

MAASTRICHT, NETHERLANDS  
ZUYD UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES  
MIA  
MASTER INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE

## THESIS

***Public Square as Personification of Society***  
*The Place of Democracy and Liberty and the Enigma of its  
Abandonment*

CARMINE PAPA

Academic Year 2021-2022

## Table of Contents

I – Introduction	p.1
II – The Greek Polis	p.1
III – Agora as Social Development	p.3
IV – Public Life is ‘Happiness’	p.6
V – The Public Square in History	p.7
V. I – Prehistory	p.7
V. II – Babylon	p.8
V. III – Athens	p.11
V. IV – Forum Magnum	p.15
V. V – Middle Ages	p.22
V. VI – Maya Culture	p.31
V. VII – Temple City	p.40
VI – Philosophy of Abandonment	p.49
VII – Homo Indocilis	p.52
Conclusion	p.63
Conclusionone	p.65
Conclusie	p.67



## I – Introduction

What is the *agorà*? Reading the Oxford English Dictionary definition, we find written «in ancient Greece, an open space used for markets and public gatherings».<sup>1</sup> This definition is arguably precise. Contemporaries might think it is a simple marketplace, but this is an insufficient definition that does not give tribute to a place of such importance. On this ground is where lawyers, magistrates and free men of Athens, exercising their rights and duties being guided by a moment of enormous consciousness, created the first form of *Democracy* in human history.

Agora in Classical Greek ἀγορά (ageíro) means “gathering”.<sup>2</sup> The name agora was first coined by Homer and indicates both the assembly of the free people as well as the physical setting.<sup>3</sup> Only around the VI century BC, this previously abstract word transformed in a concrete place in the urbanistic scenery of the *polis*<sup>4</sup> as an open space that served as a meeting ground for its citizens. The agora became a recognisable feature in the Ancient Greek’s life, serving as a religious, political, juridical, social, and at the last circumstance as commercial place. It served as the expression ground of every single citizen. From this moment, till our time, the abstract and conceptual sense of society transmuted in something tangible and visible, the public square. The place of people.

Many philosophers, people of culture, Saints and savants, have already described the importance of the public square and its straight connection to us, human beings, and our sense of community. From Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Foucault to Hannah Arendt analysed the society, how we interact with each other and we strive for happiness. Happiness can only be achieved together and together we stand, physically, on the squares.<sup>5</sup> The two subjects of “Research for Happiness” and “Public Square” are naturally interlaced and have always been important for our societies, but why?

The reason lies in the *agorà* itself. Public square is the broadest adjective, surprisingly the most precise too, which I want to attribute to the Greek word. In my Thesis, I am going to analyse the birth of the public square, its evolution throughout history, and its value for society.

## II – The Greek Polis

I am not the first, neither will be the least, to describe the importance of the place founded in Ancient Greece. It is known how this civilisation, with their great culture, is the fundamentals and forefathers of our culture.

The city-states of Ancient Greek world were all different for their form of government, well classified by Aristotle into monarchies, oligarchies, tyrannies and democracies, but instead were immutably equal regarding their geographical identification and social division. The surrounding territory of a *pòlis* is called *chora* meanwhile its conurbation *ásty*.<sup>6</sup> «Thus, Odysseus asks Nausicaa about the people (*anthropoi*), who live in this land (*chora*) and community (*pòlis*), and about the way to the town (*ásty*)». <sup>7</sup> This paragraph from the *Odyssey* of Homer is a clear incipit for understanding such geographical division of a city-state of Classical Greece. At the lower level, both physically and of status, there was the

---

<sup>1</sup> Definition of *agora noun* from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> G. Becatti, 'Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica', Enciclopedia Treccani, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "agora". Encyclopædia Britannica, 15 Dec. 2017.

<sup>4</sup> "polis, plural poleis, ancient Greek city-state. The small state in Greece originated probably from the natural divisions of the country by mountains and the sea and from the original local tribal (ethnic) and cult divisions. There were several hundred poleis, the history and constitutions of most of which are known only sketchily if at all. Thus, most ancient Greek history is recounted in terms of the histories of Athens, Sparta, and a few others." Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "polis". Encyclopædia Britannica, 11 Dec. 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Montgomery, 'Happy City, transforming our lives through urban design', 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Mogens Herman Hansen, 'The Ancient Greek City-State', Symposium on the occasion of the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 14 July 1992.

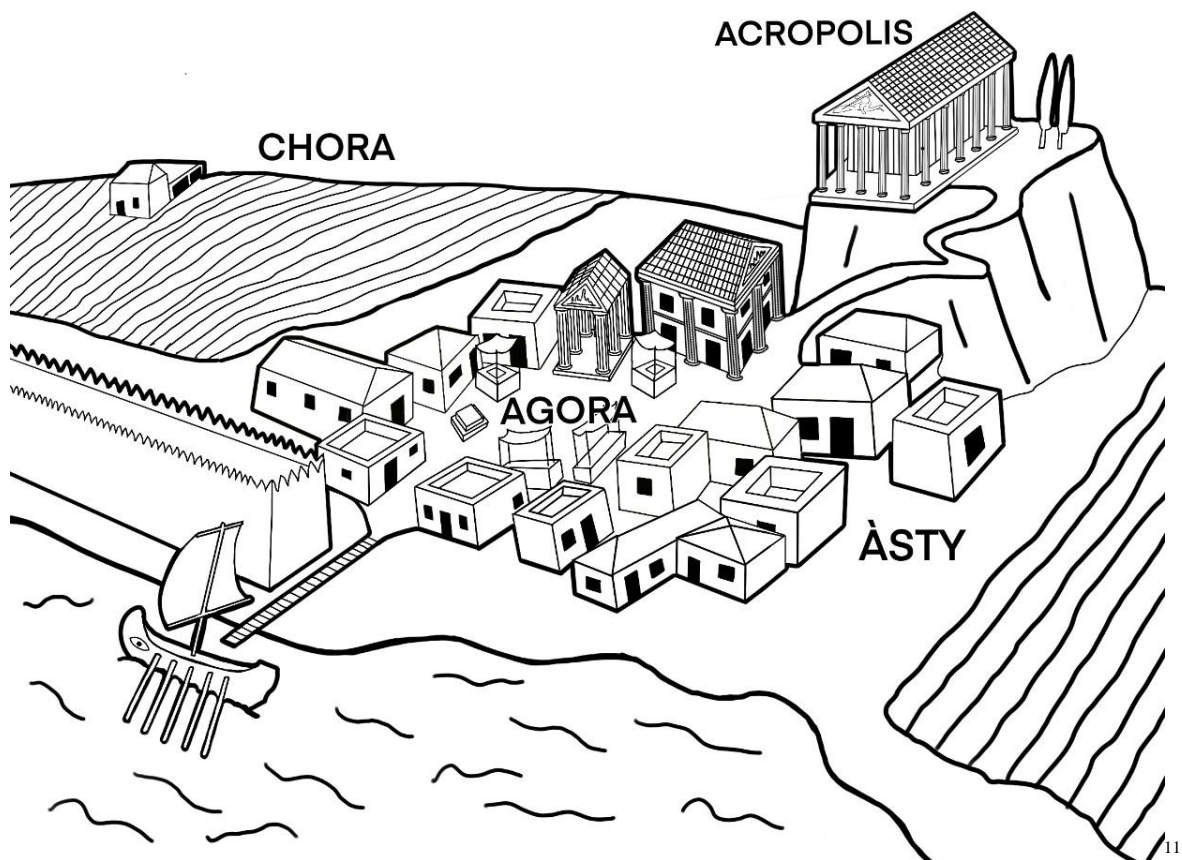
<sup>7</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, book VI, 177f.; cf. 191-95, VI century BC.

*chora*, the countryside in which lived the slaves and peasants working in agriculture and farming sectors. The core of the polis was the *asty* which in a general sense means 'town' as the physical urban centre and it is opposed and in contrast with the concept of a polis, which indicates its citizenry living in the entire city-state.<sup>8</sup>

Such division between the town, so the physical place, and the people, so the community, will then be repeated and well described by Saint Augustine of Hippo, in 426 AD, in his 'City of God'. Saint Augustine differentiate the 'city' as a whole in two different aspects, the 'City of God' and the 'City of Man'. As Richard Sennett suggests, one is a physical fact and architecture, *la ville*, the 'City of God', the eternal city, the *asty*. The other is the people and citizenry, *la cité*, the 'City of Man', the temporal city, the *pòlis*.<sup>9</sup>

The *asty* is the most articulated and important part of the polis. Here is where most 'free men' lived their everyday life. This portion of the city-state can again, in turn, be subdivided. At the highest ground of the *asty* was located the *acropolis*. Acropolis means 'upper-city' and derives from the suffix *àkros*, meaning 'upper' combined with its root polis. Here first lived the upper class of the polis and then magnificent religious temples were built.

Located in a dominant position concerning the rest of the settlement, in Mycenaean times it housed the king's fortified residence and was characterised by defensive and political structures. In the Classical period, however, it became the city's religious centre per excellence, and splendid temples were built there. The best known of which is the *Parthenon*, which still stands today on the 'Acropolis of Athens'.<sup>10</sup>



<sup>8</sup> Lohmann, Hans (Bochum), "Asty", 'Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity volumes', Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Sennett, 'Building and Dwelling, Ethics for the City', 22 February 2008.

<sup>10</sup> Fabrizio Di Marco, 'Enciclopedia dei ragazzi', Enciclopedia Treccani, 2005

<sup>11</sup> Scheme of an Ancient Greek polis, personal drawing.

### III – Agora as Social Development

To better understand the birth of the main city square in civilisation, it is relevant to observe the birth of the agora in Athens, the best documented and perhaps the most important of all the other city-states of Ancient Greece.

During the VI century BC, the city of Athens grew in such an extended richness, both cultural and monetary, that the whole population of Athens profited from this development and the town started flourishing with more and more houses, markets, temples and theatres.

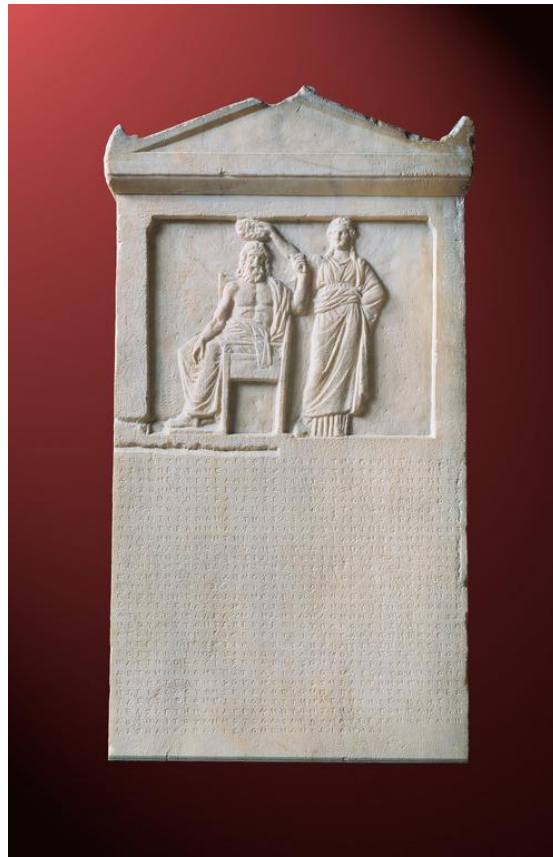
At the same time, was also shaped the *agora* in the centre of the city to provide the citizens with a public space that would guarantee the functions of the community's public life. From this moment, the political state of Athens changed. Conditioned from such extraordinary broadened richness and by a growing consciousness, quotidianly enlightened and nurtured by the great Athenian philosophers who orated in the public square, the polis progressed from a monarchy to the first form of democracy in human history. Athens officially adopted the first form of democracy in 508 BC when Cleisthenes reformed the Athenians code of laws, and established a democratic constitution. The word democracy derives from the Greek *dēmokratia*, which was coined from *dēmos* 'people' and *kratos* 'rule' and literally means 'rule by the people'.<sup>12</sup>

These changes transformed the acropolis into the religious centre of the city, which definitively lost its strategic and political function. The defence of the polis was ensured by larger fortified walls that surrounded the entire inhabited area. At the same time, with the abolition of the monarchy, there was no longer need for the royal palace. The political function moved from the acropolis to the agora, which became the true centre of civil and political life in the polis of Athens. From this moment on, the importance and progress of the Attica capital conditioned the whole country, accompanying the Ancient Greek Culture in the passage from the Archaic to the Classical Era.

This transit, held by the city of Athens, transformed the agora in the beating heart of each city of the entire Greek civilisation of that time and permanently shaped the societies of the modern culture, ever since always projected around the public square.

---

<sup>12</sup> Dahl, Robert A. "democracy". Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 Mar. 2021.



13

« When the herald had proclaimed this, Cyrus is said to have asked the Greeks who were present who and how many in number these Lacedaemonians were who made this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, “I never yet feared men who set apart a place in the middle of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. They, if I keep my health, shall talk of their own misfortunes, not those of the Ionians.” »<sup>14</sup>

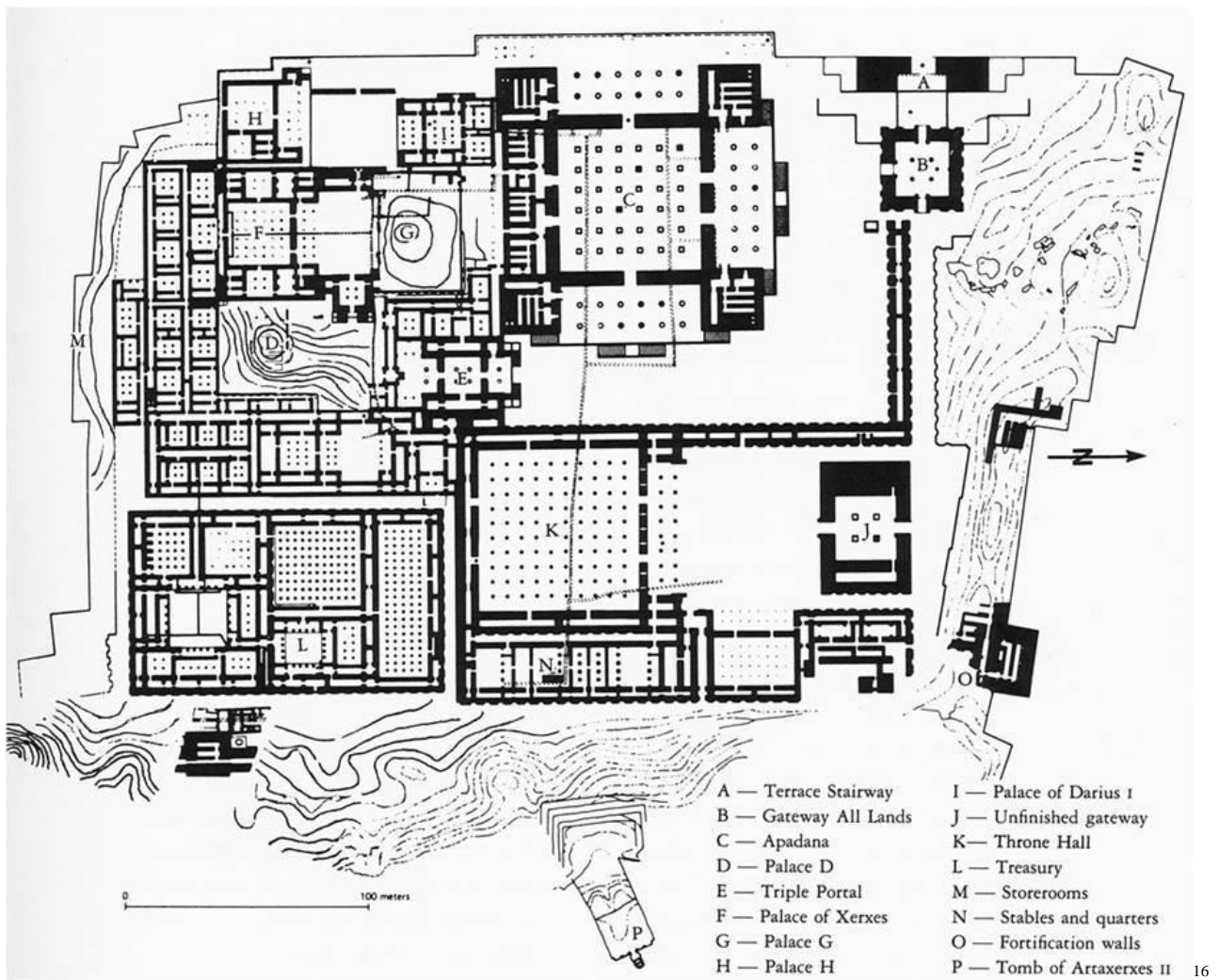
This is how Herodotus, the first historian and anthropologist in human history, recounted the conversation between *Cyrus the Great* and the Greek representatives. Cyrus was a great Persian king who, from the middle of the VI century BC, established an Empire that stretched from the banks of the Indus River to northern Greece, encompassing the whole of Anatolia and subjugating the entire Mesopotamian kingdom with Babylon as its capital.<sup>15</sup> Herodotus in his book 'The Histories', described the wars between Persians and Greeks, contemporaneous with his time in the V century BC, and also imagined the speeches that influenced the preliminary acts of these conflicts.

The astonishing thing is that he imagined the great King Cyrus II, which addressing the Greeks related to their space at the centre of the city, despising it, instead of describing their arts or the marvellous temples on the acropolis. The reason for this revulsion is given to describe the cultural conflict between these two civilisations. King Cyrus despised the Greeks because he thought that freedom of thought and trade was a form of fraud and deception. The Persian culture placed the king above all else, almost as if he were a god, and all others were slaves or just few vassals with advice functions. Greek culture, on the other hand, was free and equal, democracy was experienced here, and it was a civilisation characterised by cultural exchange and trade.

<sup>13</sup> Stele with a relief showing Democracy crowning Dēmos (the people of Athens), ca. 337 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum, I 6524.

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus, "The Histories", Book I 153, V century BC. Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1920.

<sup>15</sup> Frye, R. N. "Cyrus the Great." Encyclopedia Britannica, April 10, 2020.



This cultural difference is therefore visible in the spaces of the city as a representation of man. The Persian city, the greatest example being Persepolis, was fortified and only compounds of royal palaces, city for buildings, which were not leaving any space for citizens. On the other hand, the Greek city was open and the space at its centre was not empty but an expression of freedom and democracy, city for men.

During winter of 431 BC, it is precisely the agora, even in its symbolic value, to be the background of Pericles' speeches in honour of the fallen Athenians, died in the war against Sparta. Pericles, commemorating the deaths, posed the city of Athens as example and model to follow, upon the other civilisations of that time. These beliefs were already common thoughts in Ancient Greek period.<sup>17</sup>

Probably when Herodotus, from the middle of this square, told these stories to his audience, them, observing legislators and artisans, priests and philosophers, and the citizens visiting the various markets and shops of the agora, emotionally moved, felt a high sense of community meanwhile understanding that the place was never empty but a symbol of a great civilization.

<sup>16</sup> "Plan of Persepolis", Encyclopædia Britannica Eleventh Edition, Vol.II, Page 376, 1 January 1911.

<sup>17</sup> Speeches from Pericles, "The Peloponnesian War", Thucydides, Book II 37, V century BC.



#### IV – Public Life is ‘Happiness’

The Greeks defined the ideal of 'happiness' under the name of *eudaemonia*, which translates as 'good-helper' or 'inhabiting spirit' from *eu* 'good' and *daimon* 'demon'.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, they also defined eudaemonism, the doctrine that regards happiness as natural to man and assigns human life the task of achieving it.<sup>19</sup> This principle has been studied and described by all the great ancient philosophers, in slightly different versions, but after centuries of debate,<sup>20</sup> it is the Aristotelian ethics that is considered to be the most articulate on this issue.

For Aristotle, the concept of eudaemonia is more than 'happiness'. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle explains the idea in terms of complete human fulfilment, respecting one's potential and personal limits, and in quality of citizen serve this capacity to achieve the overall welfare of society. In his work *Politics*, Aristotle explains how for the achievement of complete eudaemonia in our society, everyone must participate and cooperate in the research of maximum virtuousness.

