize the nation. In a characteristic modernist tactic, he aimed in Tehran to erase the Qajar past that he had overpowered. Eradicating the urban reforms of Naser al-Din Shah and providing Tehran an updated appearance of modernity motivated much of the urban reform that took place during the two decades of Reza Shah's rule. That these measures were taken with a rapidity that eventually undermined the very foundations of the system was telling of the top-down nature of the nation-building project under Reza Shah. As a military man who often personally supervised, or at least inspected, infrastructural projects that aimed to bring Iran up to par with other industrialized states, the king's role was pivotal in reinforcing a lasting trend of northward urban expansion. The elimination of physical limitations to the city opened up an expansion that exploded toward the northern mountains.

As Smith examines in the case studies of ancient complex polities and as Pilat (chapter 9 in this volume) further details in her study of Mussolini's Rome of the 1930s, urban reconstructions and physical demolition within and through the existing landscape are vehicles by which authority was translated into official history and created notions of progress.[22] Indeed, the first symbol of modernism in Tehran was the destruction of the city's nineteenth-century fortifications.[23] Under Tehran's mayor, Karim Agha Khan Buzarjomehri, the ramparts and eleven gates of Naser al-Din Shah were gradually dismantled between 1932 and 1937. In a process of elimination/preservation, all but one gate were destroyed without a trace. Seen neither as historical nor monumental, but rather as standing tributes to Qajar political power, the twelve gateways symbolized the locations where the old regime had controlled the traffic of people and objects in and out of the city. These explicitly visible elements of Tehran's public architecture, furthermore, often caused embarrassment in Iran's secular elite, especially during visits by European diplomats and tourists, because they were seen by both parties as signs of "shameful symbols of backwardness."[24] Their demolition enabled both the physical expansion of the urban fabric and the eradication of the last evidence of the old regime. While these acts epitomized the king's determination to modernize Iran, the expansion of the city enabled the state to disperse the traditional bureaucratic network of social power.

At the heart of the city, predominantly consisting of the residential quarters and service areas of the Qajar royal complex, approximately two-thirds of royal Tehran was leveled to the ground. Some of the demolitions were replaced by new structures; others were left vacant. most probably because of the lack of construction time and the need for wider streets and open spaces. As part of a controlling urbanism to decentralize dense urban pockets and to bring Tehran to look like European major cities, one-tenth of the fabric was transformed into open public squares, including wide avenues, urban squares, and municipal parks. In new constructions, the new Ministry of Finance was erected on the site of the royal harem with great symbolism, and the Nayeb al-Saltaneh palace gave way to the Justice Ministry; in a similar vein, the main barracks and royal stables were transformed into the Ministry of Trade. Only the major structures of the Golestan Palace, such as the Shams al-Emareh, were preserved, cleaned up by the destruction of the surrounding secondary structure. Perhaps the most impressive single demolition, both in terms of scale and symbolism, was that of the "magnificent" Takkieh Dowlat. Erected in 1868, it is described by historians as "the brainchild of Nasir al-Din himself" and as "one of the greatest edifices built under Qajar rule."[25] The complete demolition

of this state theater was, on the one hand, notable because the structure was a massive work of architecture. Seating some one thousand spectators around a circular stage and three-story balconies under a semipermanent dome, it was a hybrid of A local decorative program and European building typologies, for Naser al-Din had decreed its design after Charles Garnier's Paris opera house began in 1857. On the other hand, it was highly symbolic because it was the most imposing structure raised in the capital city by the most influential Qajar monarch for the specific purpose of Shi'a passion plays (*ta'zieh*)—the very performance of which the Pahlavi state had perceived as regressive and, hence, had outlawed.[26] Ironically, Naser al-Din had erected Takkieh Dowlat as his marked contribution to Iran's nineteenth-century modernization.

Whereas much of these demolitions took place from the mid- to late 1920s, the legal basis of this harsh urban renewal policy was the "Street Widening Act," unanimously passed by the parliament on November 13, 1933.[27] Reza Shah's opening speech of the ninth parliament had demanded a "rapid industrialization," which even the British knew that "the country could hardly stand," but the local deputies were pressed to approve "the Law concerning the creation and widening of avenues and streets."[28] The case presented to them under the rubric of preservation and modernization, instead would sanction an array of demolitions. When the Pahlavi state applied similar tactics to Tehran's residential quarters, Charles Calmer Hart, the American attaché to Iran, reported in 1931:

> The municipality, urged on by the Shah, is trying to modernize the capital of Persia so rapidly that property owners find it almost impossible to keep up with the progress which is wiping out liberal areas of their real estate, for most of which they receive limited or no compensation. Property owners, besides having to give up much real estate, have been compelled to see the demolition of their houses and to replace them at their own expense by better structures construed on designs prescribed by municipal planning commissions.[29]

Nine years later, the American embassy estimated that the number of residential structures demolished by the state ranged from 15,000 to 30,000. In a memo, it remarked, "Tehran looks as if it has been destroyed by an earthquake," further underscoring that "the ruthlessness of its methods is bewildering to anyone not used to the ways of modern Iran."[30] Rosita Forbes, an American traveler to Iran in the early 1930s, similarly described Tehran as "slightly Hollywoodesque, for the new streets looked as if they had not quite settled where they were going, and the rows of new houses, one room deep, were all frontage."[31]

Iranians were not quiet about what was happening to the capital city. The most vocal anti-Pahlavi clergy in the parliament and a charismatic preacher from Isfahan, Seyyed Hasan Modarres, objecting to the urban renewal, stressed during his 1925 parliament speech, "modernization had to be distinguished from such lawless acts against the people and their possessions."[32] In 1932, German archaeologist Ernest Herzfeld, who had supported the reformists in their drive for modernization and had personally collaborated with the state in all its undertakings, confessed to Hart: "It is a system of ruining established authorities of old, without replacing them with anything at all. Everything we see [is] a methodic destruction...The result is a vacuum. One day the consequences will appear."[33] Political historians would later describe these urban changes as "a good example of bureaucratic reformism and mindless vandalism," where "the vandals played havoc with community life and historic architecture at will."[34] Others characterized the 1930s Tehran as "a massive unfinished tableau worked on by several artists," and a mere "external Westernization" aimed at "impress[ing] foreign observers, who usually visited only Tehran."[35] The state "ripped down sections of cities," a historian of Iranian nationalism would note, "ruthlessly destroyed mosques and other edifices mellow with the charm of age, and replaced them with broad, tree-line but incongruous boulevards."[36]

However, it was certainly true that, as historians Banani and Lockhart put it, "the Tehran of 1941 bore no resemblance to the Tehran of 1921."[37] The northward urban growth accelerated by the elite's urge for rapid development resulted in an entirely new city: "well-planned" with "wide streets intersecting each other at right angles, some paved with cut granite, others with asphalt and concrete."[38] "In the construction of new streets, or the extension and widening of the old, the policy was to demolish any and all buildings—residential, monumental, historical or whatever—merely in order to keep them straight."[39] By design, the master plan, if there was one, was intended to project "a glaring contrast to the labyrinthal lanes of the old quarters" in southern Tehran, where the merchants and the *ulama* continue to occupy their historical spaces.[40] While in the early 1930s the American diplomats could hardly see the benefits of a hurried urban renewal, a decade later they praised the city's "remarkable changes since His Majesty came to the throne."[41]

> Streets have been widened and paved; trees have been planted to take the place of the old ones destroyed by the alterations; modern government buildings have been erected in various parts of the city, and a number of small parks in local squares are being landscaped. Previous efforts, however, are not to be compared with the present activity under the direction of the Acting Chief of the Tehran

Municipality, Mr. Gholam Hossein Ebtehaj . . . Buildings on all main streets must be at least two stories high to add more dignity to the city.[42]

Despite being accused of vandalism, Reza Shah persisted with his drive to transform Tehran into a modern capital until the end. As late as 1940, that is one year before his exile, while taking a stroll in Tehran, he took issue with the height of the buildings on designated streets. "Why do these ugly, one-story shops still remain?" he asked. "I have told the military to force the owners to add another story or have their shops destroyed. I wonder if you, a civilian, could succeed where the army has failed?"[43] He then gave the owners the two options of either adding a story to their original structure or face destruction. Reportedly, after the incident, Tehran's mayor who was held responsible for such disappointment "plunged into the task" of mending the problem, "and within a few weeks sections of the avenues looked as if they had been bombed from the air."[44] Notwithstanding his harsh methods, on the eve of the king's abdication, those Iranians who could remember the pre–Reza Shah Tehran, the changes, including the speed by which they had happened, "were nothing short of miraculous," while for those who had had the opportunity to either study or work in cities like Paris, London, and Berlin, "the chasm between the material progress of the West and their own country was a source of frustration and defeatism."[45] This gulf between Iran and the West, often explicitly manifested in architecture and urbanisms, would continue to be a cause of shame and disappointment for the following generations of Iranian architects and politicians. Throughout the Pahlavi era, Iran's progress was made manifest in the urban development of Tehran.