« From these things therefore it is clear that the city-state is a natural growth, and that man is by nature a political animal, and a man that is by nature and not merely by fortune citiless is either low in the scale of humanity or above it [...] And why man is a political animal in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal is clear. For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. [...] It is clear therefore that the state is also prior by nature to the individual; for if each individual when separate is not self-sufficient, he must be related to the whole state as other parts are to their whole, while a man who is incapable of entering into partnership, or who is so self-sufficing that he has no need to do so, is no part of a state, so that he must be either a lower animal or a god. »<sup>21</sup>

The polis is the place where the community lives and society exists. Where the Aristotelian *zoon politikon*, political animal, expresses itself. At the centre of the city, there is the agora, which is the physical form of public expression. In the public square, each person demonstrates his or her best concerning public life and serving the community. For these reasons, the agora is the place where eudaemonia can be achieved, the highest 'happiness' of humanity. Similar studies on human conditions have also been examined by Hannah Arendt in recent times. Analyses attributed to modern-day circumstances.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> "Eudaemonia." *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, Merriam-Webster.

<sup>19</sup> Online dictionary, Enciclopedia Treccani.

<sup>20</sup> Debates already started in Ancient Greece following, upon all, the different schools of thinking of Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Pyrrhus, the Stoics and the Sophists. Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas in Medieval times till the Critique of Kant in recent times.

<sup>21</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.1253a, IV century BC. Aristotle. *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, Vol. 21, translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944.

<sup>22</sup> See page 53, VI – Philosophy of Abandonment.

## V – The Public Square in History

Since the square is the architectural result of public life and represents the place where the community comes together, evolving along with humanity throughout history, different types of public squares can be identified in relation to both geo-morphological characteristics, cultural specifics and the configuration of the urban fabric. The following chapter analyses the different characteristics of this public place, from prehistory to modern times, in the Occidental culture and in other major civilisations. This quote from Carl Sagan, astronomist, biologist, cosmologist and, in general, science communicator « You have to know the past to understand the present. » makes understand the following essay of this V chapter.

### V. I – Prehistory

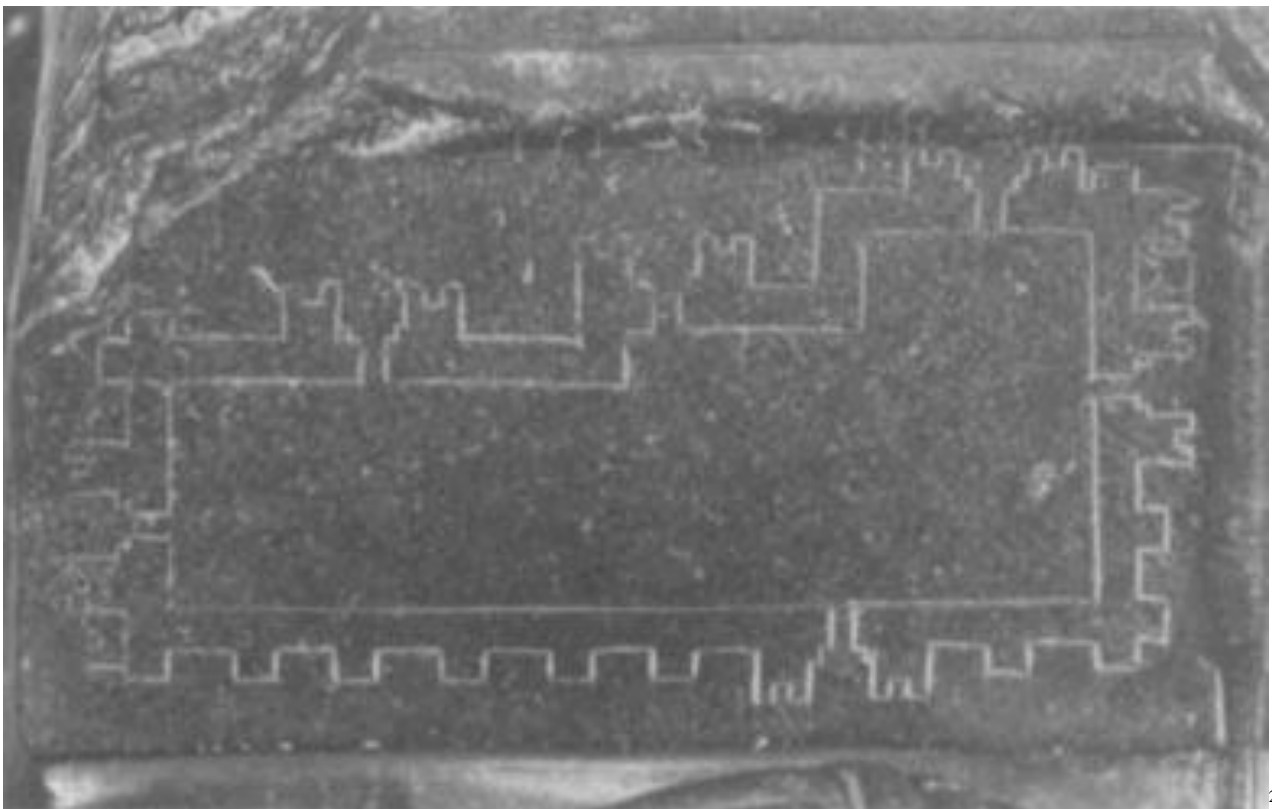
*History* is the era characterised by inscribed documents and sources, whereas *Prehistory* is the period before these evidences. The only proofs found that date back to prehistory is fossils, rare rupestrian paintings and small sculptural carvings. But that is why it is probably one of the most fascinating periods. We modern people, always remained stunned when observing wax-mannequins portraying men so similar and at the same time so far away from us. When we look at reconstructions of nomadic groups from the Palaeolithic or watch documentaries about the first sedentary communities of the Neolithic, in our collective imagination, we always depict communities, albeit of a few individuals, in a common space at the centre of huts or around a fire. This public space can be considered as the first form of a public square, although small in size as little communities were, was no less important in terms of functions compared to those succeeding the prehistoric period. Perhaps it can also be argued that these primitive forms of squares were even more vital than the more recent ones. In these early public spaces, men and women gathered and organised their livelihoods and village life. People in these spaces cooperated by making weapons for hunting and tools for agriculture, and then, in the same spaces, consumed the proceeds around a fire in order to survive. This is the first great example that proves how people have always cooperated and gathered together in shared spaces so to achieve the highest common good of society.



<sup>23</sup> Rupestrian art, between 9,300 and 1,300 years ago. 'Cueva de las Manos', Río Pinturas, Argentina. Unesco Heritage, 4th December 1999.

## V. II – Babylon

In *Mesopotamia* is where Prehistory ends and History begins, here is where the world's earliest civilization developed. In Ancient Greek, the name Mesopotamia means “between the rivers” referring to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, modern days Iraq, southwestern Asia. The first settlements in the Fertile Crescent date back to prehistoric times and are dated up to the Arab conquest of the VII century AD. Many ancient civilisations have lived in these lands, like the Assyrians, Akkadians, Sumerians and Babylonians, many times in conflict with each other for dominance, and more recent civilisations such as the Hellenic with Alexander the Great who died in the city of Babylon. The most significant civilisation in the region was conceivably the Sumerian, one of the oldest known in the world, always in competition with the Akkadian, who, for example, created the earliest epic poem in literature, the '*Epics of Gilgamesh*'. The Sumerians were a population that inhabited the south-eastern region between 4000 and 2000 BC, until the conquest by the Amorites. The Sumerian civilisation bequeathed to the world a vast number of inventions, the most important of which were the writing, wheeled chariots, the potter's wheels, bricks, the abacus, geometry and algebra studies, and the city-states.



24

Architecturally, the tablets depicting the first dwellings and settlements on a geometric scale and the invention of cities and their famous ziggurats are impressive. Among the most famous cities established were Ur, the ancient capital of Mesopotamia founded in 4000 BC, and the world-famous Babylon. At first, Babylon was a province of the capital Ur, but then it became the capital of the Amorite kingdom that defeated the III Dynasty of Ur, the last Sumerian royal lineage. It was the Amorite people, united with the pre-existing Sumerian people, who gave birth to the great Babylonian civilisation. Hammurabi, the sixth king of the Amorite's dynasty, created the written legal code that bears

---

<sup>24</sup> "The Tablet on the Gudea Statue". A plan of an enclosure wall for a temple or other large building is shown. Note the graduated ruler at the top edge which provided an indication of scale. Size of the tablet: 12 x 24 cm. By permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris. A.R. MILLARD, "Bibliography, 6 · Cartography in the Ancient Near East", University of Liverpool, January 1987.

his name, the '*Code of Hammurabi*'. This is the first written legislative code, carved on a black stele and still completely intact, which regulated the standards for commercial interactions and the most famous, and biblical "law of retaliation".



25

It is precisely this stele, dating from the XVIII century BC, that give us an idea of how articulated life was at that time and of the necessity to establish written laws so to regulate civil relations between citizens.

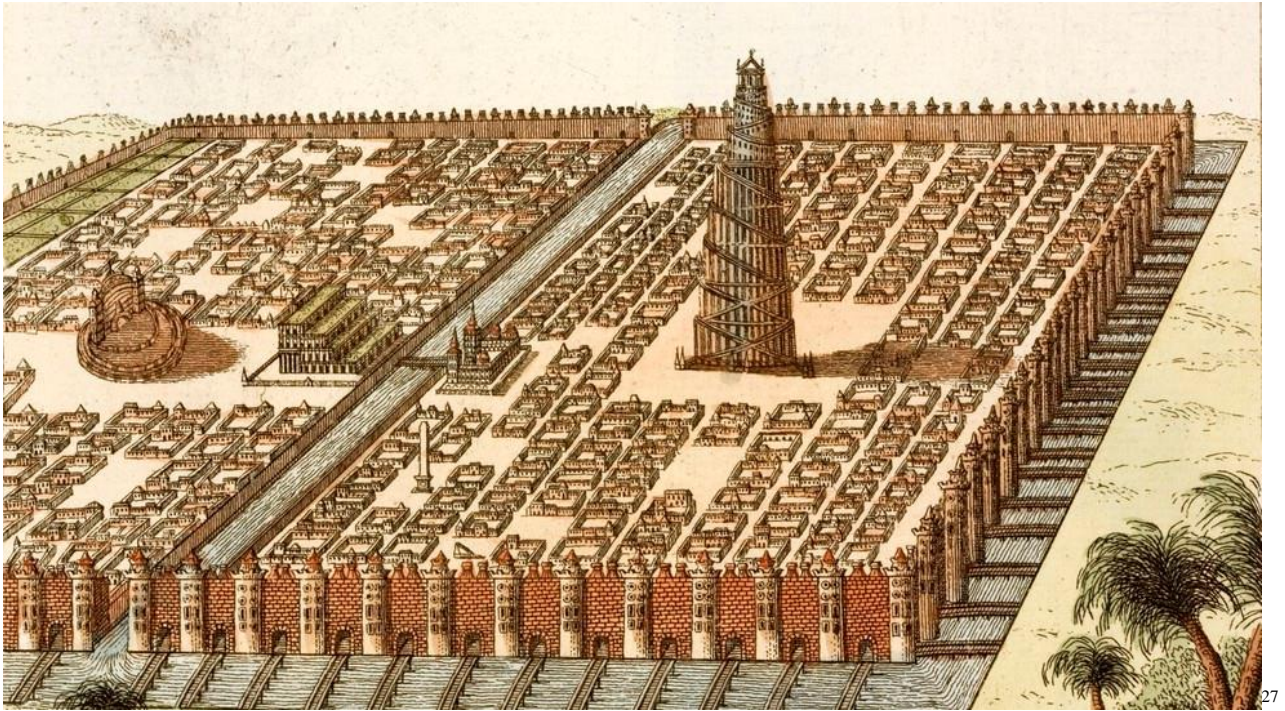
These laws were created to establish social and economic order in the city, to regulate markets and trade between free citizens. These laws organised trade which took place in a city just as organised. Babylon had a detailed urban setting. The city was adorned with *Hanging Gardens*, considered one of the 'Seven Wonders of the World', surrounded by huge walls and projected around the enormous and legendary *ziggurat* which stood at the centre of the city. The ziggurat was the religious, economic and cultural centre of the city-state and commercial activities took place in the public open spaces around it. The ziggurat of Babylon was so prestigious, already for its time, that it might have itself influenced the

---

<sup>25</sup> This image was first published on Flickr. Original image by Larry Koester. Uploaded by Ibolya Horvath, published on 24 June 2021 under the following license: Creative Commons Attribution. 'World History Encyclopedia' <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/14341/code-of-hammurabi/>.



Tower of Babel from the Bible. The ziggurat of Babylon was located near the temple in honour of the divinity *Marduk* and was called *Bab-ilu*, which in Babylonian means 'Gate of God'.<sup>26</sup>



As one of the earliest examples of civil society, Babylon is central in demonstrating the relationship between urban space and public law and civil life. One of the first cities in the history of mankind in which in order to ensure the good execution of public life in public spaces, were established the first written laws of history.<sup>28 293031</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Tower of Babel". Encyclopedia Britannica, 27 Apr. 2020.

<sup>27</sup> "Engraving of Babylon", Michael Nicholson, Corbis Historical Collection, 01 January 1900. "The Atlantic", Philip Ball, 10 February 2016. <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2016/02/babylonians-scientists/462150/>

<sup>28</sup> Frye, R. N., Edzard, . Dietz O. and Soden, . Wolfram Th. von. "History of Mesopotamia." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 9, 2020.

<sup>29</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Babylonia." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 21, 2021.

<sup>30</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Sumer." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 13, 2019.

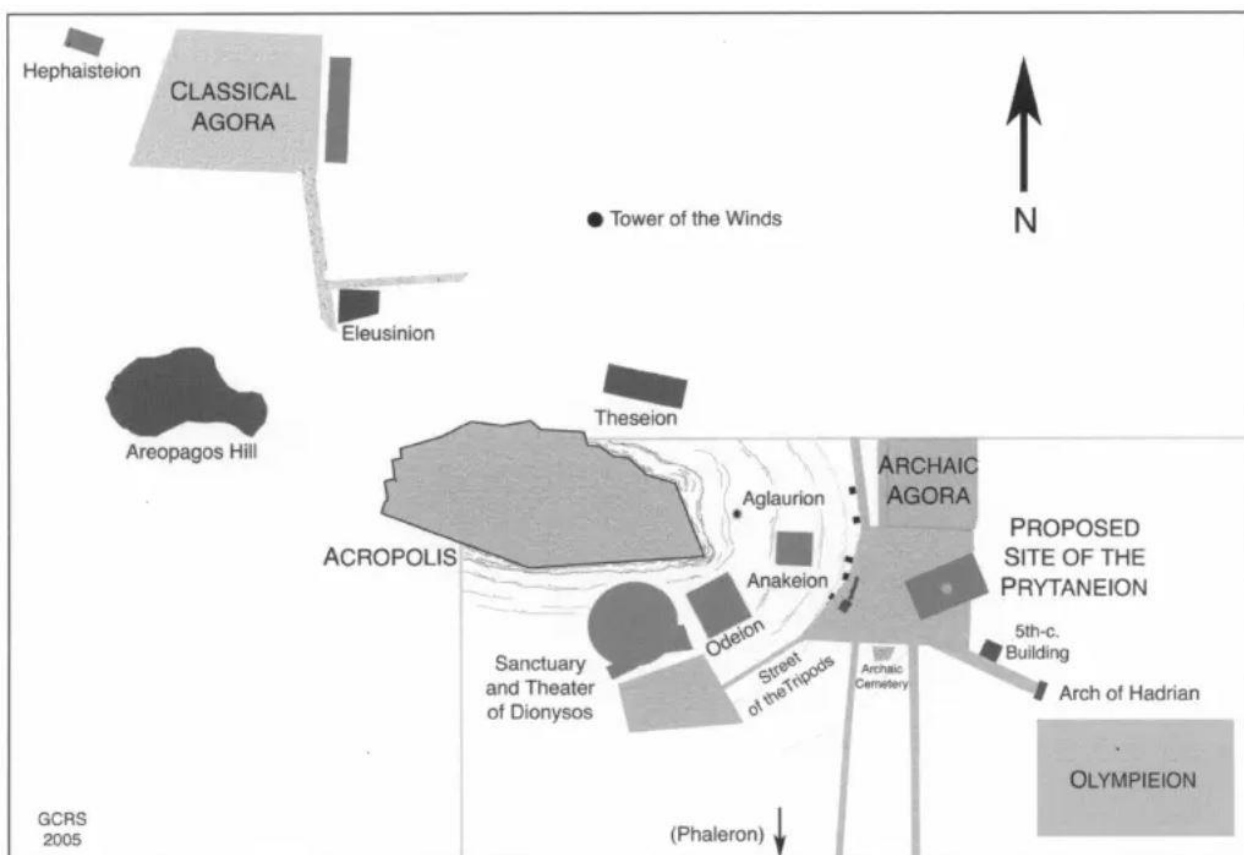
<sup>31</sup> Saggs, H. W.F. "Babylon." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 7, 2021.

### V. III – Athens

In Ancient Greek, the agora was at the centre of daily life, for this reason, it was subject to many transformations during the various historical periods and for satisfying the needs of citizens.

It is known that in Mycenaean times, Athens was a citadel standing within the walls of the acropolis and therefore there was no agora outside it.

It is assumed that in the early Archaic period it was located in another area. This issue is a source of debate among scholars. Some, place it on the eastern side of the acropolis, where traces of the *Prytaneion*, the ancient seat of government, were discovered in 2006.<sup>32</sup> Others place it on the western side, following the footsteps of Pausanias and his travels to the agora in the II century BC, in which he differentiated between the 'Roman Agora', mainly understood as a market, and the ancient one placed in *Kerameikos*, a neighbourhood located on the western side of the acropolis.<sup>3334</sup>



35

The agora which we know today was shaped in the northwest side of the acropolis, among the Panathenaic Way, in the VI century BC, during the Late Archaic period. The agora was established on this site by Pisistratus, who also built his home, the Prytanikon.<sup>36</sup> Pisistratus was one of the last tyrants of Athens, but during his rule, the city saw an ever-

<sup>32</sup> "The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered", *Hesperia*, Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006.

<sup>33</sup> "Pausanias in Athens: An Archaeological Commentary on the Agora of Athens", Vanessa A. Champion, Smith B.A. (Hons), University College London, Submitted for PhD examination 1998.

<sup>34</sup> "Pausanias and the Archaic Agora at Athens", Christopher P. Dickenson, *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> "Proposed reconstruction of southeastern Athens", "The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered", *Hesperia*, Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006.

<sup>36</sup> "Also known as Building F, Camp postulates that it may have been a palace for the Peisistratids. Because the later Tholos was located on the same spot as the Prytanikon and included the same area in its enclosure, it has also been suggested that this structure served as a state dining hall.", Travlos 1971, 191, 210, 553; Wycherley 1978, 48; Camp 1986, 44-45; *Agora Guide* 1976, 56-57, Department of the Classics, Tufts University. 2002.

increasing wealth of the population that made possible the incredible development of the next centuries<sup>37</sup>. Peisistratus, in addition to the palace in which he lived, established several temples dedicated to multiple deities, built a fountain that brought spring water and the Stoa Basileios, meaning Royal Stoa. A Stoa in Greek architecture, is a long open building with colonnades utilised as covered walkway, for hosting markets, dining tables and other public activities.<sup>38</sup> During the years of the Democracy, in 500 BC, was built the Bouleuterion, a quadrangular building that housed an amphitheatre and was the parliament of the 500 elected members.

After extensive damage during the Persian Wars of 480 BC, all other bureaucratic and legislative buildings were ultimately moved and rebuilt in the agora designed by Peisistratus. After this date, the Classical period of Greece officially began.<sup>39</sup> During the Classical period, new Stoas were added to support an increasing city's demand. Some were completely new, such as the enormous South Stoa I, while others were rebuilt where temples had stood before. A great example was the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius. Was built the Tholos, the canteen of the deputies, and at its sides were the two Bouletaria, the council buildings. To commemorate the origins of the population of Athens, in the agora there were the Eponymous Heroes. Statues of ten heroes who gave their names to the ten founding tribes of Athens. Below the temple to Hephaestus was the Sanhedrin, used for open-air public meetings. By order of the priests of Delphi was also added the Temple of Apollo Patroos. Then the fountain inaugurated in the Archaic period was renovated and built the Mint.