Reza Shah's urban reforms of the 1930s had several modernist, physical, and symbolic purposes: easy military access to the dense areas of the city; easy movement of goods and capital; the creation of modern infrastructural and communication networks; unification of space that would encourage homogenization; and, above all, the manifest display of modern architecture as a marker of progress. By 1937, Tehran had increased its population to 0.7 million and its area to eighteen square miles. Shahreza (present-day Enghelab) and Pahlavi (present-day Vali Asr) formed the major east-west and north-south axis. Shahreza marks the northern moat of Naser al-Din's 1868 Tehran, while the twelve-mile Pahlavi Avenue first connected to the new train station—one of the hallmarks of Reza Shah's era—to his 1925 Marble Palace in the heart of the city, then to his Sadaabad royal complex in the northernmost neighborhood, where he commissioned the eclectic Green Palace.[46] The seat of Qajar kings at Golestan Palace in the south of the city was opened to the public

as the first museum of art, while north of it the new archaeological museum, *museye iranbastan*, was designed and erected in 1939 by French architect Andre Godard. Numerous squares were also transformed into traffic roundabouts.

When compared to Naser al-Din Shah's urban development, the 1930s reform was "more vigorous in its implementation and more far-reaching in its scope."[47] Reza Shah transformed the physical structure of the city, and above all, enabled a complete reshuffling of the existing social system in order to homogenize it—precisely what the reformists had intended. As Abd al-Hosayn Teymurtash, the king's court minister and the mastermind of his radical plans, remarked in 1927, "we wanted to erase everything, and start all over again."[48] Tehran was the ultimate expression of this sweeping modern ideology. While the demolitions and reconstructions epitomized the resolve to modernize Iran, the expansion of the city enabled the secular state to disperse the traditional bureaucratic network of the merchants in their bazaar, the clerics in their mosques, and the old nobility in their residential quarters. These three groups had clung to sections of Tehran's Safavid neighborhoods as important components of their political power; now they were forced either to relocate their power base or suffer significant loss of political influence brought about by the king's urban policies. Since the 1920s, the government had actively encouraged the merchants to give up their shops in the south and move to the new street fronts. While the aristocracy and the new bourgeoisie began to resettle in the north for better water, air, view, and social status, the *ulama* (clerical establishment) and the *bazzaris* (mercantile class) chose to remain in their place, and over the years they figured less and less in the country's political apparatus—that is, until 1979.

MOHAMMAD REZA SHAH'S URBANISM AS SOCIAL ENGINEERING

The postwar development of Tehran occurred rapidly and without much state control. Mohammad Reza Shah, who took the throne after his father's 1941 exile by the Allies, exercised little actual power until the royalist coup d'état orchestrated by the CIA in 1953. Like his father, the young king believed in his mission to bring Iran into the twentieth century; unlike his father, he seldom managed to negotiate the intricate politics of power and identity in contemporary Iran. While the former had destroyed the old system and set up a secular nation-state in the place of the Qajar empire, the latter aimed to improve the existing socioeconomic infrastructure and to polish the image of the Persian monarchy. While Mohammad Reza Shah's power had been

volatile in the 1940s and the early 1950s, by the early 1960s he managed to reestablish and control the "three Pahlavi pillars" that had supported the unrivaled power of his father: "the armed forces, the court patronage network, and the vast state bureaucracy."[49] He, who had committed himself to land and economic reforms despite all kinds of objections, announced on January 9, 1963, the first six points of his White Revolution.[50] Described by historians as "a revolutionary strategy aimed at sustaining a traditional system of authority," the White Revolution subsequently enabled the king to appropriate the various political, socioeconomic, and cultural forces into his own domain of power and thus gain unprecedented executive sway over major agencies such as the Plan Organization, the National Iranian Oil Company, the Women's Organization of Iran, and the Society for National Heritage.[51]

By the 1960s when Mohammad Reza Shah carried out his own urban renewals—Tehran's third phase—the spatial segregation brought about by the north-south socioeconomic polarity had been firmly established. This pattern was reasserted by the king's move from the Marble Palace in central Tehran to the Niavaran royal complex in Shemiran in 1959. The land upon which the palace was built was the highest possible construction, right against the mountain where the soil becomes stone; it is impossible to build higher up in Tehran without great expense. These lands, belonging to the royal family, were probably confiscated by Reza Shah in the 1930s. The king reserved a portion of this land for a large public park, equipped with a zoo. Considering the political temperament of the period in Iran, this was a highly symbolic act. The fact that the long-anticipated heir to the Pahlavi throne was born at about the same time had probably little to do with the move, since the complex was being designed and constructed five years in advance. The new palace became the center of political and monarchical power. The religious power of Tehran was left in the old bazaar, now in the poor south of the capital city. By these urban interventions, Mohammad Reza Shah reinforced the vertical axis of social promotion. By then, the king was being criticized for abuse of wealth and power, as well as for "Westoxication (*gharbzadegi*)."[52] The rapid growth of Tehran's population to three million within an area of seventy square miles forced the government in 1965 to think of ways to decentralize the power of urban interest groups, to find a solution for rural immigrants, and to break Tehran's vertical axis of social promotion. A new master-plan was proposed in 1969 by the firm of Victor Gruen Associates and Abdol-Aziz Farmanfarmaian. Its most important purpose was to reorient the city's expansion toward east and west. Despite the good intentions of the master-plan, the push for Westernization in the 1970s and the policies of the White

Revolution provided for and enhanced the spatial segregation of social pockets in Tehran. "It was now possible to see 'a social gradient on the grand scale . . . on the ground.'"[53]

In addition, the sheer size of the city prompted its spatial and social fragmentation. The city limits were set at fifteen miles from Tajrish in the north, Ray in the south, Mehrabad Airport in the west, and Tehran-Pars in the east. Systematic and state-funded industrial and residential areas started to develop along the road leading to Karaj.[54] In the south, two kinds of city planning were scheduled: selected historical areas were to be transformed into tourist hotspots, representing the traditional Tehran in contrast to the north. Other dense residential quarters were to be demolished and made into public parks and recreational zones. As a part of the larger urban renewal, a metro system was designed that was realized two decades after the revolution. In 1960, Reza Shah's Karaj canal was replaced by two dams, which were channeled from the east and the west to provide clean water to Tehran's peripheries. "In 1960, the construction of the Karaj dam considerably increased the water supply of Tehran for it could produce more than 180 million cubic meters per year. In 1968, the need for further water supplies resulted in a new dam constructed on the Jarjud River to the north-east of the city."[55] West Tehran up to the International Airport of Mehrabad and East Tehran up to Tehran-Pars were supplied with clean water, thus satisfying the first precondition for urban construction and east-west expansion. Aside from these permanent solutions to the city's water distribution, several older systems continue to be used. The first one is the *jub*—or open canals—that run in the north-south direction, following the slope of the city.[56]

District 1 of Kuy-e Kan, more than nine miles west of Tehran and areas surrounding the international airport, became a major development site, where two large-scale residential complexes were financed by the state for the use of government employees. The first development was the Fakouri military residential quarter, and the second housing complex was the Shahrak-e Ekbatan, composed of much larger and better buildings. Finished after the revolution, it consisted of 1,000 apartments designed for government employees and the middle class. Westward expansion, residential and industrial development, and the location of the airport in district one were fundamental in the choice of a site for the erection of a monument that would symbolize Mohammad Reza Shah's capital city. Here, he ordered the creation of the largest public square in the country and placed at its center a museum of progress, the Shahyad Aryamehr ("reminder of the shah") Monument (figure 10.4), renamed after the 1979 Revolution as the Azadi ("Freedom") Monument.[57]

FIGURE 10.4. *Shahyad (Azadi) Monument and Square, Tehran, 1971. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

Designed as a museum of national history and progress by the young Iranian architect, Hosayn Amanat, it was meant as the symbolic gate not only into the capital city, but also into the king's utopic view of Iran as a Great Civilization (a concept invented by the shah to represent the utopian society his modernity and policies aimed towards). As the centerpiece of the celebration of the 2,500-year anniversary of the Persian Empire in 1971, the monument represented the tradition of monarchy in Iran and the Pahlavi ruling dynasty, millennia old yet fashionably modern. Between October 1971 and November 1978, Shahyad acted as the architectural manifesto of the Persian monarchy, the king's vision, ideology, and ultimate aim. It became the symbol of the modern nation that progressed ahead and connected to the past. As in the nation, in the monument the new and the old were omnipresent. It was the gate, par excellence, to the Great Civilization. It became the symbolic master door with which the king—like Tehran's other kings—imprinted the era of his rule on the capital city. Mohammad Reza Shah's marking of Tehran with a symbolic modern gate was to evoke both continuity with the past and progress into the future.

Historically gates had been significant for Tehran as for many other capital cities. Matured in the age of fortifications and ramparts, it identified itself and impressed rulers with its gates. They disclosed the importance of Tehran in the

rivalry of potential capital cities including Tabriz, Qazvin, Isfahan, Mashhad, and Shiraz. As noted, under Nasir al-Din Shah, the original four gates of Agha Mohammad Khan (i.e., Shah Abdol-Azim Gate, Doolab Gate, Shemiran Gate, and Qazvin Gate) were replaced by twelve new gates, eleven of which were eventually removed by Reza Shah. The figure and number of city's gates, in each era of Tehran's history, marked each ruler's contribution to the betterment of the city. From Shah Tahmasp the Safavid, to Karim Khan Zand, to Agha Mohammad Khan the Qajar, and finally to Reza Shah Pahlavi, the different gates emblematized sociopolitical and physical reforms of Tehran. Through the urban location and visual quality of Shahyad Monument, Iran was relocated into Western civilization. It was meant to be seen from the air as travelers were about to land at the airport—an entrance to Iran before even arriving. In addition to the airport, all roads leading to northwestern Iran were through the Karaj road and freeway, towered over by the monument. For travelers by plane, car, and bus it animated a sense of openness and centrality, whereas the old gates mainly functioned to close off and limit the edge of the city. This modern gate had a conceptual, symbolic meaning of getting in and being in. It did not open or close. It was just there, as an allegory of the king's Iran.