In the Hellenic Period, the whole of Greece and its culture reached its greatest geographical expansion thanks to the empire established by Alexander the Great. The Hellenic Empire extended into the former territories of the Persian Empire and also included Egypt. During this period new temples were built, the statues of the Eponymous Heroes were rearranged at the centre of the agora and an even larger fountain was added. The Temple of Apollo was transformed into a Peristyle, a square building with a courtyard at its centre, in which public goods such as grain was stored.

In Roman times, the agora was also personally taken care of by Augustus, who had a great interest in the function of this urban space, embellishing and giving it a sumptuous appearance. All the Stoas were renovated and enlarged. The most important buildings constructed in this period were the Odeion, commissioned by General Agrippa during one of his visits to the city. The Odeion of Agrippa was a palace that could accommodate up to 1000 people and was used for musical performances. Augustus himself wanted a temple in honour of Ares, deity of war. Were built a City Library and a new semi-circular fountain adorned with statues of Roman emperors. At the end of the II century AD, during the reign of Hadrian, was erected a Basilica utilised for commercial and governmental reasons.

---

<sup>37</sup> Starr, C. G. "Peisistratus." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, April 4, 2019.

<sup>38</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "stoa." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 26, 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Hornblower, S.. "ancient Greek civilization." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 10, 2021.







41

The site was finally brought to light in the XIX century and large investments financed by John D. Rockefeller in 1931, allowed the American School of Classical Studies to start the excavations, of this important place for humanity, visible today.<sup>4243444546474849505152</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Statues of tritons and giants shaped pillars along the former facade of the Odeon of Agrippa", Mstyslav Chernov, 26 February 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Tourists Informations, Tours and activities related to Ancient Agora, Greeka.com. <https://www.greeka.com/attica/athens/sightseeing/athens-ancient-agora/>.

<sup>43</sup> Klio Tsoga Archaeologist, "ODYSSEUS", Ministry of Culture and Sports, 2012. [http://odysseus.culture.gr/index\\_en.html](http://odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html).

<sup>44</sup> N. G. Moschonas, Director of Research, National Foundation of Research, Archeology of the City of Athens. <http://archaeologia.eie.gr/archaeologia/En/Index.aspx>.

<sup>45</sup> "Athenian Agora Exavations", The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. <http://www.agathe.gr/index.html>.

<sup>46</sup> Cecconi N., *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Chioti, L., "The Herulian invasion in Athens 267 AD", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Athens, Athens 2018

<sup>48</sup> Hoff, M., "The Roman Agora at Athens", Boston 1988.

<sup>49</sup> Thompson, H. "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora". *Hesperia*. 1950.

<sup>50</sup> Iakovidis, S.E., "The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens", Athens 1962.

<sup>51</sup> Papachatzis, N., "Pausanios Attica", Edotiki Athinon, Athens 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Sisson, M.A. "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens ", 1929.

## V. IV – Forum Magnum

Another great civilisation that made public space the central area of the city, turning it into a neuralgic centre of culture and development, was the Roman civilisation.

As most people know, for more than a thousand years the Roman civilisation dominated the European continent. The culmination of the expansion of this civilisation was reached in 117AD during the empire led by Trajan, which stretched from the Strait of Gibraltar in the west, the Hadrian's Wall in the north to the Persian Gulf in the east and the meridional part of present-day Egypt in the south. Due to its geographical vastness, the Roman civilisation was a melting pot of different cultures, all of which identified with it.<sup>53</sup>

One of the most important populations englobed into the Roman civilisation was the Greek. A widespread idea in the interpretation of the relationship between Rome and Ancient Greece is that the first conquered Greece militarily, while the last conquered Rome with culture. A very significant phrase expressing this concept is Horace's «Grecia capta ferum victoriam cepit» which translates into «captured Greece has conquered its savage captor».<sup>54</sup>

One of the many cultural gifts that Ancient Greece gave to Roman civilisation was the concept and organisation of the agora, the public square. The Greek agora was the result of a process of social, conceptual and urban development that the Romans adopted as a finished result in their emerging cities. The urban square in Roman civilisation was called *forum*, a Latin name already utilised to denote the open space in front of buildings of public function.<sup>55</sup>

It was therefore thanks to the Romans that the concept of the public square spread throughout the territories of the Old Empire.

The Ancient Romans were very dedicated to the architecture and urban planning of their cities. These two aspects were also among the main elements used to standardise and civilise the conquered areas. Julius Caesar, as well as being a great leader, he also ratified one of the first city plan in history, the 'De Urbe Augenda' of 45 BC, which reorganised the centre of Rome, its districts, streets and the heights of the various apartment blocks. More famous, however, is undoubtedly the Roman grid, an urban arrangement that characterised every city of Roman civilisation. The orthogonal grid is certainly not a Roman invention, there is evidence of it before the Romans in many other cultures of the world, but it was the Romans themselves who categorically introduced it into Western culture, adopting this urban organisation frequently and regularly in all the cities of the Empire. The orthogonal grid is still preserved today and can be seen in the historic centre of many cities that once were part of the Roman civilisation.

The Roman planned city is characterised by the Cardines, which run parallel to each other from north to south and intersect perpendicularly with the Decumani running east-west. The main Cardo and Decumanus are called 'Cardo Maximus' and 'Decumanus Maximus' and meet in the centre of the city. It is precisely in the urban space formed by this intersection of main streets, which occurs in the heart of the city, that the Roman Forum extends. Thus, unlike the Greek agora, which constituted the public and social centre of the city and developed slowly on the slopes of the geographical

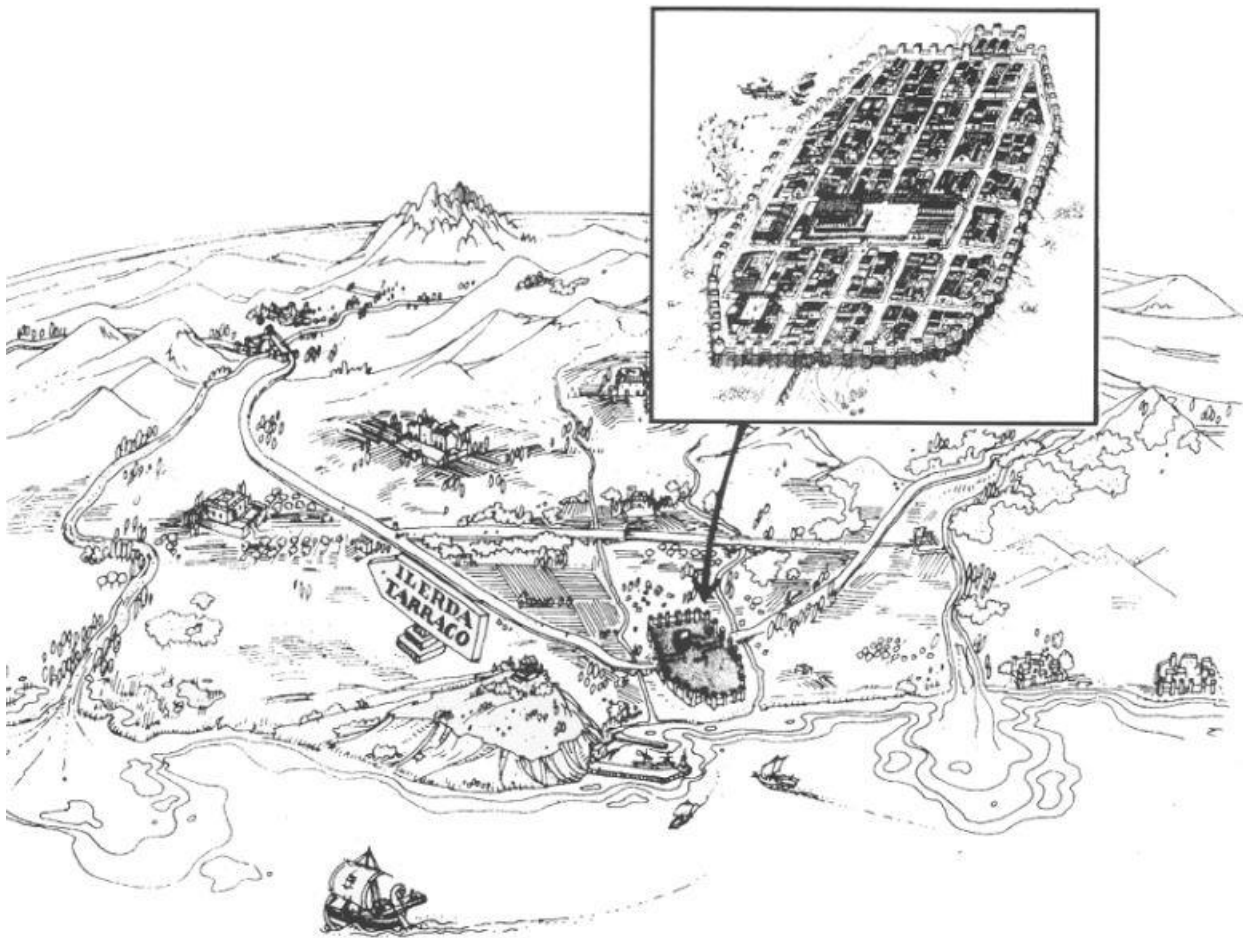
---

<sup>53</sup> Antonine Constitution, in Latin 'Constitutio Antoniniana', also known as the Edict of Caracalla, in which the 'Ius Civile' was extended to all inhabitants of the empire to implement integration reforms in 212AD. Integration reforms, started with the 'Ius Honorum' decree of Claudius in 48AD, that had already taken place at a political level in accepting senators of Gaelic origin. (Tacitus' speech on Integration).

<sup>54</sup> Epistles, Book II, Epistle 1, lines 156-157. Horace, 20 BC.

<sup>55</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2016.

centre constituted by the acropolis, the forum was the real public centre in the social and geographical aspect of the town.<sup>56</sup>



57

The Ancient Romans endowed the Forum with such a high degree of aesthetic harmony that it influenced architects and urban planners in all following centuries. The architect Vitruvius, in the I century BC, stated that the ideal forum should be large enough to accommodate a large crowd, but not so large that a small one would be dwarfed. He proposed a length-to-width ratio of 3:2.<sup>58</sup>

The public square in Ancient Rome was the political and economic centre of the city and, just like the agora, consisted of public, religious and commercial buildings. In the forum, some colonnades and porticoes housed any public function, just like the Greek Stoas, and sometimes there were baths and thermal baths or other sources of public water supply, and a constant feature was the senatorial palaces or the political and bureaucratic representative palaces of the Republic first, and then of the Roman Empire. The differences between the forum and the agora were very few and essentially of an organisational nature. The forum was not only the place for the public life of the citizens, but had to represent the greatness of the Roman civilisation, and therefore, the space was arranged and organised in a precise way and the buildings had to be of a size and splendour unequalled for that time. A prime example is the development of the forum

<sup>56</sup> Badian, E. , Grummond, . Nancy Thomson de , Saller, . Richard P. , Petit, . Paul , MacMullen, . Ramsay , Forsythe, . Gary Edward , Vermeule, . Emily D. Townsend , Salmon, . Edward Togo , Ferguson, . John and Hornblower, . Simon. "ancient Rome." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 15, 2021.

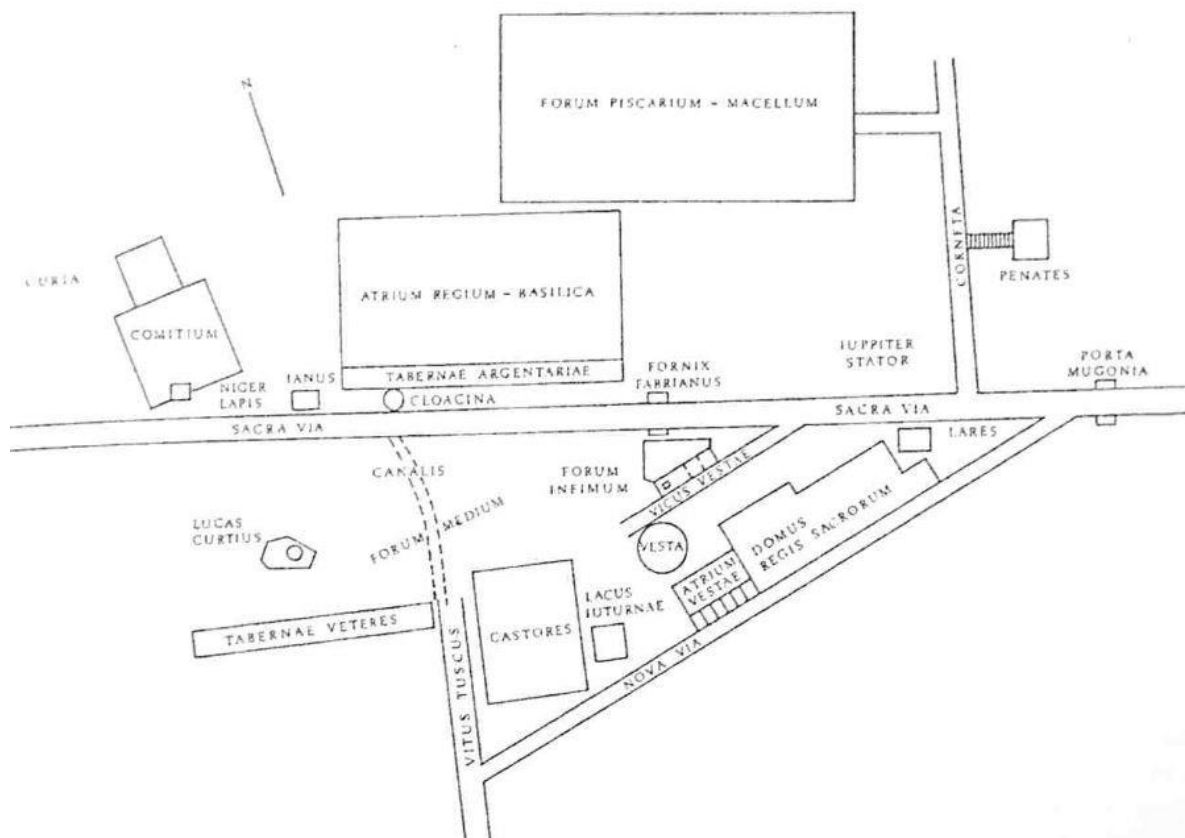
<sup>57</sup> Museu d'Història de la Ciutat, Drawing of Barcino. Barcino, Roman Barcelona, Student Activity Book.

<sup>58</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2016.

in Rome, the capital and power centre of the entire Roman civilisation. The forum of Rome was called *Forum Magnum* and is located in the area today enclosed by the Palatine, the Capitoline, Via dei Fori Imperiali and the Colosseum.

The place where the Roman Forum was born was located on a flat area, which had always been marshy, and was situated between the Palatine Hill and Capitoline Hill. Legend has it that Romulus founded Rome on the Palatine, a hill adjacent to the forum area, on 21 April 753 BC. The first Roman villagers of the Archaic Period used the site as a necropolis from the X century until the VII century BC. Titus Livius wrote in his 'Ab Urbe Condita', a book on the founding of Rome, that the battle between the Romans and the Sabines took place on the grounds of the future Forum Magnum.

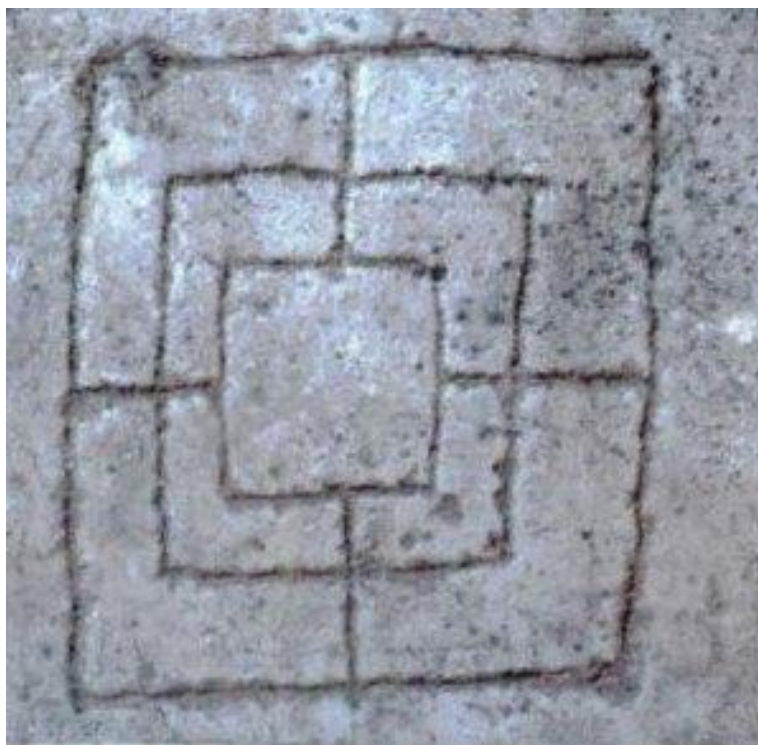
It was during the Age of the Roman Kingdom, around 600 BC, that the Etruscan king Lucius Tarquinius Priscus reclaimed the valley on the slopes of the Palatine, the area where the palace of the King of Rome used to be, by building the *Cloaca Maxima* and paved it with tuff. Thus, a first rectangular square was created that was used as a place for the political, judicial and religious life of the kingdom, as well as for the market which was the main attraction for Roman citizens. To this period belongs the oldest political seat of Rome, the *Comitium*. The Comitium, as its name suggests, was a space in the square dedicated to the public and political discourse of the time. Originally, the square functioned as a sundial. The public herald announced the main hours of the day according to the passage of the sun's rays between the different monuments. The striking of the hours was linked to judicial activity, one of the main functions of the Comitium. Near this structure, there was an area paved with dark stone, the *Lapis Niger*, which legend says was the place of Romulus' death, here in the XIX century was found the oldest inscription in Latin language.



59

<sup>59</sup> Figure 3.1. The Forum Romanum and Sacra Via in the mid-second century BCE. Wilson (2005) 128 fig. 1, after Gaggiotti in Roma: archeologia nel centro (1985) 57 fig. The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.

During the Republican Period, all the great public and sacred buildings of Rome were concentrated in the area of the Roman Forum, but it gradually began to be transformed into a place more oriented towards a political life. During this period the shops were gradually moved to more marginal areas of the square, and administrative buildings were built in their place. The most radical changes of this period took place around the II century BC when there was a renovation after a fire that destroyed several stores.<sup>60</sup> The *Tabularium* was built, a place to keep the most important public acts of Ancient Rome, from Senate's decrees to peace treaties. The most important building of this period, however, and which was built behind the older Comitium, was the *Curia*. The Curia, unlike the Comitium, was a covered building and seat of the Senate, the most important legislative body of the Roman Republic. Several *Basilicas*, id est large public buildings used for indoor meetings, were then built. Here legal meetings took place, trials were held, and judicial acts were carried out. However, the use of these buildings was very mixed. On some of the steps of the portico of the *Basilica Iulia*, you can see engraved the *Tabulae Lusoriae*, actual game boards for dice and marbles.



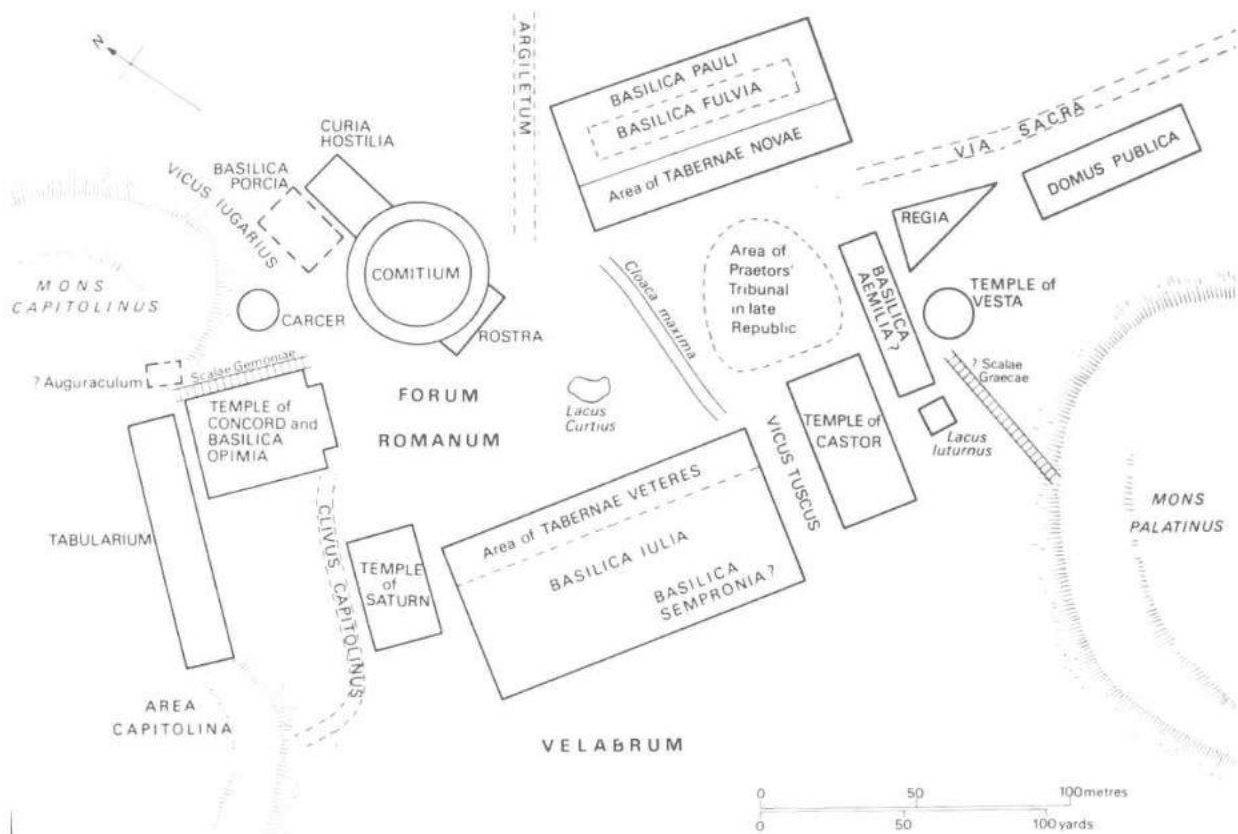
61

---

<sup>60</sup> Ab Urbe Condita, XXVI, 27.1-4. Titus Livius, 27 BC - 9 BC.

<sup>61</sup> The game of merels on the steps of Basilica Julia, Ancient Rome, Roman Forum, Basilica Julia. Colosseum Rome Tickets, 2019.

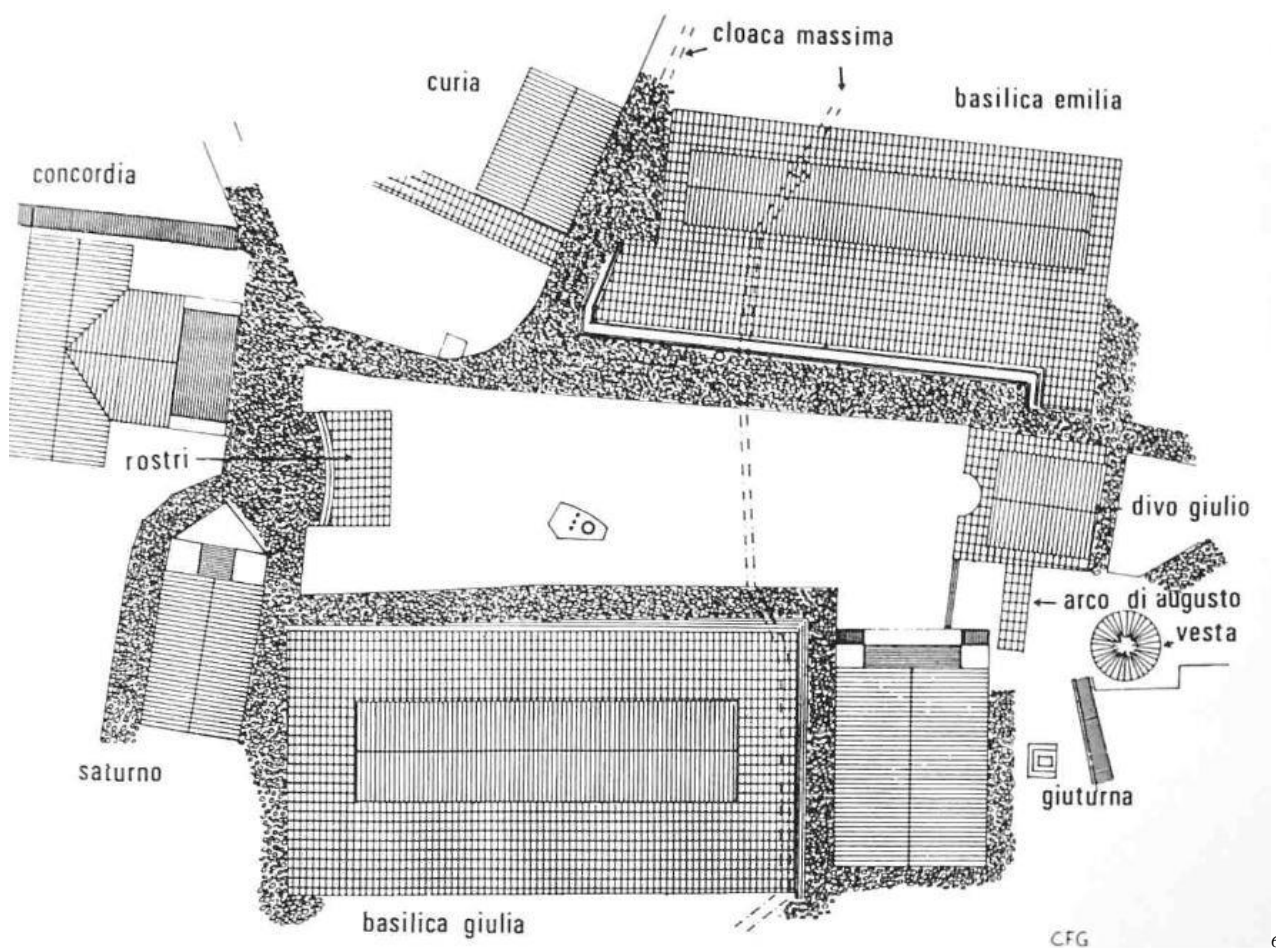
However, gambling was not the only attraction of the square. Since ancient times and until the construction of various amphitheatres, which anticipated the more monumental Colosseum of the Imperial Age, it was on the Forum Romanum that gladiator's fights took place. Temporary stalls were added for the spectators and a mezzanine was built to allow the gladiators to enter from under the square. During this period, Julius Caesar ordered the construction of the *Forum Iulium* in 46 BC, a square in his honour, which he personally financed by buying the land adjacent to the Forum Magnum. This place served as an extension of the public life of the square as it had become too bulky for the sole Forum Magnum. This new square would constitute the first of the *Imperial Fora*.



<sup>62</sup> Figure 3.2. The Forum Romanum in the mid-first century BCE. CAH IX2 370 fig. 2. The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.



With the Empire, the Senate lost power and therefore the Forum Magnum lost its characteristic political life, which was converted to a bureaucratic and economic character and limited to a few buildings. The area was totally cleared of the stores that had survived from the Republican Era and took on a purely monumental character. New triumphal arches were erected, depicting the numerous victories in battle, and new religious temples were built. During this period the Roman Forum became an authentic open-air museum that served to depict Rome's power over the Known World. The public events that continued to take place in the forum of Rome were of a religious and theatrical or musical nature. The Roman Forum was also utilised as a place for public appearances for the emperor, who re-established the Royal seat on the Palatine. In this era, other Imperial Fora of monumental character were added, above all the one in honour of Augustus. This transformation represented an enormous splendour on the architectural level, but for public life, it represented a great loss. For this reason, in the Rome of the Imperial Age new squares were built around the city to fulfil the needs of the Roman citizens. The 'Forum Civile', the judicial square of the city, the 'Forum Venale', so the marketplace, the 'Forum Boarium', for the cattle market, and the 'Forum Holitorium', the fruit and vegetable market, were born.



<sup>63</sup> Figure 3.3. The Forum Romanum in the Augustan period Giuliani/Verduchi (1987). The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.

With the end of the Roman Empire, the Forum Magnum itself fell into decay and was then forgotten, at which point the entire area was used for grazing, taking on the name *Campo Vaccino*, ‘Cow Field’, the Forum became a field for grazing or sowing and gradually silted up until it almost completely disappeared. All that remained of its former grandeur were a few monuments that sadly sprouted from the ground. It was between the XIX and the XX century that the area was brought back to light and is now one of the world's greatest attractions.<sup>64656667686970</sup>



71

<sup>64</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Roman Forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 14, 2020.

<sup>65</sup> Claridge, Amanda. Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998.

<sup>66</sup> University of Washington. Honours Programme in Rome. The Forum Romanum . eatonj / 09.01.2004

<sup>67</sup> Foro Romano, Tommaso Gnoli, Enciclopedia Treccani, Enciclopedia dei ragazzi. 2005

<sup>68</sup> The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.

<sup>69</sup> Glimpse remnants of the Roman Empire in the Colosseum, Roman Forum, and Via Appia. Britannica. [www.britannica.com/video/21918/Remains-Colosseum-Forum-of-Rome-Appian-Way](http://www.britannica.com/video/21918/Remains-Colosseum-Forum-of-Rome-Appian-Way).

<sup>70</sup> Il Foro Romano, Storia e Monumenti da Christian Hülsen pubblicato da Ermanno Loescher & Co Editori di S. M. la Regina d'Italia, 1905.

<sup>71</sup> View of the Campo Vaccino with the Arch of Septimius Severus, Caspar van Wittel, 1674 – 1736 work permanence period in Rome. Uploaded on October 24th, 2015. Fine Art America.



## V. V – Middle Ages

The Middle Ages is the intermediate age between the Ancient and Modern Ages and is the most complex and wide-ranging historical period of the entire Western culture. Generally, in Europe, this period begins with the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 and ends with the discovery of the New World in 1492. For this reason, the organisation of the square in the urban landscape of Medieval cities, described in this paragraph, is also subdivided into the two existing historical groups that differentiate this period: the *High Middle Ages* and the *Low Middle Ages*.<sup>72</sup>

The fall of the Western Roman Empire left only destruction and ruin. The High Middle Ages is the period immediately following the fall of Rome and is characterised by a strong cultural and social crisis. The social system of this period was *feudal* and Europe was divided between kingdoms and empires, which were constantly fighting to prevail over each other. It is in the High Middle Ages that Charlemagne lived, the Empire of the Franks existed or was born the Holy Roman Empire. The only force capable of giving a basis of social unity to Europe of that time was the Roman Catholic Church and the only common denominator was the wars against the Saracens. The constant battles not only bloodied Europe at the time but also led to an enormous economic crisis. The free market became almost non-existent, the few resources were almost entirely used to finance the wars and the subsistence economy was the only alternative for survival. These factors exacerbated famine and even plagues became more frequent. Sometimes, many refer to this era as the *Dark Ages*, precisely to indicate underdevelopment as an inevitable result of the profound deterioration of the times.<sup>73</sup>

This led to a vast decrease in population throughout Europe and a consequent transformation of the urban layout of the cities. The cities inherited from the Romans were enclosed within walls so that the citizens could defend themselves against constant fighting, looting and wars. In the High Middle Ages, many more citadels and fortified villages were built, and larger castles were constructed. Castles that, in addition to being the homes of the nobles and feudal lords of the kingdom, could also accommodate, in case of attack, the peasants living outside the walls. Another factor contributing to the redefinition of public spaces in medieval cities was Christianity. European citizens had already started to convert to the Christian religion during the years of the Roman Empire. In the last centuries of the Western Roman Empire, more precisely in 313, Emperor Constantine enacted the *Edict of Milan*, which established freedom of worship and returned to the churches the goods that had been taken away. He converted to Christianity and presented himself as 'Pontifex Maximus' to the Roman people. This triggered the conversion of Roman citizens, which reached its peak in the Middle Ages when even the barbarian populations converted to Christianity. With Christianity, the ancient Roman public places were also "converted". City temples, once dedicated to the Roman deities, became churches, while the Basilicas, once public places devoted to administration and business, became major places of worship.<sup>74</sup>

A striking example of this historical period of decay is the French city of Arles, which sits on the Rhône delta on the Mediterranean coast. Arles has always been part of various cultural influences, such as the Ligurians, Celts and Phoenicians. It was also part of the Greek influence, such as the nearby city of Massalia, today's Marseille. Arles was conquered by the Romans in the I century BC, and given its central location between Spain and Italy, it flourished economically. During the Roman Civil War, the city supported Julius Caesar while Massalia favoured Pompey. After Julius Caesar's victory, Arles took over the territories and riches of the nearest town, the forum was enlarged and

---

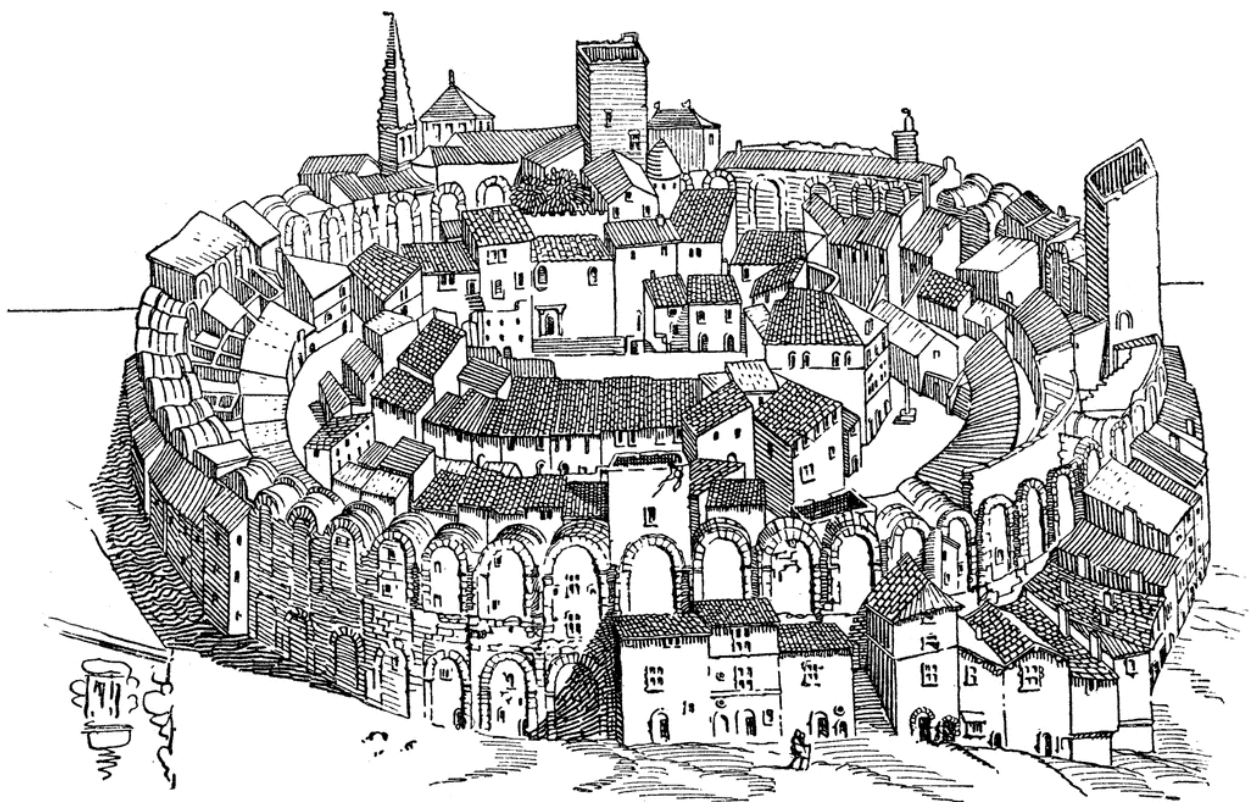
<sup>72</sup> Medioevo, Enciclopedia Treccani.

<sup>73</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Middle Ages." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 6, 2021.

<sup>74</sup> "L'imperatore Costantino e la conversione al Cristianesimo", Controconcilio, 15 April 2016.

<https://controconcilio.wordpress.com/2016/04/15/limperatore-costantino-e-la-conversione-al-cristianesimo>

embellished, and it was the only city in the Gallic provinces to have both Circus, Amphitheatre and Theatre. The city reached its splendour with Emperor Constantine, who became fascinated with the place. Around 313, he had one of the state mints moved there and in 314 he organised the first of the Ecumenical Councils of Arles.<sup>75</sup> Between the IV and V centuries AD, the capital of the Gallic Province was transferred from Trier to Arles and the city assumed even more economic and military power. However, it was in the latter century that the Western Roman Empire came to an end and the Gallic capital slowly fell into decline, worn down by constant looting by barbarian populations. During the VI century, the city was involved in political disputes, in 476 it came under the control of the Visigoths, then Ostrogoths, Burgundians and finally the Franks in 536. These vicissitudes reduced the splendour of a city rich in monumental architecture, worthy of a Roman Capital. The *Cardo* and *Decumanus* were encompassed by low-value buildings and the Roman grid and urban architectural order gradually disappeared. The forum was dismantled of the most impressive architecture and all decorative elements. Although wooden walls were found, which probably redesigned the forms of the forum. But there are testimonies from Sidonius Apollinaris and Caesarius which described that the forum continued to be the centre place of social life.<sup>76</sup> This decadence, following the barbarian invasions, however, was not the last of such a troubled period as the High Middle Ages. Between 842 and 850 there were huge incursions by the Saracens who in this century, together with the Vikings, yielded dramatic raids all over France. During this historical period, the population that remained in Arles took refuge inside the currently abandoned Roman Amphitheatre and used it as a classic Medieval stronghold. Inside the Amphitheatre, which was only cleared in 1825, were built four watchtowers, 212 dwellings and two churches, the first at the base of the west tower and the second at the centre of the arena, facing the empty space left to serve as a public square.<sup>7778</sup>



79

<sup>75</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Council of Arles." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 17, 2020.

<sup>76</sup> Sid. Apoll. Epistles 1.11; Cyprian, Vita Caesarii Arelatensis 1.31; 11.30, 11.39 cited in Heijmans (2004) 129.

<sup>77</sup> '(Re)using Ruins: Public Building in the Cities of the Late Antique West, A.D 300-600', Douglas Underwood, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> Barbarian Invasions and Saracens, Provence & Beyond, Copyright 1995-2019, Russ Collins - All Rights Reserved.

<sup>79</sup> "The amphitheater was made a fortress, packed with houses, in the eighth century, on account of Saracen incursions." —Myers, 1905

It is suggestive to imagine how the desperate man of the Middle Ages, while everything around him was decaying and every day was a struggle for survival, did not give up the public square and social life. Medieval public squares, thanks to their new Cathedrals, also had the significance of connecting the individual citizen with the Eternal Life. There, at the heart of the small village, at the eyes of the community, one could find *material hope* for living, thanks to the empathy of the fellow villager; and *spiritual hope*, there, in the shadow of the church.<sup>80</sup>

The Middle Ages, and consequently also its two historical subgroups, is an Era that has no actual and precise dates and the various European populations indicate these times quite differently each other. Certainly, those who lived in this historical period were unaware that they were doing so. For many populations, these were more difficult centuries than for others, centuries where climatic conditions or form of government did not guarantee the development necessary to recover economically, and the darkest centuries of the Middle Ages, perhaps, lasted longer. By convention, since in this Thesis I am analysing town squares, I am taking into consideration the *Italian Timeline*, where such squares have always found strong cultural and social recognition. On the other hand, it can be said that the term 'Middle Ages' was invented and introduced by us Italians, more precisely by poets, writers, philosophers and artists who rediscovered Roman and Greek culture during the *Italian Humanism*. In the Low Middle Ages, the Humanists wanted to differentiate themselves from the centuries of ignorance which had anticipated them, so began referring to it as the Middle Ages. One of the most famous phrases on this matter, is perhaps Petrarca's «For who can doubt that Rome would rise again instantly if she began to know herself? ». Humanism is the basis of the Renaissance and has accompanied the peoples of Western culture from the late Middle Ages to the Modern Era, and for this, I draw on their teachings.<sup>81828384</sup>



85

---

<sup>80</sup> Personal thoughts.

<sup>81</sup> Medioevo, Enciclopedia Treccani.

<sup>82</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Middle Ages." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 6, 2021.

<sup>83</sup> Rinascimento, Enciclopedia Treccani.

<sup>84</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Renaissance." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 12, 2021.