Aside from the actual inauguration in October 1971, the program of the monument was also meant to create historic links and political legitimacy. It housed the storyline of Persian achievements in a series of museums and a large showstage. The visitor was constantly on the move toward the top of the structure and thus progressed along a narrated, selected history: a procession from the Hall of the Ancient under the ground to the Hall of the Future at the top:

> The visitor takes a narrow unlighted passageway and suddenly finds himself on a slow-moving conveyer. This "machine for the exploration of time" takes him through a series of seven halls. Lighting effects, movie projections, directional sound effects, and captivating music take the traveler into a strange universe of completely new dimensions. And very gradually the History of the World, and of Iran, unfolds before his eyes. Atop the monument is the Hall of the Future, with a preview of the future development of Iran.[58]

The ultimate link between the distant then and the immediate now was the main focus of all the exhibitions: the Cylinder of Cyrus with the first human rights declaration juxtaposed with the twelve points of the White Revolution.

Shahyad allegorically called forth the image of the monarch and his role in the fate of the nation. The king often talked about passageways, crossroads, and thresholds as mediators between realities and ideals. In form, the monument evoked a simultaneous sense of centrality and directionality, and it created an

open urban space for mobility and visibility. These spatial qualities connoted the centrality of the Pahlavi government, revolving around the monarch yet espousing a firm and secure national path. As with the reign that it represented, the monument was dynamic but solidly based—powerful, simple, and central. "The four legs anchored to the ground dart skyward in an artful ellipse bearing a massive, simple and powerful central body. The lines are pure and audacious."[59] The very existence of the monument as an urban sculpture and an identifiable object in the city testified to this belief. The Pahlavis revived the ancient tradition of monarchy; however, they were advocates of modernity. The monument, by its attempt at modernism, its color, and its material, implied a sense of openness and honesty. By its form and prototype it inspired ancientness and timelessness.

Within the larger politics of urban development, Shahyad Monument and the square surrounding it became the commanding urban marker in the middle-class-populated western Tehran district. The state-planned east-west urban expansion would, it was hoped, solve social problems and ultimately obscure the ever-growing cultural and material gap between the mostly religious urban population and the secular rising bourgeoisie of Tehran. Intended to superficially consolidate the different social fragments of the city, Shahreza Avenue—cutting the city in half and flanked by the monument—instead served to segregate the old Tehran districts from the new Shemiran area. The imposing shape of the landmark became the epitome of the Shahreza axis, rupturing the space of the rich and the poor, the aristocrat/elite and the blue-collar worker/merchant.

The urban plan of 1968, which was designed to represent the king's rule and simultaneously undermine the power of the bazaar and the *ulama*, had a different effect. As in 1868, the 1968 construction boom—in addition to the heavy centralization of political, economic, and administrative institutions in the capital—drew large numbers of rural immigrants with intimate ties to the clerical and the traditional mercantile classes. Despite the growth of impoverished masses in southern Tehran as well as the land reforms of the White Revolution, the state continued to promote the urban culture, largely ignoring rural problems. The gulf between the haves and the have-nots, the rich of the north and the poor of the south, kept growing wider. By 1976, the four and a half million inhabitants of Tehran consisted 12 percent of the total population of the country and 32 percent of the total urban population. Tehran was ready for a revolution and radical overturning of the regime once again.

Smith questions Marxist scholars who drew the links between urban and socio-political revolutions,[60] yet in case of Tehran, the intimate and nuanced

link between social order and urban space was revealed when a revolution began in 1977. Galvanized by the clerics, the masses mobilized in objection to a building project by the Russians on a Muslim cemetery in southern Tehran. The history of the Iranian Revolution can be read as contestation between the state and the mass over urban space. "Whoever could be in charge of the public sphere was in charge of the country. The contest over, and the domination of, the public spaces of the city was the embodiment of the revolution: in a sense, this *was* the revolution."[61] On November 10, 1978, Tehran witnessed Iran's largest popular uprising. In a city of five million, two million individuals marched on Shahreza Avenue, which had become the main street of demonstrations. From southern, northern, and eastern Tehran, the masses proceeded westward, toward Shahyad Square. The Iranian Revolution that had started in the bazaar and the university came to its apex in this largest open public space in Iran. A royal space of modernity, the square was taken over by antiroyalist demonstrators.

For those who protested side by side in the name of often opposing sociopolitical causes, the public open square was no more the incarnation of the 2,500-year monarchy but instead an urban marker at which their anti-Pahlavi activities intensified. The royal ceremonial space had become a public political space called the free political environment (*fazaye baze siasi*), within which diverse views were expressed in the street. All of Tehran simultaneously occupied the western urban pocket of Tehran and experienced the revolution in the exact urban space that reform after reform had produced. At the center of this ideological open space stood the symbol of Tehran that was, like the megalopolis itself, appropriated by the king, the revolutionaries, the authorities of the Islamic Republic, the Western media, the local media, environmentalists, and the Iranian diasporas in various ways and times. In other words—as Smith posits and as Pilat details in her study of 1930s Rome (chapter 9 in this volume)—through media, authority became increasingly detached from its place, "profoundly unlocatable, simultaneously nowhere and everywhere."[62] The success of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 was in effect a political manifestation of the city's socio-urban development. The veridical axis of social promotion imprinted on the topography of Tehran finally yielded to a historical moment in Iran's long history and to one of the major revolutions in human history.

By 1986, Tehran's population grew nine times and enlarged its area twelve times (figure 10.5).[63] After the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, great effort and money were spent to turn Tehran into a more agreeable urban place. When President Rafsanjani (1989–1993 and 1993–1997, dubbed *saradar-e sazandegi*, the Leader of Reconstruction) launched his reform program in 1989, he appointed Gholamhossein Karbaschi as the innovative mayor of Tehran. After

Figure 10.5. *Map of Tehran. Date: 2006; area: city 579 square miles, urban 265 square miles, metro 7,264 square miles; population: city 7,797,520, density 25,899/square miles, metro 14,000,000. (Photo from commercial/official publication)*

a decade of war and revolution, Tehran had ten million inhabitants who were suffocating in a city designed for three million people. Karbaschi managed to bring many positive changes to the urban complex including transforming the transportation system and landscaping; the improvements were remarkable (figure 10.6).[64] The 1979 popular upheaval had imprinted Tehran with an enormous amount of graffiti. The graffiti remained intact well into the late 1980s. The effort of the mayor to bring aesthetic and urban betterment to the capital included whitewashing public surfaces and adorning them with public murals (figure 10.7). The disorderly, spontaneous, and popular graffiti of the revolutionary days yielded to the orderly, predesigned, and preapproved paintings of the post-revolutionary government. The city looked cleaner, less charged with signs of war and political ideology. Beautification murals and commercial signage began to take as much visual space of the city as the political murals and posters of the revolution and the war (figure 10.8). Needless to say, this kind of iconographic cleaning can also be read as a historic cleansing of parts of Iran's revolution. New murals and commercial poster-boards certainly make the present urban experience of Tehran tidier; but they also tell a selective story of the revolution and its ensuing years. Architecturally, the earlier graffiti were at eye-level and accessible. Fluid both in form and meaning, they could mutate overnight. In contrast, these contemporary murals are placed at the uppermost vertical space of the city; they are remote, fixed, and static both in forms and signification. The graffiti walls thus became a place that blurred the distinction between space and image and signified the place of resistance and contestation of authority.[65]

During the 2009 presidential elections and the ensuing social upheaval, however, Tehran again disclosed the direct relationship between sociopolitical tensions and urban topography. The political struggle between the Ahmadinejad administration and the pro-Musavi electorate was in effect a struggle over various pockets of the city (figure 10.9). Typical of strategies of power in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Iran, the battle over the capital city was the battle over central power. Streets turned into the *tabula rasa* in order to express political alliances and ideological stances. The walls transformed into dynamic surfaces that altered their messages overnight.[66] As in the days of the revolution, the walls turned into a malleable, dynamic, constantly shifting space of public expressions. There was something personal and lucid about the way the walls of the city were deployed for the contestation of power. A sense of urgency, adventure, and danger seemed to define their workings. Strangely enough, the walls of the city were also the space upon which those who encouraged political apathy and resignation used to promote their

Figure 10.6. *View of highway retaining wall and landscaping as new strategies of urban beautification, northern Tehran, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

Figure 10.7. *General view of Haft-e Tir Square, central Tehran, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

Figure 10.8. *Example of urban beautification mural project, southern Tehran, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

message. In northern Tehran, one wall graffiti proclaimed "don't vote (*raay na*)," which encouraged the electorate to refrain from casting their ballots (figure 10.10). Believed by many to be undemocratic in either case, this course of action would show contempt toward the system. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of the public domain—that is, the nightly debates of the presidential candidates, the energized visual environment of the cities, the public activities and enthusiasm, the discussions on the streets—all hinted at an opposite impression. Political apathy seemed to have been the one element missing from that election.