<sup>85</sup> Whitfield, J. Humphreys. "Petrarch." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 16, 2021. Petrarch Petrarch, engraving. Georgios Kollidas/stock.adobe.co

Conventionally, the Middle Ages begin in the year 1000, and the date is no coincidence, since the European man of the time, and especially monks and friars, interpreting the scriptures in their way, professed that in that year would arrive the Apocalypse and the Second Coming of Christ. Conventionally, it is thought that people were convinced that in the year 1000 the world would end and that once this danger was averted, the idea that a new age was beginning spread.<sup>86</sup> Certainly, however, in reinforcing this theory, it can be said that the Low Middle Ages was a flourishing period of great discoveries and inventions, some of the most important of which are still used today. In 1008 the world's first State University was founded, the University of Bologna. In 1224, on the principle of competition, Frederick II of Swabia established the first State and Non-sectarian University in history for the city of Naples. It was founded in opposition to the University of Bologna because it went under Papal control.<sup>8788</sup> At the end of the XIII century, there was the invention of spectacles, a project disputed between Alessandro Della Spina and Salvino D'Armato.<sup>89</sup> And at least for us Europeans, in 1455, Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press with which he printed the first Bible.<sup>90</sup> Also very important were all the various discoveries, or rediscoveries, in the field of agriculture, with which, utilizing the water mill, better hauling methods, shoeing of animal hooves or the three-year rotation and the swidden, agricultural production was stimulated despite the lack of labour.<sup>91</sup> In general, these were the years of the great trade routes and European travellers, such as the silk route of Matteo and Niccolò Polo, and the more famous Marco, or the discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus.



*SPECTACLES: "Spectacles are invented which clear the obscure mists of the eyes."*

92

<sup>86</sup> Medieval Academy of America, The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern, Richard Landes, Speculum, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 97-145, Boston University, 04 November 2011.

<sup>87</sup> Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna, <https://www.unibo.it/en/university/who-we-are/our-history>.

<sup>88</sup> Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, University of Naples, <http://www.unina.it/chi-siamo/cenni-storici>.

<sup>89</sup> From the Middle Ages to 1750, Medieval advance (500–1500 CE), Buchanan, R. Angus. "history of technology." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020.

<sup>90</sup> From the Middle Ages to 1750, Medieval advance (500–1500 CE), Buchanan, R. Angus. "history of technology." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020.

<sup>91</sup> 'L'Agricoltura dopo il Mille', Vocabolario Treccani.

[www.treccani.it/export/sites/default/scuola/lezioni/storia/AGRICOLTURA\\_DOPO\\_IL\\_MILLE\\_lezione\\_nc.pdf](http://www.treccani.it/export/sites/default/scuola/lezioni/storia/AGRICOLTURA_DOPO_IL_MILLE_lezione_nc.pdf)

<sup>92</sup> 'Nova Reperta', Philipp Galle, Antwerp, ca 1600. 'New Discoveries of Middle Ages', Science in Art, E.C.Watson, 12 April 1949

The most important year for the development of cities in the Low Middle Ages was undoubtedly 1176, when the *Lombard League* defeated Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in Legnano, thus putting an end to Imperial claims on the Northern part of the Peninsula and recognising the autonomy of cities. This led to the creation of the Communes and an end to the long struggle for investiture between the Emperor and the Pope, the *Ghibellines* and the *Guelphs*. The new political order gave rise to the need for a specific building as the seat of civil power exercised by the representatives of the emerging forces of the Municipality. In northern Italy, therefore, the first *broletti* were built to house the bodies of the new government, generally built on two floors, a ground floor with a portico, in direct communication with the square, and the first floor with a large hall, often frescoed and covered with wooden beams. The urban layout of the city changed, a polycentric transformation as the Piazza del Duomo, overlooked by the bishop's palace, was flanked by an alternative square with the *broletto*, the seat of the town hall and popular power.



93



94

Giotto, a keen observer of the city's reality, also shows this transformation in his paintings. In the famous painting of the 'Renunciation of Earthly Goods by Saint Francis of Assisi', civil and religious buildings are represented facing each other.

<sup>93</sup> "In Todi, religious and civil power share the same square: on one side is the monumental complex of secular buildings, including the Palazzi del Podestà and the Capitano del Popolo, and on the other is the cathedral." 'Spazi pubblici nel Medioevo italiano', Diario dell'Arte, Arte Medievale Aprile 24, 2018.

<sup>94</sup> The Broletto courtyard in Brescia, Photo by Wolfgang Moroder, 16 Maggio 2020.



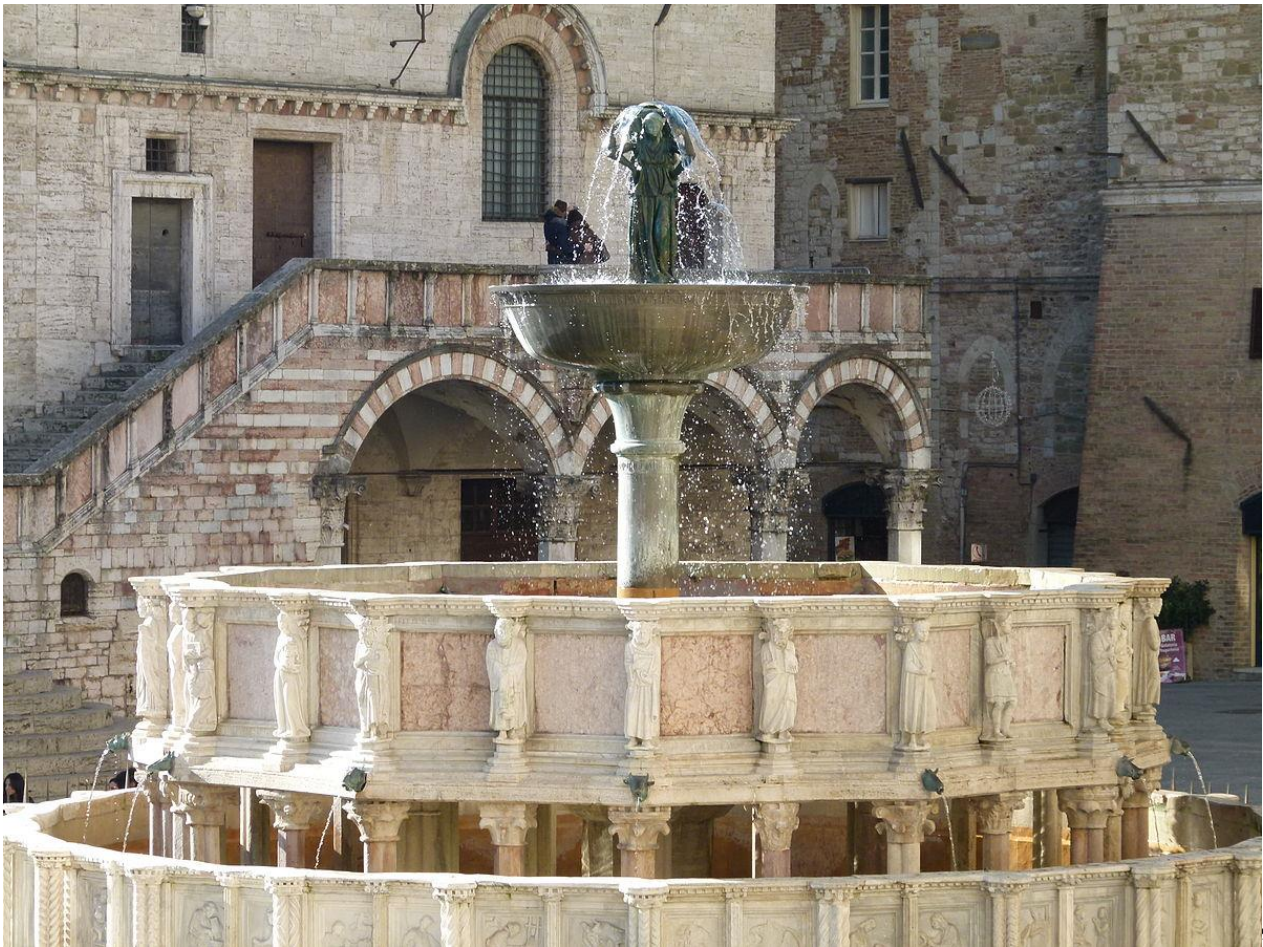


95

To celebrate the arrival of water in the city of Perugia through the new aqueduct, Nicola and Giovanni Pisano built a public fountain between 1275 and 1278. Its decoration includes an encyclopaedic-allegorical programme with religious themes, political symbols and warnings about civic ethics. The Fontana Maggiore is a political monument linked to municipal power, just like the public fountain in the ancient agora.

<sup>95</sup> Giotto, San Francesco rinuncia ai beni terreni, 1290-95, basilica superiore, Assisi.





96

Tuscany is perhaps most famous for its tradition of Piazza and public life. The public square manifested the political power of each city-state of the region. These cities were rarely in armed conflict with each other, but they were always competing, displaying their wealth through the palaces and ornaments in the square, and manifesting communal power through democracy granted or entertainment for public life.

In Dante's Florence, the passage from the feudal system to the communal one is sanctioned with the demolition of the Nobles' towers and the progressive expropriation and demolition of the palaces around the Palazzo Vecchio, creating a void that will become Piazza Della Signoria, the centre of the city's political life. While in the 'fullness' space of the Palazzo Vecchio decisions were taken, the 'emptiness' of the square was filled with Florentines waiting for the decisions taken by the City Council to be presented. Certainly, the institutional form of the *Comune* and then of the *Signoria of Florence* cannot be compared to Greek Democracy, but the agora and Piazza Della Signoria functioned in a consonant manner, however, as two great spaces dedicated to the public. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the foundations of Palazzo Vecchio stand on the ruins of an Ancient Roman Theatre. If we compare the dimensions of the Piazza with those of the Ancient Theatre of Athens, we observe that they are very similar, at around 60 metres. This is because 30 metres is roughly the maximum distance at which a man can speak loudly and be heard without having to shout.

<sup>96</sup> Fontana Maggiore a Perugia, Dawid Skalec, 8 December 2013.



97

In Siena, the Palazzo Pubblico Comunale, begun in 1298, is divided into a central part and two side wings, which house the *Podestà* and the *Governo De Nove*, an organisation made up of the richest merchant families. With the Torre del Mangia, moreover, the community takes possession of a 'Civil Time', which measures material life, the interests of those who work, produce and do business, different from the liturgical time rhythms marked by the bell tower of the Duomo. The Piazza del Campo, concave, with nine segments, shaped like a shell but also referring to the cloak of the Virgin, the Siena's Patron Saint, is a unified scenario that exalts the palace and, symbolically, the Sienese political model. The feeling of civic pride and the consciousness of a common cultural identity of the city is expressed in the square also through the *Palio di Siena*, a horse race dating back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1232, which seems to transform the square in the Ancient Circus Maximux with its *Chariot Racing*.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> 'Il Teatro di Florentia', Photo Collage, Musei Civici Fiorentini

<sup>98</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Palio." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2009.





99

The Piazza Dell'Anfiteatro in the city of Lucca, with its original elliptical shape, stands on the foundations of the Roman Amphitheatre and is another great example of adaption during Middle Ages.<sup>100101</sup>



102

<sup>99</sup> Italy Magazine, <https://www.italymagazine.com/dual-language/palio-di-siena-horse-race>.

<sup>100</sup> 'Vuoto/Pieno. I caratteri della Venezia che cambia', Sara Marini, Monica Centanni, Laura Fregolent, Alberto Ferlenga, Nicola Emery, don Gianmatteo Caputo, Massimiliano Locatelli, Patrizia Pisaniello, Lorenzo Braccesi, Maddalena Bassani, Diego Calaon, Francesco Palumbo, Angela Vettese, Ilaria Bramezza, Daniela Lazzarini. Engramma, Vuoto/pieno. I caratteri della Venezia che cambia: La Rivista di Engramma 155, Aprile 2018: Vol. 155 Copertina flessibile – 5 dicembre 2019.

<sup>101</sup> 'Spazi pubblici nel Medioevo italiano', Diario dell'Arte, Arte MedievaleAprile 24, 2018.

<sup>102</sup> Lucca Piazza dell'Anfiteatro, Kasa Fue, September 2021.



## V. VI – Maya Culture

Before the contact between Europeans and the pre-Columbian peoples and the following genocides by the colonisers, the American continent was inhabited by several civilisations. The most relevant and well known are the Native Americans, also called American Indians, in the North; Maya and Aztecs in the Mesoamerican area, the central part of the continent; and the Incas civilisation in the South.<sup>103</sup> Precisely one of these cultures, the Mesoamerican Maya, at the same time as the European Middle Ages, was going through a historical phase very similar to it. From the peak of civilisation, they were going through a period of deep decay, followed by a phase of change and development, which unfortunately in the case of the Maya, did not provide the necessary recovery to be completely reborn.<sup>104105</sup>

The first Maya settlements date back to 1500 BC. The populations of the time lived in small rural villages and subsisted on maize, beans and squash crops. In the Mesoamerican landscape, the Maya civilization grasped its apogee in 250 AD and lasted throughout the Classic period, which ended in 900. During the Classic phase of the Maya, the civilisation reached a peak of over forty city-states, populated with up to 50,000 inhabitants each, and all located in the lowlands of present-day Guatemala and Mexico. It was during these centuries that the Maya refined their astonishing mathematical and astronomical calculations while developing arts and architectures still known today. Contemporary historians and archaeologists are still unsure of the precise factors that caused the end of the Classic era but they are certain that after the year 900 the Maya civilisation went through a period of rapid decline. After the end of the IX century, the population collapsed demographically and the rich city-states were quickly abandoned and left to the green tropical jungle. Probably among the main causes were violent wars, drought and massive deforestation as most of the Maya populations migrated and occupied the inner and more mountainous areas of Mesoamerica, abandoning the lowland and coastal areas, settling in small cities defended by walls or the precipices provided by their new surroundings.<sup>106107</sup>



<sup>103</sup> Hagen, V. Wolfgang von , Bushnell, . Geoffrey H.S. , Murra, . John V. , Coe, . Michael Douglas , Sanders, . William T. , Patterson, . Thomas C. , Willey, . Gordon R. and Soustelle, . Jacques. "pre-Columbian civilizations." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020. - Pauls, E. Prine. "Native American." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 17, 2021.

<sup>104</sup> Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Mesoamerican civilization summary". Encyclopedia Britannica, 14 Mar. 2003 - Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia.

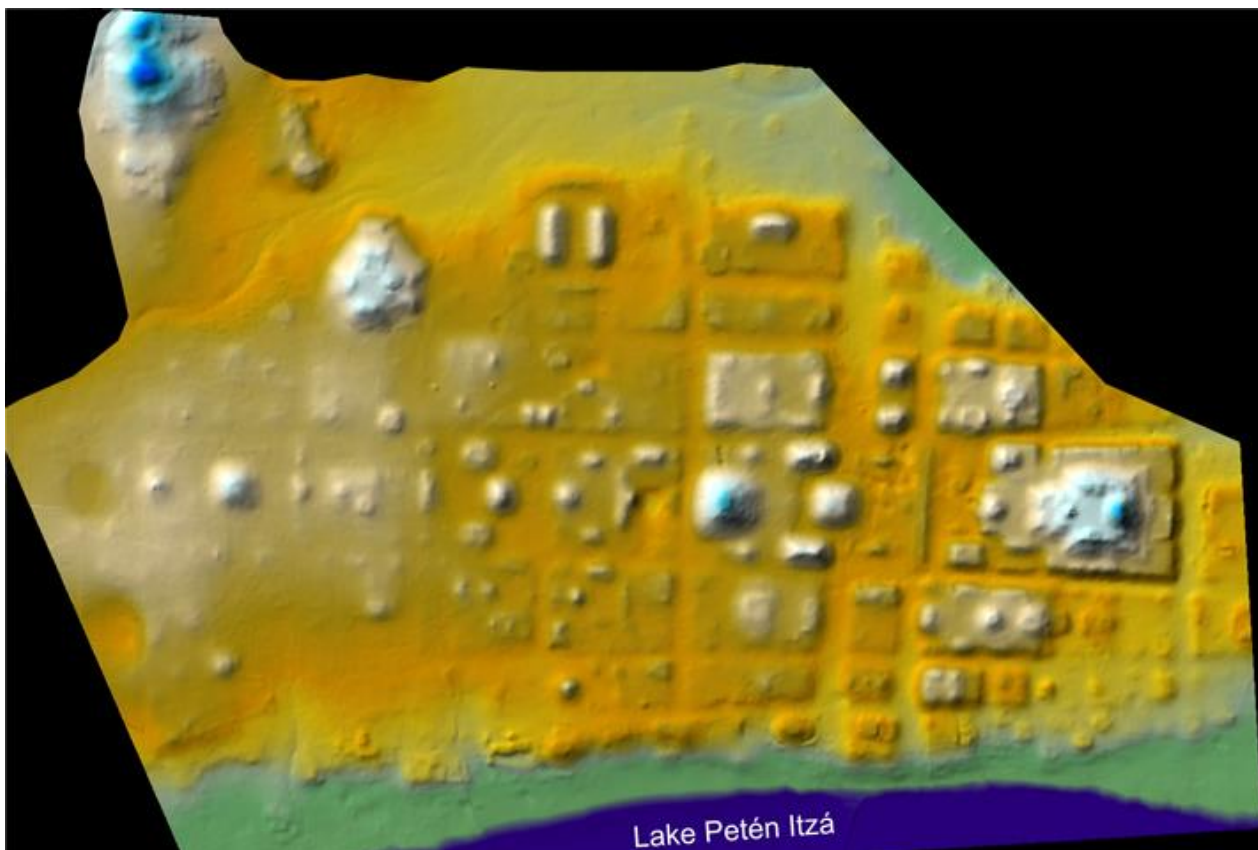
<sup>105</sup> 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.

<sup>106</sup> "Maya." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 31, 2020. – 'The First Maya Civilization, Ritual and Power Before the Classic Period', Francisco Estrada-Belli, 2011.

<sup>107</sup> 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.

<sup>108</sup> 'The Mayan Calendar', History on the Net, 2000-2022, Salem Media. <https://www.historyonthenet.com/the-mayan-calendar>.

This was the beginning of the Postclassic period, which, due to the lack of cohesion of the Maya peoples and the geographical differences of the locations, for some city-states represented a moment of flowering while for others it was a continuous decline. One of the best-known cities that managed to flourish again, facing the Postclassic phase as a time of recovery, is certainly the city of Chichén Itzá, in today's Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico. Chichén Itzá was already settled from the VI century AD but it was in the Postclassic period that it flourished again. Although the settlement was part of the lowland area inhabited by the Mayan civilisation at the end of the Classic period, it was not abandoned like all the others. On the contrary, it experienced an opposite period that gave birth to a new and prosperous city-state. Chichén Itzá attracted different Mayan populations and experienced a revert migration movement thanks to the water sources in its limestone wells, known as *cenotes*. The name Chichén is formed from the word chi ('mouth') and chen ('well'), while Itzá indicates the Mayan tribe that inhabited the city. This Maya ethnic group was probably one of the most architecturally and urbanistically developed Pre-Columbian populations, as archaeologists in the past decade have discovered another Itzá city, dating from the V century BC, with a chessboard urban plan. The city, Nixtun-Ch'ich', is located in the lowlands of Guatemala and is the first and only known orthogonal city from the pre-Columbian civilisations.<sup>109110111</sup>



112

<sup>109</sup> Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project - "The City at the Beginning of the World, the only Maya city with an urban grid may embody a creation myth", Lizzie Wade, Archaeological Institute of America, July/August 2018.

<sup>110</sup> 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.

<sup>111</sup> "Maya." Encyclopaedia Britannica, August 31, 2020. – 'The First Maya Civilization, Ritual and Power Before the Classic Period', Francisco Estrada-Belli, 2011.

<sup>112</sup> Courtesy Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project. GPS scan from flying drones on Nixtun-Ch'ich', 2013. Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project - "The City at the Beginning of the World, the only Maya city with an urban grid may embody a creation myth", Lizzie Wade, Archaeological Institute of America, July/August 2018. <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/303-1807/features/6684-maya-urban-grid>



Confirming the architectural development of the Itzá and the whole Maya culture, is certainly the city of Chichén Itzá itself, as it developed to such an extent that its architecture is now recognised as one of the 'Seven' in the special list of the 'Seven Wonders of the Modern World'.<sup>113</sup>

Chichén Itzá was built following the tradition and urban rules of all other Maya cities, forming a spatial logic that created harmony between the cosmos, the surrounding landscape and the local people.

The Maya founded their cities close to the depths of the earth, Chichén Itzá for example was founded near cenotes, which besides being only water springs or precipices, also represented the underground world and were therefore considered sacred places. A legendary tradition in Chichén was the 'Cult of the Cenote', which involved human sacrifices to the rain god, Chaac, in which the victims were thrown into the city's main quarry. The tradition was confirmed in the last century with the discovery of skeletons and sacrificial objects under the water level of the limestone cave.<sup>114</sup>



115

Another religious element in the Maya city was the sacred tree, the *ceiba*, which was believed to connect these meanderings with the cosmos above. For this reason, the *ceiba* represented the middle world, of men, and for this motive placed at the core of the city, of the communities, in the Central Plaza. The sacred tree, together with the four cardinal points, defined a five-pointed pattern that maintained order in the earthly world. Whenever a new place in the

<sup>113</sup> Tikkanen, A. "New Seven Wonders of the World." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date.

<sup>114</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.

<sup>115</sup> 'Xtoloc Cenote at Chichen Itza', Salhedine, 31 December 2004,

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacred\\_Cenote#/media/File:Cenote\\_Xtoloc\\_en\\_Chich%C3%A9n\\_Itz%C3%A1.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacred_Cenote#/media/File:Cenote_Xtoloc_en_Chich%C3%A9n_Itz%C3%A1.jpg)

city was established, whatever it was, from cornfields to new houses, the five points had to be designated and ritually consecrated again. As elsewhere in Mesoamerica, each of the five points was given a colour. The east, in the position of dawn, was painted red, the west in the direction of sunset was painted black, the north was coloured white, the south yellow and the centre in green. The Central Plaza was an entire urban, sacred area at the heart of the city, and varied according to the size of the entire city-state itself. Among the Mayas, too, the centre of the city represented the public, religious, political and economic life of the community. The larger the community, the more deities they had to please. The deities were ingratiated from large stepped pyramids, which aspect is similar to the Babylonian ziggurats. From here, from the centre of the cities and through the study of time, the priests performed their rites and sacrifices, drawing the attention and prayers of the population. It was here, at the epicentre of the city, that the king and his aristocracy lived, who, together with the priests, governed and administered the Mayan city-states.<sup>116117118119120121</sup>

The centre of Chichén Itzá, like all other Maya cities, had a strong ritualistic characteristic. The religious rites that kept the earthly, subterranean and celestial worlds in balance were performed on the pyramids, which, positioned in the centre of the central square, towered over the entire panorama of the city. The main pyramid, which at 30 metres was the highest in Chichén Itzá, was built in honour of Kukulcán, the 'Feathered Serpent God', one of the oldest deities in the Mayan Pantheon.<sup>122</sup> This pyramid is nowadays known as 'El Castillo'. This stepped pyramid is positioned with its sides facing the four cardinal points. Each side has a staircase made up of 91 steps, which when added together by also adding the step at the top of the structure, combine to make a total of 365 steps, the days of a year. However, the peculiar circumstance of El Castillo, which characterised and distinguished it from other Mayan pyramids, is still visible nowadays during the equinoxes of Spring and Autumn. On these days of the year, the shadow formed at sunset creates the shape of a snake undulating down the staircase.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> 'City and Town Planning of the Maya', Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures, Wendy Ashmore, University of California, Riverside, January 2014.

<sup>117</sup> Canadian Museum of History.

<sup>118</sup> 'Maya Government', World History Encyclopaedia, Maria C. Gomez, 20 April 2018.

<sup>119</sup> Knowlton, Timothy W., and Gabrielle Vail. "Hybrid Cosmologies in Mesoamerica: A Reevaluation of the Yax Cheel Cab, a Maya World Tree." *Ethnohistory* 57.4 (2010): 709-39. Print.

<sup>120</sup> Mathews, Jennifer P., and James F. Garber. "Models of Cosmic Order: Physical Expression of Sacred Space among the Ancient Maya." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 15.1 (2004): 49-59. Print.

<sup>121</sup> Schlesinger, Victoria. *Animals, and Plants of the Ancient Maya: A Guide*. (2001) University of Texas Press, Austin.

<sup>122</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Quetzalcóatl." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 4, 2019.

<sup>123</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 4, 2021.





124

The religious life at the centre of the city of Chichén Itzá, however, was not just a life of rituals and sacrifices to the gods, but also represented a real public life and social entertainment. In the centre of Chichén, as in many other Maya cities, there was a field dedicated to the game/ritual of the ball, called *pok-ta-pok* by the Maya and considered as one of the ancestors of modern ball games. There is evidence of this ball game dating back as far as the XV century BC, practised by all the civilisations that inhabited Mesoamerica. At the centre of Chichén Itzá, there were a total of 17 playing fields, called *tlachtli*, which also attracted visitors from other cities, to attend rehearsals, games, inaugurations and major celebrations. Chichén had the largest field in the Americas, so far yet discovered, measuring 166 metres by 68 metres with sidewalls of 8 metres height. The playing field had a capital I architectural form and was a real stadium, an important place to demonstrate the socio-political power of the city. The stadium had two parallel walls consisting of stages for the spectators, and on the north side, there was a tower reserved for the sovereign and other political élites. This tower represented the cosmos, the two parallel side walls, where the people sat, depicted temporal life, while the playing field itself, lower than the rest, depicted the underworld.

Pok-ta-pok was a sacred game for the Maya. It was an extension of religion and, perhaps, evoked the myth of the 'Twin Heroes'. The heroes had to fight the gods of the underworld by playing a game of ball. The field represents the underworld while the ball represents the sun and the moon.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>124</sup> 'Equinox at the Temple of Kukulcán in Chichén Itzá', Gray Line, Cancun Blog, <https://graylinecancun.com/blog/equinox-temple-kukulcan-chichen-itza/>.

<sup>125</sup> 'The Maya Ball Game', Vanderbilt University, Centre for Latin American Studies, <https://cdn.vanderbilt.edu/vu-wp0/wp-content/uploads/sites/99/2017/06/09204236/The-Maya-Ball-Game.pdf>



126

There were two teams of a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 11 players each, who had to pass the ball through two vertical baskets, placed about 6 metres high on either side of the court. Getting the ball through was very difficult, which is why the game was such a popular betting even for the spectators. The ball had to be kept in the air, just as the asters are constantly in the sky, but the use of hands and feet was forbidden. The game was played with solid rubber balls, which were made from rubber trees. These balls could be quite heavy, and depictions of the ball game typically show the players wearing layers of protective padding, especially around the torso. Some players also wore knee pads and the ball was part of their equipment. The game, impersonating a battle, was extremely violent and often resulted in serious injuries and occasionally even death. The games dedicated to the minor gods were considered to be friendly games, in which sometimes even kings or nobles participated, without any fear. Games in honour of the major gods, on the other hand, were followed by the beheading of the losing team while the players of the winning team gained fame and wealth among the entire community, comparable to the most famous sport-stars. On this occasion, the severed heads of the losers were displayed in front of the entrance to the tlachtli. In fact, six sculpted reliefs run the length of the walls of the field of Chichén Itzá, apparently depicting the winners clutching the severed heads of the members of the losing team.<sup>127128129130131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> 'An Exploration of the Great Ball Court at Chichen Itza', MAGGIEANDYASMIN, 19 March 2013, <https://mesoamericanballgames.wordpress.com/2013/03/19/an-exploration-of-the-great-ball-court-at-chichen-itza/>.

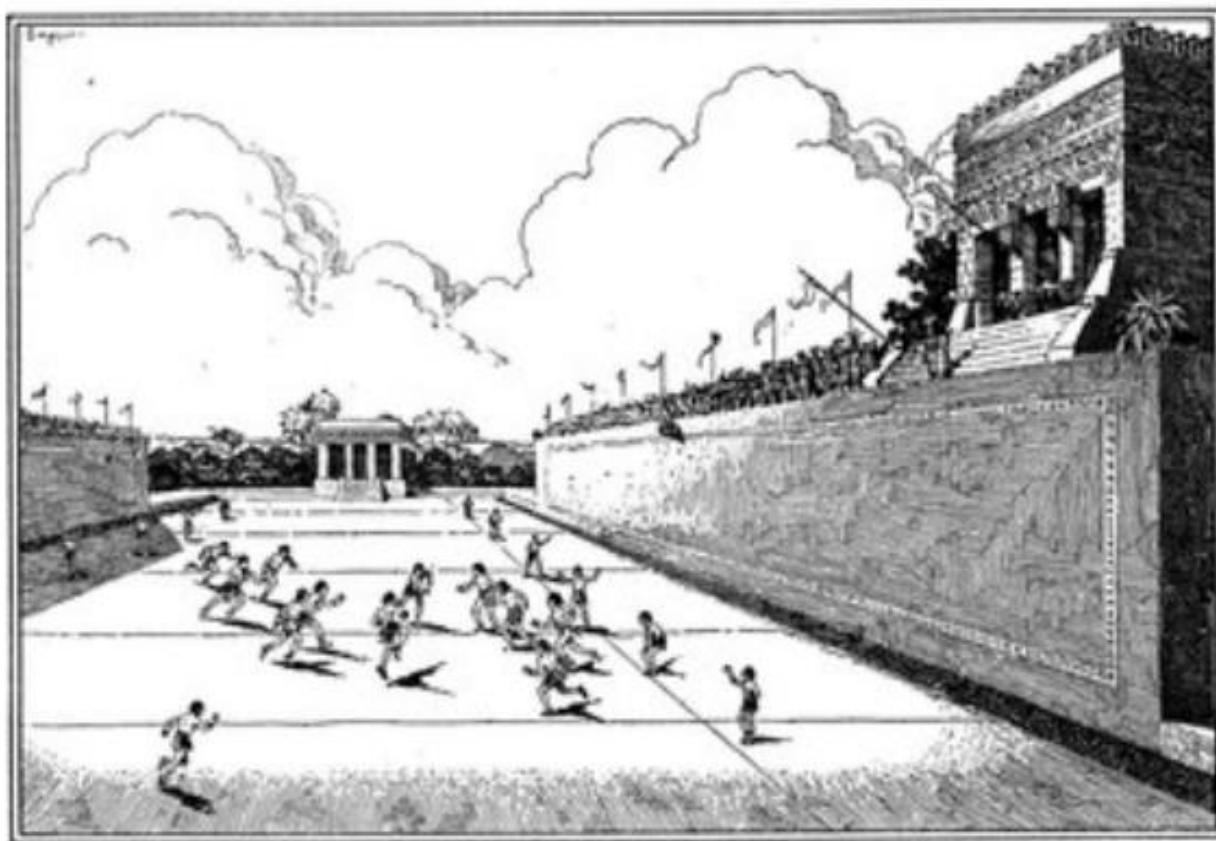
<sup>127</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.

<sup>128</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "tlachtli." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 23, 2019.

<sup>129</sup> 'Ball Court of Chichén Itzá', Ashley Foster, HistoricalMX.

<sup>130</sup> Cottini, R. (2012). Exploring Chichén Itzá Archaeological Manual.

<sup>131</sup> Earley, Caitlin C. "The Mesoamerican Ballgame." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, June 2017. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mball/hd\\_mball.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mball/hd_mball.htm)



132

The other main structures findable at the Main Square area are the Temple of the Jaguars, the Tomb of the Priest, the Temple of the Warriors and the Group of a Thousand Columns. In front of the latter, there is a building presumably dedicated to the *City Market*, the commercial heart of the city. Archaeologists and soil scientists have recently developed a new theory that the open areas conventionally described as 'Ritual Squares' might actually be open-air markets. This thesis contrasts with the idea that the Maya had a centralised system of food distribution, in which food was controlled by the ruling class, collected in the form of taxes, and redistributed according to a complex set of social rules. Markets imply that a free-market economy may have integrated or coexisted with the system of taxes and tributes.<sup>133134135136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> 'Drawing of the Grand Ball Court in Chichen Itza, representation with spectators during a match'. 'The Maya Ball Game' Vanderbilt University, Center for Latin American Studies.

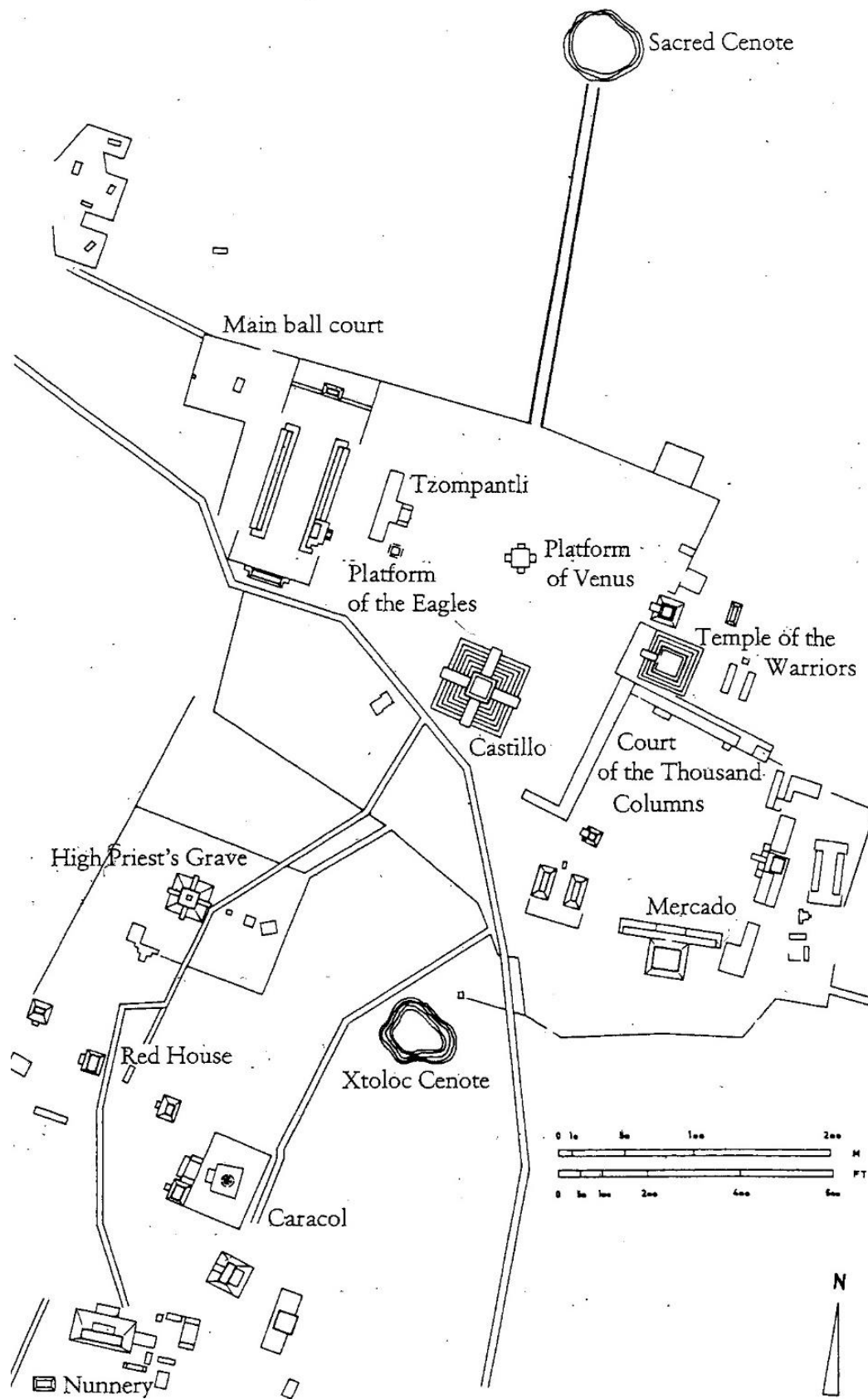
<sup>133</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.

<sup>134</sup> 'Ancient Maya marketplace', World Archaeology Issue 45, 11 January 2011.

<sup>135</sup> 'The Market in Chichen Itza' <https://mayanpeninsula.com/market-chichen-itza/>.

<sup>136</sup> 'The Market Place', <https://www.chichenitza.com/the-market-place>.

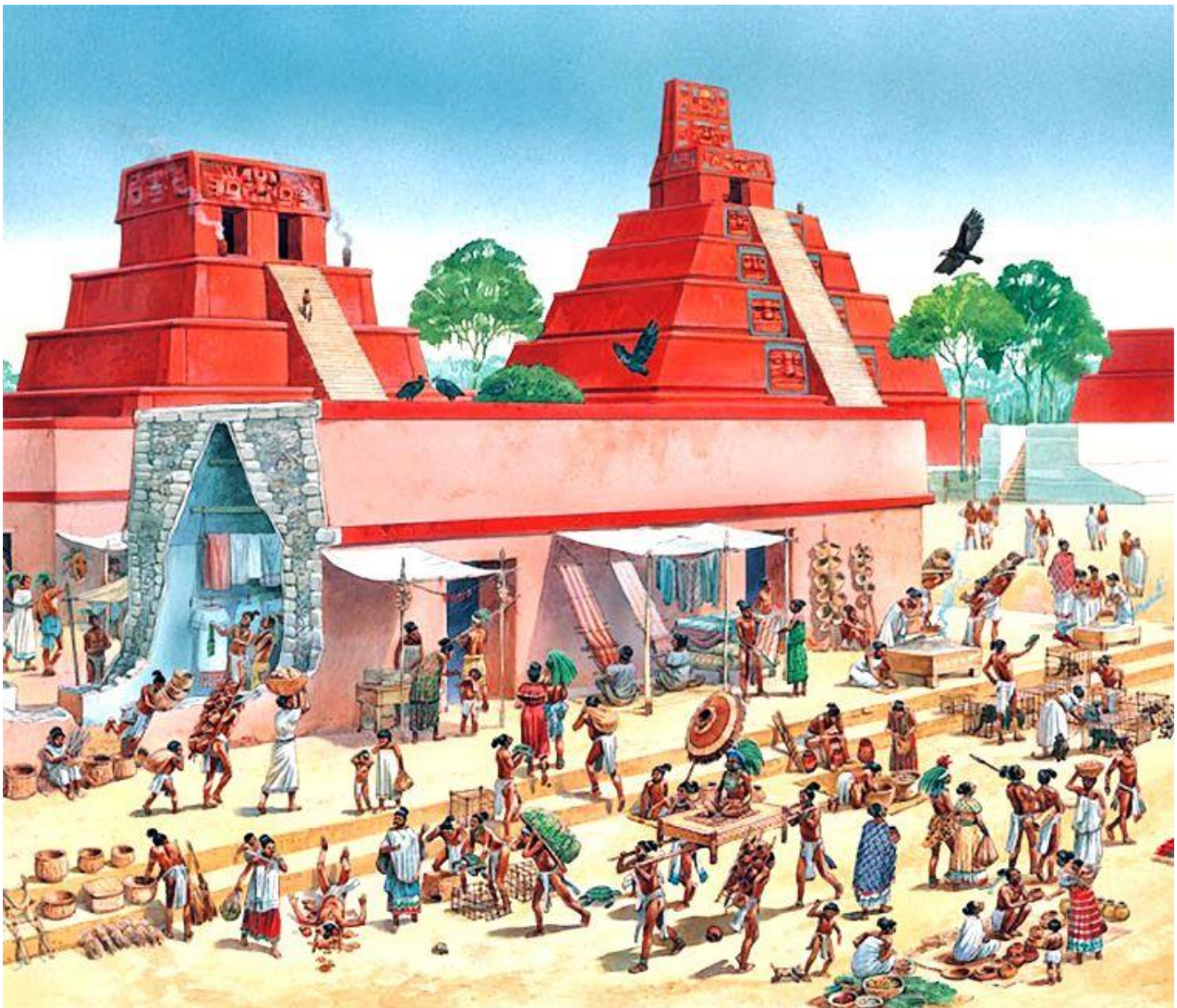




137

<sup>137</sup> Fig. 110 (p. 151) - A plan of Chichen Itza (Yucatan, Mexico) with the tetradic inspired Castillo (or Pyramid of Kukulcan) at a central place in the northern part. STIERLIN, Henri (1981). *The Art of Maya*. Evergreen/Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, Köln. An excellent, early contribution – with maps – is given by RUPPERT, Karl (1953). *Chichen Itza: Architectural Notes and Plans*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 595. Washington, D.C.