The walls of the city served multiple functions during the upheaval. The social imprints on the city with definite political message were often censored. This sometimes occurred during the act of production. Cut in the middle of writing, the intended "death to dictator [*marg bar diktator*]" remained incomplete, changing its meaning into "death to dik." At times, too, texts with absolutely no political meaning, for instance, "happy birthday to you [*tavalodet mobarak*]" were inscribed, as if to mock the act of resistance through graffiti and to reveal that the very act of writing, regardless of its specific message, is an act of rebellion. Ultimately, perhaps, the birth of a new government was

Figure 10.9. *Vali Asr Avenue with the stencil of presidential candidate Musavi's figure, Tehran, June 9, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*
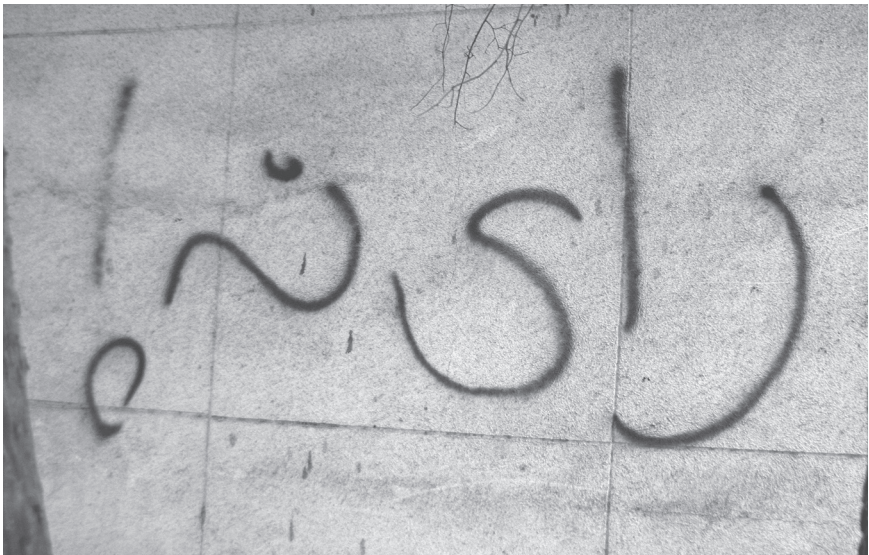
Figure 10.10. *Graffiti that states "don't vote" during the June 2009 presidential election campaign, central Tehran, June 7, 2009. (Photo by Talinn Grigor)*

being congratulated; we will never know. Clearly, there is not enough evidence to tell a holistic story. In Amin's words, this trace on the wall is a "witness to another history," which imposes "narratological complications" on how one can narrate the history of a city and of a nation.[67] The government each night whitewashed the slogans and graffiti produced by protestors. The next morning their trace was only apparent to those who looked closely. The erasure of the visual trace was to annul the reality of the unrests, as if nothing had happened. While the official murals themselves are losing their power to convey the revolutionary message, they are subject to neglect both by the authorities and the people. Their visual and ideological power is fading away—sometimes literally—while other murals await a new coat of paint as more pressing socioeconomic dilemmas surface.[68]

Dominating the Iranian plateau by its hegemonic position in the northern heart of the land, Tehran has played a major political role in the history of modern Iran. Since its establishment as the capital city of the Qajar dynasty in 1785, it has been subject to major urban experimentations and expansions, often designed and financed under the auspices of the reigning monarch. Kings whose rules were characterized by top-down modernization, rapid reform, and the maintenance of an imperial image of civility and progress implemented urban changes in Tehran that constantly reinforced the north-south axis of social promotion, generated by its topographical incline from the southern desert to the northern mountains. Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, Reza Shah Pahlavi, and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi each carried out his own version of modern reforms that inadvertently coupled socioeconomic hierarchy with the naturally inclining landscape of the city: in effect, the higher you were placed, the richer you were, the better you lived. All along, Tehran was a revolution in making. Today with a population of fifteen million inhabitants and an area of 7,000 square miles, Tehran is one of the largest, most dynamic, and paradoxical urban agglomeration in the world. Its urban growth remains an enigma of both architecture and power politics to be revealed as its social history unfolds.[69]

NOTES

1. Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 5–6.

2. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 5–6.

3. Xavier de Planho, "Tehran i," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, Online Edition, 2004, www.iranica.com.

4. Select publications on Tehran's history include Charyar Adle and Bernard Hourcade, *Teheran, capital bicentenaire* (Paris and Tehran, 1992); Mahvash Alemi, "Documents: The 1891 Map of Tehran; Two cities, two cores, two cultures," *Environmental Design* 0–2 (1984–1985): 74–86; H. Baharambeygui, *Tehran: an Urban Analysis* (Tehran: Sahab Book Institute, 1977); Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York: University Press, 1979); Thomas Herbert, *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great*, 3rd ed. (London, 1665); Bernard Hourcade, "*Teheran 1978–1989: La crise dans l'État, la capitale de la ville*," *Espaces et Sociétés* 64–64 (1991): 19–38; Ali Kadem, *Tehran dar Tasvir* (Tehran: Shoroosh, 1369); Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis* (Chichester and New York: John Wiley, 1998); Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia: During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*, 2 vols. (London, 1821–1822), 1: 306–308; Mina Marefat, "Building to Power: Architecture of Tehran 1921–1941" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988); Richard L. Meier, *Tehran: A New 'World City' Emerging*, Institute of Urban and Regional Development (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); Naser Najmi, *Iran-e Qadim va Tehran-e Qadim* (Tehran, c. 1970, republished 1363/1984); and A. H. Zakerzadeh, *Sargozasht-e Tehran* [Adventures of Tehran] (Tehran, 1373/1994).

5. On disembedded cities, see Smith, *Political Landscape*, 204.

6. Gore Vidal, *Creation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981), 15.

7. See Ali Kadem, *Tehran dar Tasvir* (Tehran: Shoroosh, 1369), 9.

8. The relevance of Ray to Tehran was still evident a century ago, in the presence of the *qanat* system, to import water from the mountains, which belonged to the system of Ray rather than that of Tehran.

9. See Charles J. Adams, ed., *Iranian Civilization and Culture: Essay in Honor of the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire* (Montreal: McGill University Institute of Islamic Studies, 1973), 208.

10. Ali Madanipour, *Tehran: The Making of a Metropolis* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1998), x.

11. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 26–27; 202–204.

12. George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London, 1892), 302.

13. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 271–273.

14. On Karim Khan Zand's foundations, Agha Mohammad Khan built a royal palace. The latter had held great feelings of hatred for the former; this act had symbolic connotations, as well.

15. See John Gurney, "Legations and Gardens, Sahibs and Their Subalterns," *Iran* 40 (2002): 203–232; and F. Kashani-Sabet, "Fragile Frontiers: The Diminishing Domains of

Qajar Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29/2 (May 1997): 205–234, 221.

16. Abbas Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe: Nasir al-Din Shah Qajar and the Iranian Monarchy, 1831–1896* (London, 1997), 428.

17. See Kashani-Sabet, "Fragile Frontiers," 221.

18. Naser al-Din Shah constructed a five-mile, narrow-gauge railway to Shah Abd al-Azim, the holy shrine in Ray: the first modern connection between the two cities. Despite Tehran's increasing political, social, and economic importance, Ray preserved its Islamic holy significance, but was reduced to a shrine, a cemetery, and eventually an industrial zone by the 1950s. The Qom Road connected the capital with city's cemetery and the Tehran Refinery which was the second most important in Iran. In the 1970s, the new cemetery was called Behesht-e Zahra ("Zahra's paradise"). Ray in general was a very sacred place for the Qajars who visited it regularly and were in good relationship with the clergies there. Ray was also where most of the Qajar royal family was buried. When Naser al-Din Shah returned from his voyage to Europe, he chained himself in Ray as an act of purification before returning to the royal palace.

19. See Gurney, "Legations and Gardens," 203–232.

20. Madanipour, *Tehran*, 34.

21. On Pahlavi policy on architecture see Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York: Periscope/Prestel, 2009); and "(re)Cultivating 'Good Taste:' The early Pahlavi Modernists and their Society for National Heritage," *Journal of Iranian Studies* 37/1 (March 2004): 17–45.

22. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 107. See also chapter 9 by Pilat in this volume.

23. The urban reforms under Reza Shah have often been compared to and associated with Haussmanian reforms in Paris. Since I have not found any primary sources during my research that prove that the shah's reformists were in fact copying the French plans, I refrain from insisting that there was a direct link between Baron Haussman's Paris and Reza Shah's Tehran. However, there is no doubt that most of the political and intellectual elite of the period had visited Paris. For a concise and comprehensive description of the official urban policies and practices under Reza Shah, see Donald Newton Wilber, "Architecture VII. Pahlavi, Before World War II," in *Encyclopedia Iranica* 1, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London and New York), 350–351.

24. Homa Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), 5, 110–111; and Amin Banani, *Modernization of Iran, 1921–1941* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 144.

25. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 435.

26. On Shi'a passion plays, see Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), passim.

27. E. Ehlers and W. Floor, "Urban Changes in Iran, 1920–1941," *Iranian Studies*

26/3–4 (Summer–Fall 1993): 251–276, 255.

28. British Minister of the Foreign Office, E 4225/47/34, August 1, 1933, Tehran; see Robert Burrell, ed. *Iran Political Diaries* 9: 1931–1934 (Oxford, 1997), 504.