Chichén Itzá seems to have been eclipsed by the rise of the city of Mayapán, and subsequently incorporated, along with the city of Uxmal, into the confederation known as the 'League of Mayapán', which dissolved around 1450. By the time of contact with the Europeans, the Maya were already living in many other small towns and the precise reason for the abandonment of the large cities is unknown, perhaps due to the overpopulation of the large urban centres and the consequent scarcity of land and agricultural resources. Chronicles of the time also describe a revolt from the Yucatec people, who were also Maya and was the working class of the city, against the Itzá people, rulers of the city.<sup>138</sup> Long left to the jungle, Chichén Itzá remained sacred to the Maya and frequented for rituals at its cenote. Archaeological excavations began in the XIX century and the site became one of Mexico's main archaeological sites until it was recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1988.<sup>139</sup>



140

<sup>138</sup> 'The Fall of Chichen Itza: A Preliminary Hypothesis', *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 1, No. 3 pp. 258-267, Cambridge University, September 1990

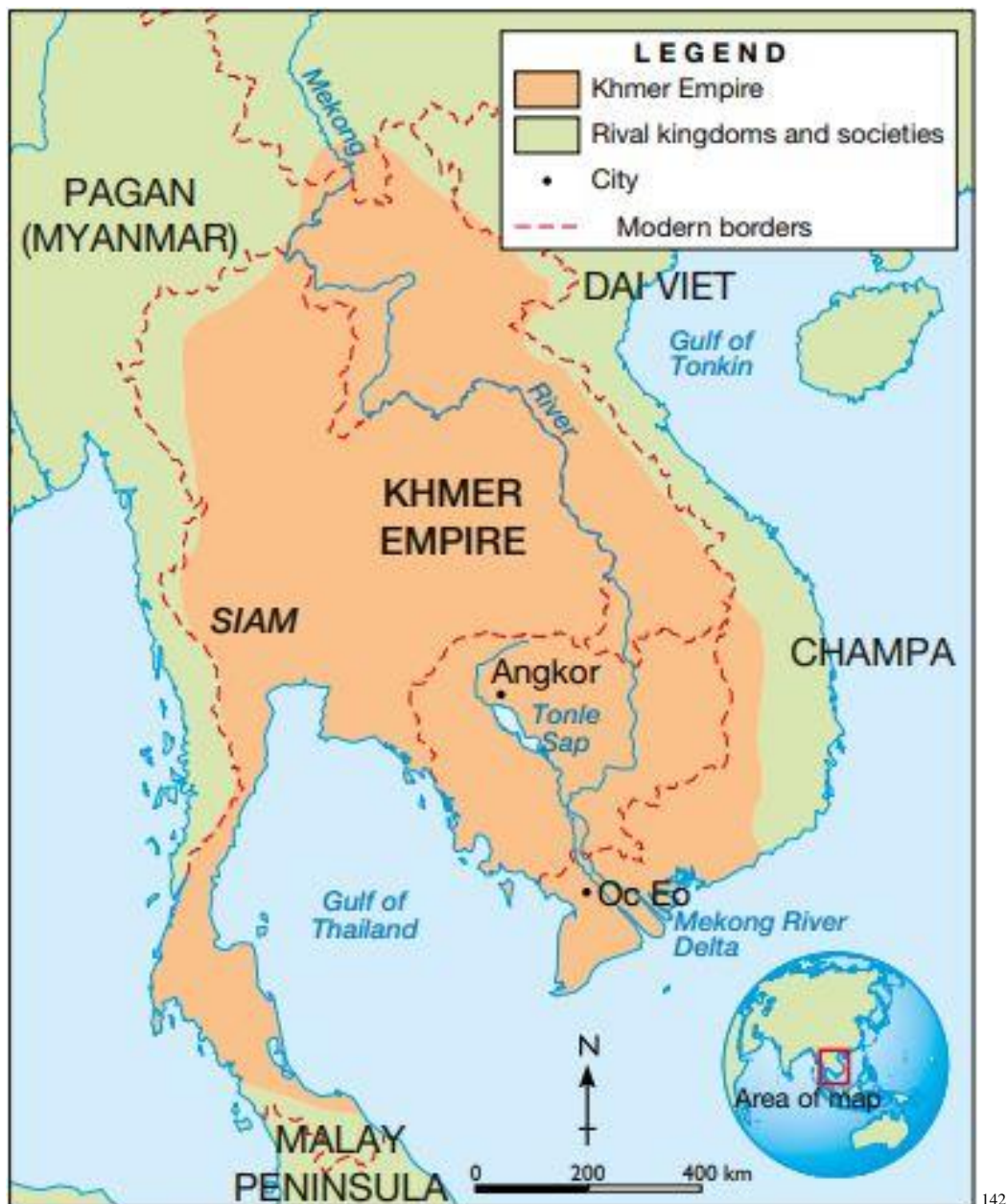
<sup>139</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 4, 2021.

<sup>140</sup> 'Artistic Recreation of a Mayan City', u/Vyerism, 2020.

[https://www.reddit.com/r/a:t5\\_2yd2o/comments/esw41n/artistic\\_recreation\\_of\\_a\\_mayan\\_city/](https://www.reddit.com/r/a:t5_2yd2o/comments/esw41n/artistic_recreation_of_a_mayan_city/)

## V. VII – Temple City

During the IX century, while the Mayan city of Chichén Itzá flourished in Mesoamerica, the Khmer Empire was born in South-East Asia, capable of donating to the cultural heritage of humanity the largest temple complex in the world, in the colossal capital of Angkor, now in the north of Siĕmréab, in Cambodia. The sources of research and study on this grandiose empire are mainly the archaeological sites of the ancient temples, palaces and cities with their amazing engravings telling of the lives and vicissitudes of the kings. The only paper sources that describe the splendour of this Empire are findable in the diplomatic relations between the Khmer and the Yuan Dynasty. This lack of accurate sources is the origin of debate among historians but is also, at the same time, the source of fascination and legends about this civilisation.<sup>141</sup>



142

<sup>141</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.

<sup>142</sup> 'The Khmer Empire at its Greatest Extent, around 1200 AD' The Oxford Press, 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.



The Khmer Empire was born in 802 AD when Jayavarman II unified all the Khmer Kingdoms of the Cambodian and Vietnamese plain, along the Mekong River, under his aegis, elevating himself to *Chakravartin*, 'Ruler of the Universe'. Like his European counterpart of the time, the Khmer King was above, enslaving or placing under his fiefdom, every citizen of the Empire. And like his Mesoamerican counterpart of the same period, the King was seen in religious terms and, through religious rituals, had to ensure the fertility and wealth of his territories. From here on, Angkor, located on the north side of the Tonlé Sap Lake and the slopes of Mount Mahendrapura, became the capital and most populated centre of the Khmer Empire. This city has been so important for the Khmer that nowadays the civilisation is also known as the Angkor Civilisation.<sup>143</sup> For this reason, after proclaiming himself Chakravartin he declared all other Khmer Kings as his vassals, while his patron deity elevated to *Devaraja*, meaning 'King of the Gods'. Many historians agree that this deity was Vishnu, the Hindu deity. The Hindu religion from this time onwards became the state religion. This religion was brought along with the goods transported by the Indian merchants who in previous centuries Indianized the Khmer plains, also introducing the caste system. These political, religious and social systems gave political and religious order to the empire, which prospered for more than five centuries, placing itself between the two great powers of China and India. Despite the social order, it is unclear how the various emperors were succeeded and selected. Many scholars believe that the caste system did not apply here, but rather determined by his military prowess and moral qualities, which contrasted him as a leader. A sure factor that distinguished dynastic succession, however, was surpassing one's predecessor in fame and splendour. As the academic, writer and professor of archaeology, Chris Scarre, points out, « The Khmer's unique form of kingship produced, instead of an austere civilisation like that of the Indus, a society that carried the cult of wealth, luxury, and divine monarchy to amazing lengths. This cult reached its apogee in the reign of Suryavarman II who built the temple of Angkor Wat. ».<sup>144</sup> For this reason, the temples and the Khmer royal seat, the centre of city life, were always moved, rebuilt, developed and enlarged until the climax of splendour reached by Angkor Wat, which still today represents the Cambodian state on their flag.<sup>145</sup>



146

<sup>143</sup> Overton, L. C. and Chandler, . David P. "Cambodia." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 10, 2021.

<sup>144</sup> 'Ancient Civilizations', Chris Scarre, Brian Fagan, Charles Golden, 08 April 2021.

<sup>145</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.

<sup>146</sup> Smith, W.. "flag of Cambodia." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 16, 2008.

Between 877 and 889 with the reign of Indravarman I, nephew of Jayavarman II, the Khmer Empire expanded further and the Royal Palace was moved to Hariharalaya, the south area of the capital Angkor. Here was built the first Cambodian religious complex made of limestone rather than brick, the sacred pyramid-shaped Bakong Temple. The Bakong was also known as the 'temple-mountain' because of this shape, reminiscent of Mount Meru. The structure was very important to the Angkor civilisation as it would influence, through its appearance and the materials used, all the other temples and the more famous Angkor's complex.



147

During these years the techniques of irrigation of fields and water maintenance began to develop further. The Khmer population had to cope with the problems of tropical climates. They were able to exploit the water of the monsoon periods and conserve it to manage periods of drought. During rainy periods of the year, the Mekong River flooded and the Tonlé Sap Lake abounded to cover an area of 10,000 square kilometres. The Khmer were able to redirect these waters into complex systems of canals that flowed into reservoirs called *barays*. During the reign of Indravarman I, the East Baray of Angkor was built, which, along with others constructed later, would bring water to 50 million rice fields throughout Angkor.<sup>148</sup>

In the centuries following the reign of Indravarman I, the Khmer Empire continued to develop and expand geographically and, despite some internal conflict over succession, notorious the Civil War in 1002, kings followed until Suryavarman II who became king in 1113. Suryavarman II is one of the best-known Khmer Kings as he initiated the construction of Angkor Wat, the architectural pinnacle of Khmer civilisation. Angkor Wat, which means 'Temple

<sup>147</sup> 'The Bakong mountain-temple' <https://www.renown-travel.com/cambodia/angkor/bakong.html>.

<sup>148</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022) (Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.



City' in Cambodian, was built as a Hindu temple dedicated to the god Vishnu.<sup>149</sup> Angkor Wat, extending over 160 hectares, has always been the largest religious structure on the planet. The entire complex of temples and walls stands on a marshy area, which is why the foundations were reinforced and created on layers of sand and laterite, a type of local clay that dries quickly when exposed to the sun.<sup>150</sup> The entire religious complex is surrounded by a rectangular moat which, however, is not of a defensive character, like the Medieval castles of the same period, but of a religious one, being a depiction of the Hindu cosmos in the earthly life. The moat represents the Ocean surrounding the Sacred Mountain Meru, while the Mountain itself is depicted by the central tower within the five towers, called *prasat*, raised in the shape of the Bakong 'temple-mountain'. The entrance and a 180-metre bridge located to the west, where the god Vishnu reigns, three galleries, divided by a paved floor, form the entrance that led the pilgrim from the outer area to the central temple. The route, each temple, the walls, and every metre of the surface of the structure, were finely decorated and intricately carved. Each bas-relief represents a moment in the history of the Empire, victories in battles, life at the time and, near the temples, religious stories. After the Cham people from Vietnam sacked and destroyed the capital of Angkor in 1177, King Jayavarman VII succeeded to the throne in 1181 and made important changes. Feeling betrayed by Hindu deities, he converted, as did the entire nation, to Buddhism. Another religion imported through trade with the other great neighbouring empire, China.<sup>151152153</sup>



154

<sup>149</sup> Cambodian-English Dictionary by Robert K. Headley, Kylin Chhor, Lam Kheng Lim, Lim Hak Kheang, and Chen Chun Catholic University Press, 1977.

<sup>150</sup> Freeman and Jacques, 24., 'AD Classics: Angkor Wat' David Douglass-Jaimes. 13 Oct 2018.

<sup>151</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Angkor Wat." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 11, 2020.

<sup>152</sup> 'AD Classics: Angkor Wat' David Douglass-Jaimes. 13 Oct 2018.

<sup>153</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022) (Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.

<sup>154</sup> Moat Around Angkor Wat, Unesco World is a photograph by David Wall which was uploaded on August 11th, 2017. <https://pixels.com/featured/moat-around-angkor-wat-unesco-world-david-wall.html>

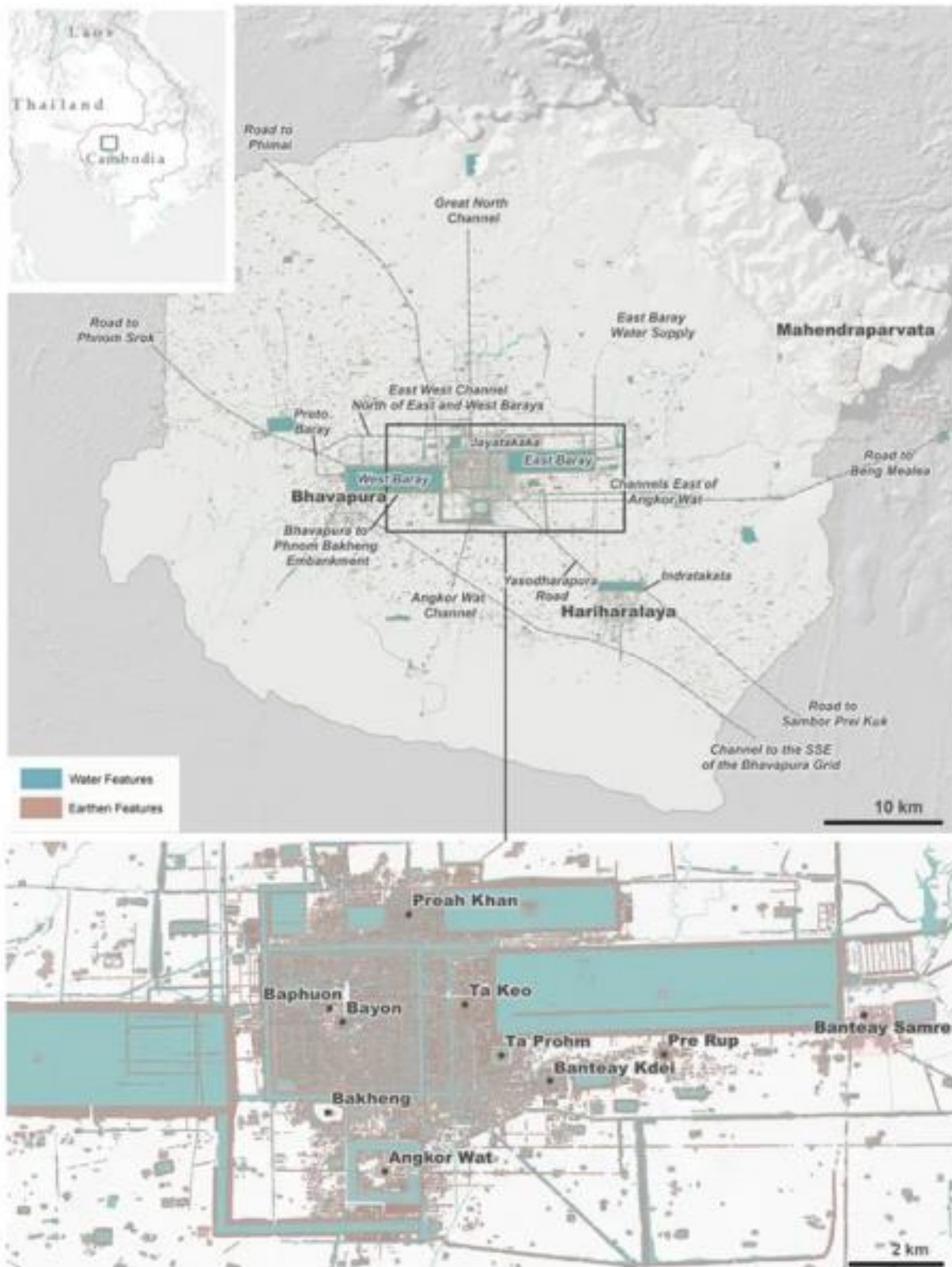
The temple complex of Angkor Wat, like all the other temples in the Empire, was both an administrative and a religious seat, as the King was also the spiritual office of the Empire and lived in these structures, to be buried in them and raised to heaven and compared to other deities. To date, it is not easy to reconstruct public life within these buildings and the city of Angkor. The surviving sources do not guarantee this. One can imagine how a structure of this size, however, served not only to demonstrate the greatness of a King but also and above all to accommodate a large number of pilgrims from all over the empire. Pilgrims came to these temples to celebrate the deities with great ceremonies worthy of the greatness of an Empire. Recent studies say that Angkor alone had 700,000 to 900,000 inhabitants. The city of Angkor was probably divided into social classes even at the urban level. The King lived in the centre of these great temples, each generation growing larger and more opulent, and the community went there to pray and celebrate the King. Around these structures, perhaps, lived masters, merchants, craftsmen, high-ranking soldiers and priests, each supporting the status and public life around the central temples. In the areas around the central temples, it is assumed that lived the poorer classes of rice farmers and breeders. All this can be imagined to have occurred also by analysing the name of Angkor Wat itself, 'Temple City', thus probably the civic-ceremonial centre of the city. The Khmer civilisation was feudal and accentuated by a caste-based social system that did not guarantee social progress, but it cannot be said that citizens from different casts were not able to trade in markets. The city is known for its free markets and trade with India and China is a certainty, manifested also by the luxury of the capital city.<sup>155156157</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> 'New research shows how many people lived in the Angkor Empire', Sarah Klassen, postdoctoral researcher of archaeological sciences, Leiden University, and Alison Kyra Carter, assistant professor of anthropology, University of Oregon, 18 May 2021.

<sup>156</sup> Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.

<sup>157</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Bayon, the." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 14, 2009.

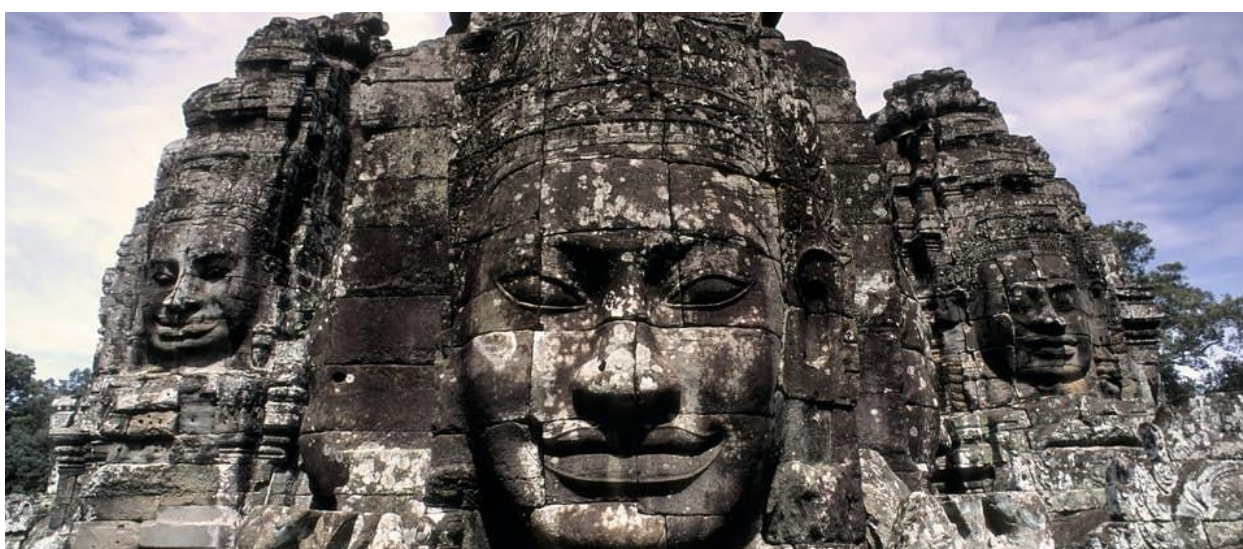


158

<sup>158</sup> 'lidar data map tens of thousands of archaeological features at Angkor...organic materials and on wooden posts, these structures are long gone and not visible on the landscape. But lidar revealed a complex urban landscape complete with city blocks', 'New research shows how many people lived in the Angkor Empire', Sarah Klassen, postdoctoral researcher of archaeological sciences, Leiden University, and Alison Kyra Carter, assistant professor of anthropology, University of Oregon, 18 May 2021. <https://around.uoregon.edu/content/new-research-shows-how-many-people-lived-angkor-empire>



After King Jayavarman VII converted the state religion to Buddhism, he took revenge on the Cham people by defeating them and annexing territories to his Empire, reaching the pinnacle of the Khmer Empire's geographical extent. To celebrate the victory, he built a new centre for the capital, the temple complex, then administrative-religious, of the Bayon completely dedicated to the new state religion. The entire temple was built in honour of the Buddha and as the Emperor's Mausoleum. The prasat of this temple had four flat faces, each one facing the cardinal points and decorated with the face of the King in the guise of Avalokiteśvara, Buddha of infinite compassion and charity. The prasat was surrounded by twelve other smaller central towers, also embellished with bas-reliefs of Avalokiteśvara. In all, the Bayon has 54 towers, all of which are adorned with the faces of the Buddha or the predecessors of Jayavarman VII. The Bayon was also precisely and incredibly embellished, adorned with bas-reliefs showing the life of the time, historical events and religious stories. The Bayon Temple then, became core of the new centre of the capital, Angkor Thom, meaning 'Great City'.<sup>159</sup>



160

This very new centre of Angkor was well documented by *Zhou Daguan*, a representative and official diplomatic of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty, who visited Angkor in 1226. Zhou Daguan wrote a book entitled 'A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People' where he describes in detail the life of the Khmer Empire at the time.<sup>161162</sup>

The temporal centre of the capital was used as a centre of judgement, albeit divine and not conducted by lawyers and magistrates.