29. US State Department Archives, Hart, dispatch 387, 891.5123/5, February 20, 1931, Tehran; quoted in Mohammad Gholi Majd, *Great Britain and Reza Shah* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2001), 162.

30. US State Department Archives, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran," 891.101/3, May 10, 1940, Tehran; quoted in Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah*, 163–164.

31. Rosita Forbes, *Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan* (London: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1931), 105.

32. Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 120. For more details on Seyyed Hasan Modarres, see Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 111 and 120.

33. US State Department Archives, Hart, dispatch 1393, 891.00/1562, March 25, 1932, Tehran; quoted in Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah*, 155–156.

34. Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 110–111.

35. Banani, *Modernization of Iran*, 144.

36. Richard Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979), 30.

37. See Banani, *Modernization of Iran*, 144; and Laurence Lockhart, *Famous Cities of Iran* (Brantford: W. Pearce and Co., 1939), 11–13.

38. Banani, *Modernization of Iran*, 144.

39. Katouzian, *Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 110–11.

40. Banani, *Modernization of Iran*, 144.

41. US State Department Archives, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran," 891.101/3, May 10, 1940, Tehran; quoted in Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah*, 163–164.

42. US State Department Archives, Engert, dispatch 1830, "Change in the City of Tehran," 891.101/3, May 10, 1940, Tehran; quoted in Majd, *Britain and Reza Shah*, 163–164.

43. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, 149.

44. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, 195.

45. Banani, *Modernization of Iran*, 145.

46. Talinn Grigor, "Orient oder Rom? Qajar 'Aryan' Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History,' *The Art Bulletin* 89/3 (2007): 562–590.

47. Madanipour, *Tehran*, 37.

48. Public Record Office, FO371, 12293, E3909 Clive, Tehran, 26 August 1927.

49. Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, 434.

50. The day of the referendum was January 26, 1963; see M. R. Pahlavi, *Answer*

to History (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), Appendix I, 193–194. By December 1975, the points amounted to nineteen. The initial twelve points were: (1) land reform, (2) nationalization of forests, (3) public sale of state-owned factories, (4) profit sharing by workers in industry, (5) revision of the electoral law to include women,;(6) literacy corps, (7) health corps, (8) development corps, (9) rural courts of justice, (10) nationalization of the waterways, (11) national reconstruction, and (12) educational and administrative revolution. Also, see Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, 424.

51. Ali Ansari, *Modern Iran since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Longman, 2003), 148; Avery, *Modern Iran*, 464–466; and Eliz Sanasarian, *The Women's Rights Movement in Iran* (New York: Praeger, 1982), 79–105.

52. Jalal al-Ahmad's pamphlet, entitled *Gharbzadegi* (The plague of the West or Westoxication) advocated a return to Islamic roots and criticized the Pahlavi state for promoting Western moral and cultural values in Iran. The pamphlet was widely circulated in the 1960s.

53. Costello, 1977: 99 quoted in *Tehran*, 41–42.

54. Karaj river, which, at about 40 km to the west, had given birth to the important town of Karaj; and those of the Jajerud, about 30 km east.

55. Baharambeygui, *Tehran*, 133.

56. The *jubs* come in many different sizes: as big as 4 m by 2 m on the main streets and as small as 10 cm by 10 cm. The other method of transporting clean water from the mountains to the desert via Tehran is the use of seasonal rivers or sail-routes called *masil* coming from *masire-e sale*. These are natural passageways for the water during the season when the water melts and flows down the mountains through the urban fabric. One of the bigger *masils* extends between today's Tehran proper and Narmak in the east of the city. During the Pahlavi era, these *masils* were kept regulated and clear. However, after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, with the explosion of city's population and lack of regulations, these canals were built over by squatters. A number of times during the 1980s, the sail-water (runoff water from rain) washed away these structures along with their inhabitants.

57. On the history of Shahyad monument, see Talinn Grigor, "Of Metamorphosis: Meaning on Iranian Terms," *Third Text* 17/3 (September 2003): 207–225.

58. Jean Hureau, *Iran Today* (Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1975), 165.

59. Hureau, *Iran Today*, 8.

60. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 187.

61. Madanipour, *Tehran*, 44.

62. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 3. See also chapter 9 by Pilat in this volume.

63. Madanipour, *Tehran*, 40.

64. Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran* (New York: Columbia University Press,

2000), 14–15.

65. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 280, calls for nuanced mapping of the places of resistance within the cartography of authority.

66. Just a few days before the election on June 6, 2009, for instance, on an official Musavi poster-parchment Ahmadinejad's supporters spray-painted, "Hashemi's puppet" (*arousak-e hesemi*). The following morning, the graffiti was covered over with another text in green color. During the 2009 presidential elections, young boys and girls took off from school not only to disseminate the election message but above all to convey a revolutionary aesthetic. Dressed in their simple school uniforms, with green bands on their foreheads and posters in hand, they resembled the solders of the revolution and the Iran-Iraq War; they embodied, with a certain feeling of optimism absent in earlier discourses on martyrdom, the promising revolutionary moment of martyrdom—they referred back to the Shi'a tradition of martyrdom characteristic to contemporary Iranian life.

67. Shahid Amin, *Event, Metaphor, Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 194.

68. The Arab-Israeli conflict, for instance, takes a back seat to the fairness of the elections within the legal frameworks of the Islamic Republic. "Palestine is right here," read homemade posters on Jerusalem Day in September 2009. Sh. Sadeghi, "Qods Day: Protesters Transform Jerusalem Day into Iran Day," *Huffington Post*, 18 September 2009, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/shirin-sadeghi/qods-day-protesters-trans _b_291220.html.

69. In 2010, the government of Iran announced that "for security and administrative reasons" the multimillion capital city will be moved from Tehran to another city. Accessed June 20, 2013. http://www.payvand.com/news/10/may/1322.html.

The frontispiece to this this volume, an example of an urban beautification mural project with a view of the Alborz Mountains in southern Tehran, visualizes the focus of this book on political landscapes of capital cities; the essays presented here assess the actual, imagined (illustrated by the mural), and constructed (present in the infrastructure) qualities of space across cultures to explore the ways governments create relational social networks that effectively convey, maintain, and negotiate their political ideals and sovereign authority.[1] We present case studies that focus on capital cities because they represent the principal jurisdictional location where regimes assert their sovereignty.[2] Our results promote a pluralist vision of the role of architecture, urban planning and spatial gesticulation (actual and symbolic) play in forming social meaning within complex and at times diversified constellations of political authority. Using Adam T. Smith's work *The Political Landscape* as an intellectual springboard, our essays also show that political space can accommodate a plethora of agendas that are neither static in relation to time nor unique to any given place or people.

Given the diversified geohistorical contexts, the contributors to this volume apply a variety of methodological approaches that zero in on the relational social ontology of modified spatial settings to articulate a more nuanced understanding of the intimate relations that exist between space and politics.[3] As Smith proposes in his book, and as we augment here,

Ontological Relations and the Spatial Politics of Capital Cities

Jelena Bogdanović,
Jessica Joyce Christie,
and Eulogio Guzmán

the principles encapsulated in the term *political landscape* unavoidably bind space and politics in ways that blur distinctions between material and imagined perceptions of space.[4] In other words, such an ontological relational analysis identifies a direct correspondence between ideation and political execution in spatial environments. Furthermore, we show these interests can be mined through a number of analyses: visual, textual, and phenomenological (to name only three of several approaches presented herein). The rich empirical results relayed here through divergent evaluations of spatial constructs for different cultures present a wealth of knowledge on the material and spatial expressions politics take within competitive social processes.

Our divergent analyses prove that no single, definite "blueprint" can be devised as a supermodel to study space across cultures because local political interests take different expressions in architecture and the built environment, making it impossible for local (physical) and phenomenological realities to be exactly replicated across time and space. For example, in her study of Constantinople and cities modeled after it, Jelena Bogdanović (chapter 3) demonstrates how those who were inspired by medieval Constantinople did not accurately recreate its physical reality in their capital cities; instead they settled on replicating a few distinct features from this famed city in a local flavor, which generated a set of idiosyncratic architectural features that served as models of social importance for medieval capitals in general. This practice shows that architectural and spatial particularities of capitals were intertwined with rhetorical meanings that can orchestrate the experiences of audiences in one particular city to others beyond.

This volume likewise shows that political interests are never uniform; whereas many cities copied Constantinople because of its political authority, they did not do so necessarily to supplant or challenge its political eminence. Even when spatial replication is evident, the political interest for such actions can vary widely. Melody Rod-ari (chapter 4) shows that King Rama I's appropriation of architectural, cultural, and spatial elements from earlier prominent centers of the Sukhothai realm was done to firm up his claims of authority for the Kingdom of Siam and therefore exemplifies a different process from mimicking Constantinople.

The links between the production and reception of capital cities and their associations with politics are important and reveal ways official authorities, usually residing in capitals, constructed socio-ideological environments.[5] This point is articulated in Stephanie Zeier Pilat's (chapter 9) examination of Fascists' urban transformations of Rome, Eulogio Guzmán's essay (chapter 7) on the foundation and constant renewal of the capital of Mexico-Tenochtitlan,

and Jessica Christie's assessment (chapter 6) of the strategies the Inka developed to claim the natural terrain. In their studies of Rome and Tehran, Gregor Kalas (chapter 2) and Talinn Grigor (chapter 10) highlight the difficulties in recovering competing narratives about the city. Analyses of contemporary cities can benefit from the range of studies that center on urban development and the social events that led to their formation: Anne Parmly Toxey demonstrates (in chapter 8) that the ethnographic interviews she conducted in Matera present a comprehensive view of the ways social opinion associated with this capital cognitively transformed through a socioeconomic re-arrangement of space.

While the works of many here—Bogdanović, Christie (both essays), Guzmán, Toxey, Pilat, and Grigor—examine how physical changes in topography and urban texture reinforced or loosened social boundaries between the elite and subaltern parts of the city, Alexei Vranich's examination (chapter 5) of Tiwanaku also centers on the way these people focused their efforts on visually and experientially incorporating the natural landscape of the high plateau of the Andes into the site. Christie's analysis (chapter 1) similarly assesses the ways Akhenaten marked voids in the landscape surrounding his city with stelae filled with texts to accentuate associations made between architectural experiences and divine relationships.

Historical reconstructions are similar in abstract to the way restoration of a mosaic can rely upon the number of surviving tesserae. Theoretical models are certainly instrumental in constructively helping fill in lacunae where tiles may be missing, but it is illusory to rely on abstract theory to fill in material voids or to bolster a single vision across cases, much less across cultures. We find that methods and tools that belong to positivistic, scientific, and structural threads of research (including archaeology, ecology, formal-stylistic analysis, iconography, semiotics, and space syntax) that are socially contextualized (within economics, history, religion, phenomenology, or political science and other critical disciplines) and that consider site-specific conditions can make substantial contributions and prove critical in the seminal process of understanding the quantitative and qualitative representational capacity of capital cities. Such work can reveal unexpected sociohistorical stratification expressed in spatial settings. For example, by using close historical stratification Toxey demonstrates how sociopolitical transformations in Matera are occurring faster than the physical alterations of its landscape. It is our firm belief that increased analyses of spatial constructs can only help present a more complete picture of the past and the emerging present, which in turn will promote better understandings of spatial environments as something other than mere dependent elements of temporal processes whereby

polities are re-created and rewoven on location with constantly emerging social dimensions.[6]

In what follows we discuss some salient conceptual points of convergence among our essays that mine the spatial depths of politics and that filter through all of the studies collected here. These themes do not simplify the variety of approaches; the choice of topics actually leads to a bounty of other related discussions. These concepts offer distinct points of departure for future studies and initiate discussions of many other related themes.

LOCATING GOVERNMENT: RITUAL AND FOUNDATION EVENTS

The capacity for societies to formulate and reproduce their values in the physical and cultural landscape through ritual performances can make political authority a social construction that expresses chronologically layered relations.[7] Such geotemporal exchanges can compress the history of any one given place, making it easy to relate events in the past to present conditions. Foundation events are essential in ordering political stages; they not only validate settlements but also initiate the process of producing, reproducing, and in cases rebooting authority.[8] Foundation events demarcate and socially expand individual designs as they are physically laid out, and they are instrumental in setting up political terrain; they are acts of deliberate planning and define early visions of capital cities as artifacts and tangible places that were shaped by their creators. However, such documentation is rare in the historical record, and the scarcity of such information for cities is what makes presenting the different individual cases here exceptional.

The surviving archaeological remains at el-Amarna show the original political landscape ordained by Akhenaten and the Aten. The boundary stelae erected by Akhenaten provide exceptional textual clues of Akhenaten's original ideas; they express his relationship with the god Aten and how he chose the location and design of the city as an earthly abode for his god. The location of stelae in space demarcated the political boundaries of the city of the Aten. Indeed, rulers in other societies have likewise chosen to reproduce their authority.[9]

Constantinople circulated legendary accounts of how Constantine I first founded the new capital and his city by widening the boundaries of the ancient town and erecting new fortification walls. Constantine walked and personally traced the limits of the future capital with his spear. Oral traditions further identify the precise central spot where he ordered his city to be built on the second hill, which was marked by an honorific porphyry column that celebrated the ties between emperor, architecture, and divine authority. Within

the century, the city walls became associated with the Mother of God and city gates were inscribed with references to Christ and additionally strengthened by Christian shrines. Thus foundational elements of the city included the creation of bonds between a higher, supreme authority (God, perceived as the ultimate designer or planner of such cities) and the ruler (often touted as the architect and builder of the actual city).[10] The founding of Constantinople would become the enduring trope for establishing a capital in later medieval eastern Christendom, where the iconic role of a ruler, as earthly representative of God, pervasively embodied the regime in control.

In the Americas, we learn of foundation events for the Inka capital of Cusco and the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan. In each case, the foundation event marks the end of long migration by foreigners. For Mexico, colonial sources attribute the foundation of the Mexica capital to a chieftain and a group of ethnic leaders who were part of the long migration.[11] Their contributions as original settlers who held specific knowledge of the physical and social layout beyond the confines of their immediate settlement would not be forgotten; the capital would take the name of the chieftain and the layout, organization, and repeated construction of the principal civic structure, the Templo Mayor, would forever incorporate the material contributions of those who first resisted and later merged into the ephemeral corporate political conglomeration centered at Mexico-Tenochtitlan. In contrast, at Cusco, the process of designing and constructing the imperial state capital is widely attributed not to the founder, Manqo Qhapaq, but to the ninth ruler, Pachakuti Inka Yupanki, who not only organized the city but set up royal estates beyond the confines of the capital, staking a greater claim to areas beyond the center through a sophisticated network of visual and ritual markers.

In Southeast Asia, the political authority and role of King Rama I in the creation of the new Siamese capital, Bangkok, was crucial. Royal figures were also critical in the creation of Tehran as the capital city of Iran. Rulers, including the last governing monarchs Naser al-Din Shah Qajar, Reza Shah Pahlavi, and Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, are perceived as creators of the identity of the capital as well as authors of its modernization. The royal ceremonial space, which stood for the 2,500-year-long monarchy in Tehran, was the public stage set for the creation of new politics and values of the Iranian Republic during the Revolution of 1979. For Rome, the supreme Fascist leader Benito Mussolini reached back across time to engage in urban projects that emphasized the rebellious nature of the Fascist movement while renewing urban terrain in ways that purposefully grafted their actions onto the foundational roots of the Roman Empire.

DIACHRONIC CONVERGENCE: CLAIMS TO
SPATIAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TOTALITY

Claims to universality/totality and unification are recurrent in the discussion of capitals and an association that distinguishes them from other cities. Messages of social unification are easily transmitted through space, and careful spatial planning can effectively establish political ambitions beyond territorial boundaries. The employment of such tactics has been an essential ingredient of geopolitics in many places. In reality, however, pretensions of regimes to geographic incorporation are often illusory and necessitate relentless action to fill in territorial gaps and mentally remap the imagination of the polity.[12] Several examples presented here underscore the practical necessity by governments to claim socioterritorial unity through space.

Quadripartite divisions formulated at a center (capital) and projecting outward to its possessed territories and beyond constitute a common theme among imperial systems throughout the world. However widespread this trope may be, the local ways each culture has married its political claims to land is cause for much study and debate. Cusco is a case par excellence. The four quarters (*suyu*) originated in the main plaza of the capital and were framed by four roads that extended outward to give form to the Inka Empire *Tawantinsuyu* (Land of the Four Quarters) which, according to the vision of Inka rulers, encompassed the world. In another part of the Americas, Mexico-Tenochtitlan's four-part division even outlived the actual representation of this capital as captured in Folio 2r of the postconquest *Codex Mendoza*. The extended use of this diagram into the colonial period confirms that this conceptual construct was an important spatial component, known to all. It expressed a variety of ancient sociopolitical, religious, and economic relations as recorded in many ethnographic sources and reflected in the disinterred parts of the city, which maintained its spatial memory even after this space had disappeared. Other fascinating applications of quadripartite divisions are discussed in chapter 2 by Kalas for Rome, chapter 5 by Vranich for Tiwanaku, and chapter 4 by Rod-ari for Bangkok.

The geometric cartography that regimes project on their territories did not always match with the physical divisions of the land, as in Cusco, where the four *suyus* were nevertheless of unequal size. Individuals allowed to travel on Inka roads physically experienced leaving the city on a royal highway and in a specific cardinal direction, indicating that spatial experience was paramount among the Inka. The ideological landscape of Tawantinsuyu was ultimately a cognitive map brought to life, performed in state ritual, and reflected through social organization and the essays in this volume show this praxis was one followed in many

parts of the world.[13] Tawantinsuyu was clearly a conceptual tool employed to produce and reproduce political authority in the center, and to validate hegemonic ambitions.

Similar observations could be made with regard to the organization of sectors and causeways in Tenochtitlan; they symbolically reached out to the entire realm although the four administrative sectors were not equally sized and only three main causeways extended from the city to the mainland. Guzmán shows the incongruity between idealized mental maps and their materializations; spatial applications by necessity have to adapt to rational, pragmatic conditions often due to topographic realities, economic necessities, and social conditions that warrant flexibility on the part of the planners as they transform ideational constructs into physical actualities. In the process, conceptual constructions do not lose their authority by the hard limitation of geometric realities. Guzmán in fact indicates that the spatial divisions painted on Mendoza's Folio 2r express above all an idealized indigenous ordering principle of Mexica cunning used to incorporate spatial constructs and likewise project the Mexica political appetite for devouring the entire physical realm outside their capital.

Secular aims, religious concepts, and spatiality have been sophisticatedly interwoven to validate the legitimacy of worldly rulers. For example, a claim to incorporation underlies the importance of sacred icons for legitimizing the capital and promotes its sacred and political authorities. The icons and relics of the Mother of God, the patroness and first inhabitant of the Heavenly Jerusalem, sanctified Constantinople and subsequent capitals of emerging medieval states in Europe and the "Byzantine Commonwealth." The sun deity Aten and the Emerald Buddha added solid religious dividends to the political claims of Akhenaten and King Rama I. For Southeast Asia, the Emerald Buddha represents the most sacred Buddhist palladium in the mainland region. Its prestige is attested to by a long documented history of its travel and capture by King Rama I who installed it in his Bangkok palace in the late eighteenth century. As Rod-ari shows, the presence of this portable icon made the royal chapels of the kingdoms that possessed it the center of the Buddhist world. Its movement throughout the Sukhothai realm consecrated the sacred geography throughout Southeast Asia. Yet its sacrality was also highly political because of its association with the "Nine Precious Jewels" of the *Chakravartin*, or Universal World Ruler. King Rama's I naming of the city of Bangkok with a long list of incorporated titles referring to the Emerald Buddha and the Nine Precious Gems, and his efforts to construct his own temple to house the Emerald Buddha, were commemorated with a grandiose

installment of the sacred relic and his own second coronation ceremony to demonstrate his interest in claiming divine universal rulership.[14]

Claiming universality over time can be quite complicated, as in the case of Kalas's reconstruction of the visual culture associated with the performance of the Tetrarchy in ancient Rome. The four tetrarchs linked their regime to cosmic associations (the four elements and the four seasons) to endlessly project the renewal of their authority into eternity as substantiated by written records and iconography on the eastern and western rostra of the Roman Forum. Similarly, a primary motive for Akhenaten's settlement in the Bay of Amarna was the calculated east-west alignment between the central axis of the Great Aten Temple, with his tomb located further inland in the wadi canyon. Through inscriptions Akhenaten fused his identity to that of the Aten, the Sun, in life and death, leading to his claim that as long as the universe existed and his god rose on a daily basis he would likewise be eternally reborn.

Sometimes the *longue durée* approach to capital cities thriving into the present may also be useful as it reveals how major temporal layers of relations between specific periods constructed over the original foundations variously referenced in historical documents, the iconography of monuments, and the media were compressed. For example, Toxey's historic and ethnographic analysis unveils Matera as a long-lived settlement of prime regional importance from prehistoric times until the present.

Claims to geohistorical totality via religion and performance are attested in Constantinople. The political landscape of the new capital city of Constantine was focused on the embodiment of Roman imperial values and bonds between the divine and the ruler as exemplified by the emperor's honorific column that marked the public locus of the city. Crowned by a statue of the emperor in disguise as the pagan Sun god and enshrining the precious ancient Roman palladium, the Old Testament and Christian relics within this public monument proclaimed an aura of tradition and all-encompassing sanctity. By the sixth and seventh centuries, the capital as the microcosmic center enclosed by monumental fortifications, framed ceremonial rituals and acquired apotropaic Christian references as celebrated in the naming of the Mother of God the heavenly protectoress of the capital. In the post-ninth-century period, the role of icons, relics, and theophanic consecration ceremonies of emerging capitals suggested ways of mapping the long-lived Constantinopolitan landscape and universal authority of Christian Orthodoxy in territories beyond the Byzantine Empire. Under the Ottoman Turks, Constantinople became the capital of the Ottoman Empire; its skyline marked by domed mosques and tall minarets visually and symbolically replaced the cityscape crowned by

church domes and honorific columns on top of seven hills. Constantinople became Istanbul, but continued to be known also as the city of Constantine—Konstantiniyee as late as the nineteenth century.[15] Thus we note a curious and enduring political authority of city architecture and the embodiment of the regime in a ruler, which were clearly established in foundation narratives that were diachronically reproduced and renegotiated in different systems.

Another example is Mexico City, which became the capital city of the republic that entombed Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Although the ruins of the Templo Mayor mark the major archaeological remains of this buried city, mythohistorical accounts of the founding of Tenochtitlan are still retold in the Zocalo, where in one corner of this modern plaza a bronze sculpture reenacts the vision of the eagle on the cactus first witnessed by Mexica settlers and commemorated on Mexico's national flag. Foundation narratives of the Mexica are therefore coopted by the modern nation of Mexico as well. Inka heritage has played a key role in the construction of local Cusqueño identity. Cusco, now the capital of the Departamento/State of Cusco, continuously celebrates its Inka past in visual, literary, and performance cultures. A monumental, larger than life-size bronze statue of Pachakuti greets visitors on their way from the airport to the city center and, since 2012, a second statue crowds the reconfigured usnu stone in the center of the Plaza de Armas. The material essence of stone used to build the Inka, colonial, and modern portions of Cusco forge these three temporal layers together while important religious festivals, such as the Corpus Christi celebration, merge them in colorful performance engaging the hearts and minds of Cusqueños.[16] Cusco municipal institutions are embodying a new form of authority that construct the city as a modern *paqarina* (Quechua for "origin place"), which spatially rises above the Inka and colonial ruins of the past.[17] This new Cusqueño authority connects the Inka memories of the past with the challenges of the twenty-first century by building a new culture, both indigenous and transcultural. Thus in complex ways and through many temporal and spatial layers, initial Inka foundation events continue to reproduce political authorities and help accumulate economic power.

In the twenty-first century, space has become at the same time globalized and relativized via the Internet and global capital. With the dynamics of digital global technology, authority becomes even more de-spatialized and evanescent.[18] Cusco and Matera serve here for discussion. City government in Cusco has appropriated the Inka landscape and is marketing itself across the globe, in cyberspace, as a regional cultural heritage site in the tourism industry. The municipal institutions in Matera, designated as a provincial capital of Basilicata in 1926, have revitalized the Sassi sector of caves and turned their

historically shunned dwellings into an upper-class residential and commercial zone that attracts visitors. Capital status brought socioeconomic benefits to Matera: regional government offices and their influential families, a boost in commercial investment, and public and institutional funding for preserving and gentrifying the once-impoverished residences (Sassi) of the working peasants as a full tourist attraction. But not all Sassi are the same; surrounding towns with similar cave dwellings have not received such economic windfalls. Similar economic prosperity came to ancient capitals but precise historical contexts are often difficult to reconstruct.

Today, many old cities—such as Bangkok, Cusco, Rome, and Tiwanaku—and newly revised ones—Sassi Matera and Istanbul—are advertised globally as must-see destinations. Thus, political authorities represented through various institutions are continuously at work producing and reproducing sociopolitical and economic landscapes by any means possible, often including typical essentialist tourism tropes that collapse, suspend, or compress history to redefine human experiences and perceptions of capitals over time.

SIMULACRA AND EMULATION OF MODEL CAPITAL CITIES

Memorable visual and spatial experiences can commemorate bonds between the city and its complex network of social relations that are fused to political forms of representational discourse on several levels. In our empirical studies, combinations of the visual and tectonic authority often define capital cities in potent ways that are identifiable through variably selected architectural elements with an attached myriad of sociopolitical relations. Such a cohesive perception of the capital as a spatially unified place allows for use and reproduction of an imagined understanding of this entity as a coherent unit.[19]

Visually recognizable architectural components and spatially memorable planning, as well as other elements of spatial syntax, can be used by regimes to produce the environmental aesthetics of political authority.[20] The capital city and its related urban fabric are perceived as a locale unified by its actual physical features (such as walls or river canals, as in the case of Bangkok, Tehran, or Constantinople). Order could likewise be expressed in vertical layers as is the case with the raised plazas of Tiwanaku, which related to celestial bodies and snowcapped mountain peaks of the Andes marked by shrines (*wa'kas*) that extended dominion to a vertical, spiritual, plane. The prominently raised church domes on top of natural or human-made hills in Constantinople and medieval Belgrade, Kiev, Moscow, Novgorod, Smederevo, or Veliko Tŭrnovo fulfilled a similar visual purpose.

A vital theme of this book relates to the ways regional centers or foreign capitals emulated other principal cities as models of specific values and political systems. The clearest example in the United States is the set of relations between the Capitol Building in Washington, DC, and its micro-units in all state capitals. Instead of focusing exclusively on palace and incorporated seats of government (such as capitol buildings),[21] contributors here focus on points of congruency between horizontal ties present among the many locales of authority (such as temple/chapel/church, monument, and palace) and cellular ties to social positions diffused across the city and its environment (from residential neighborhoods or natural landscape to governmental and monumental civic architecture). These nucleated and dispersed centers occasionally cross at spaces designed for public performance and display of political theater, including public and open spaces in the urban fabric that are often marked by monuments.

Ultimately, some of these points of congruence define spatially expressed metonymic relations to the city itself. That is, each separate entity stood in for the whole city center and its political enterprise. Palaces as the residences of the ruler and the seat of government, civic monuments, or religious structures are often perceived as proxies of the incorporated geography, as evident in studies on Bangkok, Constantinople, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Rome, and Tehran. The macrocosmic spatial metonyms are also exemplified in Bangkok, Constantinople, Cusco, el-Amarna, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and Tiwanaku.

The various capitals of emerging Christian states emulated selected physical and conceptual features of Constantinople, the prototype of the "ideal Christian capital." No other city actually replicated Constantinople as a whole, but only some of its attributes, like the triangular city layout framed by two rivers and set on several hills; other cities reproduced its monumental architecture and domed churches. What mattered most was that capitals earned the title of *The City* (*Polis*), a term that provided a platform for connecting some physical attributes of Constantinople with the citizenship and cultural identity of being Byzantine. Historical and social memory reinforced by both textual and nonverbal rhetorical devices blurred the material features of the prototype and framed an idealized image that was applied to real-life undertakings elsewhere.

Similar practices of spatial simulacra have been noted for Cusco, which may have likewise sampled certain elements from Tiwanaku. The Inka reproduced diagnostic features of the core area of Cusco in provincial governance centers to create "other Cuscos." An extensive amount of literature has debated this phenomenon and the explanations appear to be grounded in a multilayered geopolitical landscape engineered around regime-controlled relations between

center and periphery. In Siam, King Rama I modeled his capital Bangkok after Ayutthaya by replicating the natural setting of the capital as a moat-encircled island marked by the Grand Palace complex. By using the architectural *spolia* from the destroyed old capital Ayutthaya for building the new capital of Bangkok, King Rama I not only symbolically but also literally constructed a political landscape that figuratively erased the memory of King Taksin and the short tenure of Thonburi as capital under his reign. Therefore, diachronic emulations and human experiences account for a pluralism of political models and an understanding of "capital" not as the city but cities within the city, which can be conspicuously generated elsewhere not simply as avatars but rather as new creations with a new set of sociopolitical connotations.

RENEWAL: PROCESSES OF DEMOLITION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Since capital cities are multirelational seats of authority, strategies of demolition and rebuilding can reshape their spatial political entities. Such demolition projects are not simply practical in the sense that they destroy something that is old and no longer of use; instead, these interests are mobilized by competitive political ambitions, sometimes to erase social memories or to update the current ideological values of those in control through a visual and spatial agenda. This book details two contemporary case studies of such scenarios that transpired in the 1920s and early 1930s: Rome and Tehran. In Rome, the Fascist regime demolished entire neighborhoods that had grown atop the Imperial Fora to make way for their selective construction of a new avenue, the Via dell'Impero, which cut diagonally across the ancient orthogonally arranged fora. Pilat proposes that construction projects of this nature showcased Fascist values. On an ideological level, press coverage privileged photographs of demolition and construction in progress, underlining the Fascist work ethic of continuous action and progress.

A similar and more drastic demolition/modernization effort was carried out at the same time in Tehran under Reza Shah Pahlavi. Estimates are that between 15,000 and 30,000 residential structures were destroyed—compared to 5,500 demolished in Rome by the Fascists—in order to give way to wide avenues, urban squares, and European-style public buildings that celebrated the arrival of modernity to Tehran. The political ideology behind this urban transformation as stated by officials and observers was an attempt to completely erase the past and herald a new beginning as a modern state on a par with the West. Earlier demolition of a capital is documented for Ayutthaya

in Thailand. During construction of his new capital in Bangkok, King Rama I ordered that construction materials, such as bricks, stone slabs, and wood, be taken from the ancient capitals of Ayutthaya and Thonburi and reintegrated into the new construction of Bangkok. Rod-ari contends that King Rama I's motives were practical on one level, while on another he strove to create a geopolitical landscape that would link Bangkok with the ancient capitals.

The case studies in this book make clear that capital cities, as principal seats of government, showcased particular desires that referenced political interests and ideologies in built and modified environments. The multiple but occasionally strongly converging paths of inquiry offered in this volume provide further ways to conceive how processes of urbanization, monumentalization, ritualization, naturalization, or unification affected capitals differently worldwide without losing grasp of their distinctive architectural and spatial features. Essays in this book clearly affirm that "the creation and preservation of political authority is a profoundly spatial problem."[22] This volume is certainly not theoretically comprehensive nor does it aim to provide decisive conclusions on the politics of space in all capital cities. Our efforts clearly demonstrate that the complex social production of space morphs according to location and this above all is a call for further nuanced investigations on the topic of the political in the spatial realm of capitals and human-made environments.

NOTES

1. See, Adam T. Smith, *The Political Landscape: Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 152–155.

2. See, for example, Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 3–43.

3. In his critique of various methodologies, Smith, *Political Landscape*, 28–29, emphasizes that his theoretical model can be applied to any political entity past and present.

4. Ibid., 5–12.

5. Ibid., 268–270.

6. Ibid., 189. See John M. Steinberg, Review of *The Political Landscape*, *American Anthropologist* 107/4 (2005): 745–746, who also emphasizes the validity of tools used in regional studies.

7. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 107–111, 279–280.

8. Ibid., 110.

9. Numerous other capitals like Ur, Rome, Lima, Constantinople, Bangkok, Tehran, or Brasilia also started as disembedded capitals—the center of political authority

outside historically dominant urban centers. On disembedded cities, see Smith, *Political Landscape*, 204.

10. Ibid., 206.

11. Elizabeth H. Boone discusses the many different versions of the Nahua foundation myths as ritual performances in her essay, "Migration Histories as Ritual Performance," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. David Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991), 121–151. For the Inka, see Gary Urton, *Inca Myths* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1990).

12. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 109–110.

13. For example, Tawantinsuyu was spatially reproduced on a microscale in the center of the capital: during the Inti Raymi and other major state ceremonies, delegations from the four suyu entered the main plaza from their cardinal directions. When residing in Cusco for official business, they also lived in the sector of Cusco corresponding to their quarter.

14. Nevertheless, his authority was limited to kingdoms practicing Theravada Buddhism. Thus the Emerald Buddha was the real broker of the geopolitical landscape in mainland Southeast Asia since political success was correlated with active Buddhist practice.

15. Istanbul was renamed most likely via the Greek phonetic phrase "in the city" [eis tin polin, εις την πόλιν]. The alternative explanation that the name *Istanbul* is a colloquial version of the official proclamation of "Islambol" ("Islam abounds") under Sultan Mehmed II, who conquered Constantinople in 1453, does not explain how and why the predominantly Islamic population of the Ottoman Empire would corrupt its major constitutive term "Islam." On *Islambol* and *Konstantiniyyee* see Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. iv, ed. P. J. Bearman (Leiden, 1978), 224–248.

16. Yazmin Lopez Lenci, *El Cusco, paqarina moderna* (Cusco: Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2007). See also Carolyn Dean *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ, Corpus Christi and the Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1999) and Thomas B. F. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," in *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2006), 157–170.

17. Lopez Lenci, *El Cusco*, 317, 308–326.

18. David Van Zanten, "Review of David Gordon (ed.), Planning Twentieth Century Capital Cities," *Urban History* 38/1 (2011): 204–206.

19. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 206.

20. Despite his critique of location theories, Smith, *Political Landscape*, 239, also uses their tools.

21. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, 3–55.

22. Smith, *Political Landscape*, 20.

Jᴇʟᴇɴᴀ Bᴏɢᴅᴀɴᴏᴠɪᴄ́ (PhD Princeton), an architect and architectural historian, is an assistant professor at Iowa State University. She specializes in architecture in the Balkans and Mediterranean basin. jelenab@iastate.edu.

Jᴇꜱꜱɪᴄᴀ Cʜʀɪꜱᴛɪᴇ (PhD University of Texas in Austin) specializes in the visual culture of the Maya and Inka as well as in the Southwest and Northwest of Native North America. She is an associate professor at East Carolina University. christiej@ecu.edu.

Tᴀʟɪɴɴ Gʀɪɢᴏʀ (PhD Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is a professor of art history at the University of California, Davis. Her research concentrates on the cross-pollination of art, architecture, and (post)colonial politics, focused on Iran and India. tgrigor@ucdavis.edu.

Eᴜʟᴏɢɪᴏ Gᴜᴢᴍᴀ́ɴ (PhD UCLA) is an art historian who specializes in the art and architecture of post-Classic and colonial Central Mexico. He teaches at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in collaboration with Tufts University. eulogio.guzman@tufts.edu.

Gʀᴇɢᴏʀ Kᴀʟᴀꜱ (PhD Bryn Mawr College) is an associate professor of architectural history at the University of Tennessee. His research concerns the late antique and early medieval reuse of preexisting buildings in Rome. gkalas@utk.edu.

Mᴇʟᴏᴅʏ Rᴏᴅ-ᴀʀɪ (PhD UCLA) is an assistant professor of art history at Loyola Marymount University. Her research investigates the development and evolution of

Buddhist art in Southeast Asia with focus on modern and contemporary Buddhist visual culture in Thailand. melody.rodari@gmail.com.

Anne Parmly Toxey (PhD the University of California, Berkeley) applies to her field of architectural history the tools of ethnographers, cultural anthropologists, and cultural geographers. She founded and directs Arc Boutant Historic Preservation Program, and cofounded and codirects a museum exhibit research and design company, Toxey/McMillan Design Associates. She teaches at the University of Texas at San Antonio. annetoxey@tmdaexhibits.com.

Alexei Vranich (PhD University of Pennsylvania) finished several seasons of fieldwork at the pre-Columbian site of Tiwanaku, Bolivia, and is continuing his interest in ancient urbanism at the Inca capital of Cusco, Peru. avranich@gmail.com.

Stephanie Zeier Pilat (PhD University of Michigan) is an assistant professor of architecture at the University of Oklahoma. A historian and designer, she examines points of intersection between architecture and politics. She is the author of *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era* (Ashgate, 2014). spilat@ou.edu.