« In front of the palace there are twelve small stone towers. When two men dispute over some unknown matter, each of the contestants is forced to sit in one of them while the relatives stand watch at the base. After three or four days, he who is wrong shows it by suffering some illness - ulcers, or catarrh, or malignant fever - while the other remains in perfect health. Thus, right or wrong is determined by what is called divine judgment. »<sup>163</sup>

The magnificence and splendour that the temples achieved in the eyes of a foreign visitor of the time. « All official buildings and homes of the aristocracy, including the Royal Palace, face the east. The Royal Palace stands north of the

<sup>159</sup> Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.

<sup>160</sup> Image by Luis Davilla / Getty Images. <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/cambodia/angkor-thom/attractions/bayon/a/poi-sig/500534/1318768>.

<sup>161</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.

<sup>162</sup> Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.

<sup>163</sup> Zhou Daguan (2007). A Record of Cambodia. Translated by Peter Harris. University of Washington Press.

Golden Tower and the Bridge of Gold: it is one and a half mile in circumference. The tiles of the main dwelling are of lead. Other dwellings are covered with yellow-coloured pottery tiles. Carved or painted Buddhas decorate all the immense columns and lintels. The roofs are impressive too. Open corridors and long colonnades, arranged in harmonious patterns, stretch away on all sides. »<sup>164</sup>

On the differences in rank in the social caste. « The dwellings of the princes and principal officials have a completely different layout and dimensions from those of the people. All the outlying buildings are covered with thatch; only the family temple and the principal apartment can be covered in tiles. The official rank of each person determines the size of the houses. »<sup>165</sup>

On the prosperity and number of the people, manifested by the appearance of the women and their social emancipation and control of the markets. « The local people who know how to trade are all women. So when a Chinese goes to this country, the first thing he must do is take in a woman, partly with a view to profiting from her trading abilities. / The women age very quickly, no doubt because they marry and give birth when too young. When they are twenty or thirty years old, they look like Chinese women who are forty or fifty. »<sup>166167</sup>

The city described by Zhou Daguan was square in shape, surrounded by walls and a large moat, with the Bayon Temple at its centre, intersected from the two main streets, and the houses of the citizens extended along an orthogonal grid.<sup>168</sup>



169

<sup>164</sup> Tabish Khair, ed. (2006). *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing*. Indiana University Press. p. 115.

<sup>165</sup> Cardiff de Alejo Garcia - *Passing Notes - Smithsonian Magazine "History & Archaeology"*

<sup>166</sup> Cardiff de Alejo Garcia - *Passing Notes - Smithsonian Magazine "History & Archaeology"*.

<sup>167</sup> Zhou Daguan (2007). *A Record of Cambodia*. Translated by Peter Harris. University of Washington Press. p. 70.

<sup>168</sup> 'The Orthogonal plan of Angkor Thom', Jacques Gaucher, *World heritage review* 68, p. 58-59, illus., 2013.

<sup>169</sup> 'The Orthogonal Plan of Angkor Thom, as received by Jaccques Gaucher in 2007', , Jacques Gaucher, *World heritage review* 68, p. 60, illus., 2013.



Not much is known about this great Empire and what caused the abandon of its majestic capital after the defeat in war of 1432 against the Ayutthaya.<sup>170</sup> But we do know the spirit of its citizens, which has come to us through the writings of travellers, and we do know the splendour of the architecture of its temples and palaces, which became a World Heritage Site in 1992.<sup>171</sup>



172

<sup>170</sup> 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student ebook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.

Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.

<sup>171</sup> UNESCO World Heritage List, Angkor, 1992. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/668/>.

<sup>172</sup> 'Holger Behr - Own work , composed from various mapreferences', Map (rough) of Angkor Wat, Cambodja, 3 January 2007

## VI – Philosophy of Abandonment

The previous chapter shows how the town square has always been at the centre of human civilisation, through the various moments of history, despite the various cultural, socio-political and religious differences that characterise humanity. The square has always represented the place of discussion and encounter, of trade and political confrontation, of celebration and rituals. It is the place incarnating public life, is the scene of community, lends itself to civic events, hosts religious ceremonies, markets and exchanges, the space for conversations where a stranger becomes a friend. Whether there was a king, a civic council or an emperor, their place in society was physically and conceptually at the centre of it. The same was true of the various religions. Whether it was a step pyramid, a temple or a cathedral, the headquarters had to reside in the heart of the city. The square, therefore, mainly represented the two authorities of divine and terrestrial power that kept the human social structure in balance and order while expressing their absolute control over society itself. These two powers that influence and are influenced by mankind are in decline in our modern age and, with them, the public square that physically hosts the society's soul is also in decay.

The two great spheres of influence on society, politics and religion, are a creation of the human character and condition. As the XX century philosopher Hannah Arendt pointed out, the human social condition can be divided into the two conditions of *Vita Activa* and *Vita Contemplativa*. The first, the *Vita Activa*, represents human's socio-political action, work and artistic creation. The most elevate condition is the socio-political man, Arendt's modernisation of the Aristotelian *zoon politikon*. This condition, always placed at the centre of human social life, influenced the public square as a reflection of human society itself. From the agora, to the forum, to the Renaissance town hall, the central square has always been the seat of the city's political and social life. The second human condition described by Arendt was the *Vita Contemplativa*. This condition represents man concerning the eternity of the divine, to achieve asceticism and mysticism. The *Vita Contemplativa* takes place in the interiority of the individual, and does not involve external efforts or relations with other beings. It too, the *Vita Contemplativa*, has always found its place within the public squares in every civilisation and human historical period.

These two human conditions, in modern society, are in decline and so even the public square is deserted and abandoned to itself, precisely because man is concentrated on other human conditions. While for the deterioration of *Vita Contemplativa* the causes are to be found in a progressive rise of atheism, for political action the causes are to be found in the substitution of conditions and their hierarchy within the *Vita Activa* itself. The *Vita Activa*, as Arendt describes it, as well as being made up of the socio-political animal, is compounded of the *homo faber* and the *animal laborans*. The *homo faber* is the craftsman, the designer, the artist capable of shaping objects that are not natural and that are useful, remaining durable and capable of acquiring the immortality of the masterpiece. He does not communicate with others, except through the means he has formed in moments of private solitude. This condition of working is the prelude to the condition of socio-political action since the creations of *homo faber* makes up the material Human World. The *animal laborans*, on the other hand, represents the mere diligent worker who leaves no trace of himself and who produces a result that dissolves in the almost immediate consumption of the product itself. Moreover, every job is always started again, because there is no escaping from the production-consumption cycle if the animal worker wants to survive. The *animal laborans* lives its daily life working, transforming this process into a biological cycle and thus losing all forms of socio-political life. In history, from the Ancient Greeks to the present day, *Vita Activa* has evolved along with the course of events. In the Greek agora and the Roman forum, the condition of social-political man was the primary condition, while the condition of *animal laborans* was left to the slaves. In the Christian-Medieval period, there was a primacy of the *Vita Contemplativa*. With the discoveries of the New World and the Renaissance period, it was the

homo faber that prevailed. Ultimately, from the Industrial Revolution to the present day, it is the animal laborans who has taken over the human condition.<sup>173</sup>

It is precisely this last change that has seen the prevalence of private life over public life. Humans live a biological life-work cycle to ensure their survival and therefore neglect public life in favour of private life. This condition is characterised by large industries in which man, exploited like an animal, produces temporary goods and which only incentivise economy and consumerism. From now on, industries and work took over landscapes and public life.

The causes of the abandonment of the square can be found not only in the social changes described by Hannah Arendt but also in other important events. Some see the decadence of public spaces as being stimulated by the introduction of bars and cafés in the surrounding of the square. They were first introduced in the city of Venice, at the beginning of the XVII century, but quickly conquered the European piazzas.<sup>174</sup> The rise of the European bourgeoisie, in the XIX century, encouraged the expansion of these new locations, which contributed to the decay of the public square. From then on, the square became an empty space and a transit route to these new indoor areas, where citizens sat down and occupied their temporary private space. In the first salons, public debates were also created but for a more restricted and circumscribed social sphere. From the early XX century onwards, with the development of the *Assembly Line* by Henry Ford, extended the animal laborans over society. This boosted the production system, transmuting the good of the community onto the good of the economy. This change saw an enlargement of the working class, which at the same time was politically obfuscated and deceived by the few wealthy oligarchs, stimulating a social impoverishment for the lower classes. This impoverishment, however, caused more labour, since the animal laborans still had to secure their livelihood through their biological life-work cycle. In this way, citizens were locked into their private sphere between home and workplace, losing their sense of public life and believing that forms of government such as democracy no longer guaranteed their livelihoods. Instead, they began to trust, deceptively promised, the totalitarian forms of government that eventually took over in Europe. In this historical period, European public squares were used as demonstrations of military power or to host public speeches of the various dictators.<sup>175</sup>

In more recent times, public squares where citizens could show themselves to the community, have been almost completely replaced by shopping malls or transport stations. Man of modern society is no longer able to communicate without a medium. Men no longer communicate freely between the plurality of others, through dialogue, as was the case for the socio-political men. In very recent times, the overuse of social media does not encourage physical encounters between people and therefore promotes the abandonment of the physical square. Rather, these social media encourage a monologue-like dialogue that helps to increase the privacy surrounding those who use them. With the advent of the SARS-CoV-2 in 2020, sure, the cyber-agora has represented the only way of meeting people who are distant from each other or do not belong to the same family circle, but it has also been a 'booster' for this social crisis. Through the digital measures adopted during the pandemic crisis, such as smart-working, it seems that the socially active man has completely vanished, replaced by a virtual space that does not guarantee a real debate but only helps to isolate oneself in one's private space, no longer even needing to physically go to work. Through digital shopping platforms, another measure facilitated during the pandemic period, there was also a sudden abandonment of those

---

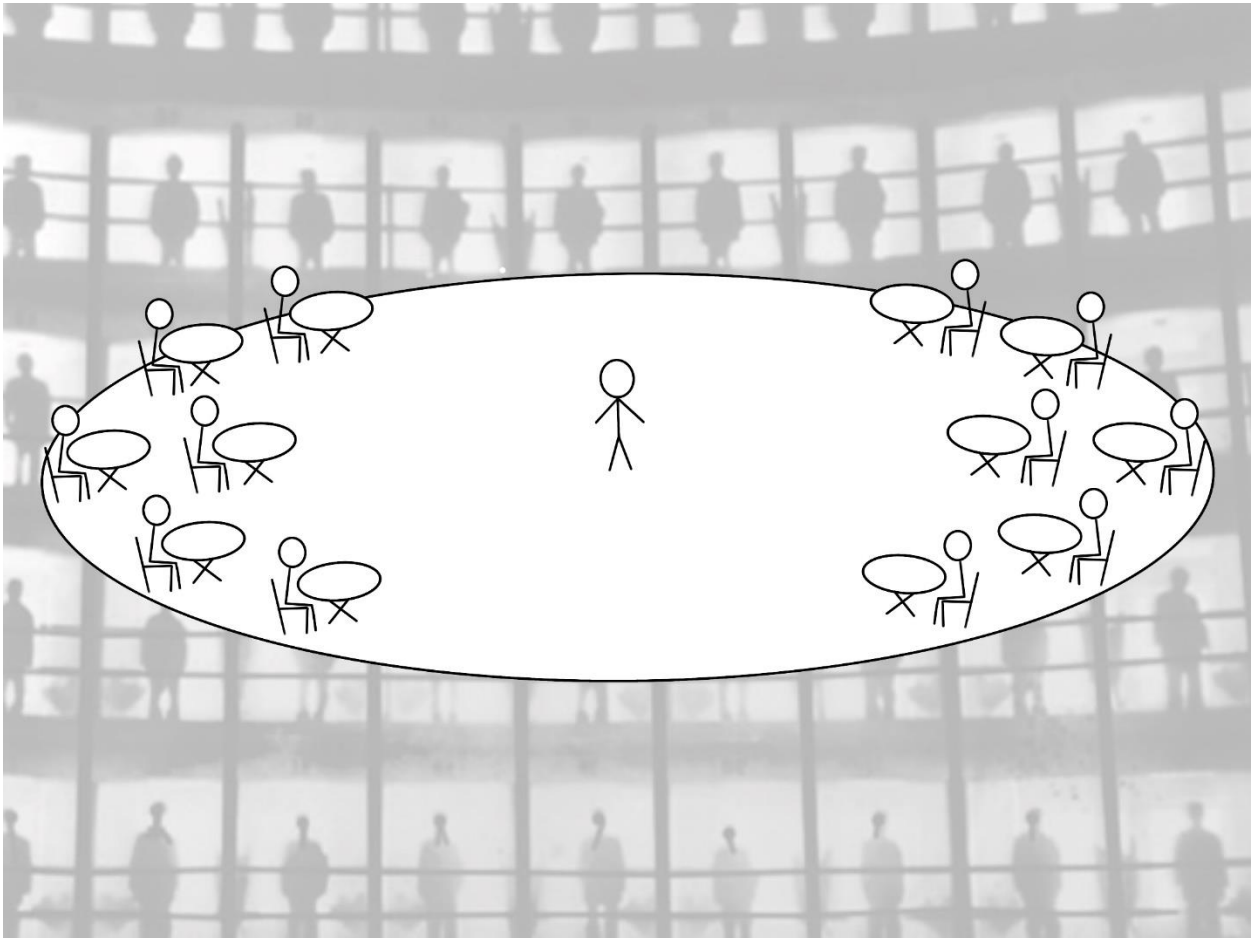
<sup>173</sup> 'The Human Condition', Hannah Arendt, 1958.

<sup>174</sup> 'Where is the Agora in the Virtualized Society?', Raul Jimenez Tellado, Rabih Zbib, 17<sup>th</sup> April 2021.

<sup>175</sup> Personal analyses about the rise of totalitarianisms in Europe on the reading of 'The Origins of Totalitarianism', Hannah Arendt, 1951.

shopping centres that had begun to represent the agora of the new millennium, creating further human confinement in one's own private space.<sup>176</sup>

As analysed, the reasons for the abandonment of the public square are varied and manifold and do not provide a sure and scientific answer about the certain causes. The only sure thing is that squares, once the centre of public life, are definitively turning into *Heterotopian* spaces, so with a contrary use to the reason for which they were born.<sup>177</sup> Still, to remain in Foucault's teachings, the few adventurers who go to the square and try to engage in forms of public life, seem to go and interact with other citizens through an inverted *Panopticon*, where who at the centre of the square is constantly observed and judged within their solitary space and different actions.<sup>178</sup>



179

<sup>176</sup> 'Where is the Agora in the Virtualized Society?', Raul Jimenez Tellado, Rabih Zbib, 17th April 2021.

<sup>177</sup> 'Des Espace Autres, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', Michel Foucault, 1967.

<sup>178</sup> 'Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison', Michel Foucault, 1975.

<sup>179</sup> Personal drawing, Heterotopian Panoptical Square.



## VII – Homo Indocilis

Humans are not afraid when they are together when they stand united. In my opinion, the Aristotelian *zoon politikon* and its modern representation from Hannah Arendt have not disappeared, but are only dormant or merged into other human conditions. In recent centuries up to the present days, the condition of the animal laborans has certainly taken over, but it cannot be said that it cannot come to embody the socio-political man when he has to safeguard himself and demand new social rights. When the animal laborans protests against a social system that does not guarantee his biological life-work cycle, he tends to rebel and gather in public squares, embodying the condition of the *zoon politikon*. The revolts of the animal laborans were the only ones capable of revolutionising society and guaranteeing an ever-wider democracy. Certainly, the first form of democracy was born in Ancient Greece in the Athenian agora from the *zoon politikon* and was an enormous innovation for all humanity. This form of government established by the socio-political man was certainly advanced compared to his time and also to the centuries following it, but definitely not comparable to the modern form of democracy. The only men who had the right to vote and to daily participate in the political life of the city within the agora were the *freemen* of Athenian citizenship. No rights were granted to slaves, women, children under the age of 20 or anyone who did not hold the title of citizen of Athens. The person who gave us the democratic form of government that we favour in Western civilisation was the animal laborans through his revolutions over time, revolutions that took place by dressing up the condition of socio-political man, revolutions that always began in the square, the symbol of public life and society.

Unfortunately, the human condition of animal laborans is not a human condition of choice, but one that is compelled by the economic circumstances of the modern world. The unrestrained, consumerist capitalist system has brought about the enlargement of this human condition and its prevarication over the other conditions already described by Hannah Arendt. This widespread of the animal laborans is certainly one of the reasons why public life is declining in favour of private life, but it is also the reason why, in my opinion, the *homo faber* is almost nil and the socio-political man has been absorbed, remaining dormant, in this prevailing human condition. For these reasons, I feel I should coin a new name for the human condition that sees the animal laborans mutate into socio-political man, creating a subsequent societal revolution: “*homo indocilis*”. *Homo* because the animal laborans who lives constantly in his biological cycle of life-work finally rises to a human being and to a higher condition. *Indocilis* which in Latin means non-docile, therefore not submissive to anyone and ready to revolutionise society. Perhaps one can complain that *homo indocilis* is not really a man of dialogue, since he is not used to the condition of a socio-political man and therefore could use violence to achieve his results, but one cannot but admit that achieves his results in a significant way. It was the peasant, the worker and all the lower social classes of the past who, by rebelling, caused new rights to be established in contemporary society.<sup>180</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> Personal analyses.



181

The first great revolution was the *French Revolution*. In the XVIII century, there were many wars that strained the finances of the European states, so kings and governments were forced to raise taxes on the poorer classes. In addition, the Kingdom of France, in an anti-English function, financed the American Revolutionary War, increasing the Kingdom's debt. King Louis XVI, therefore, increased taxes which mainly hit the *Third Estate*, the French commoners. French society, like most European societies of that time, was composed of three social classes, also called Estates: the clergy, the nobility and the Third Estate. The Revolution was caused by many factors, which are still debated by scholars, but the most commonly identified causes are that, apart from increased taxes, the bourgeois class, as well belonging to the Third Estate, demanded recognition of the political power in the country while the peasants demanded the abolition of the feudal system, the *Ancien Régime*. This revolution began on 14th July 1789 when the Third Estate seized the Bastille, the symbol of royal absolutism, forcing King Louis XVI to come to terms with the underprivileged population. The National Guard, a bourgeois civic armed force directed by Lafayette, was set up. From that moment on, the peasant revolts intensified and the National Constituent Assembly sanctioned, on 4th August, the end of feudal privileges and then, on 26th August, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen which proclaimed freedom, equality, the inviolability of property and the right to resist oppression. After these historical came the birth of the I French Republic in 1792. All the revolutionary movements that made up the French Revolution intensified and gained momentum in the public squares, the symbol of the whole community and society. The final and representative end of the *Ancien Régime*, so to avoid new restorations, came with the capital punishment imposed on King Louis XVI, which

<sup>181</sup> 'Le 28 Juillet. La Liberté guidant le peuple', Eugène Delacroix, 1830. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



took place in the main square of the French capital, Place de la Concorde. These events showed how the animal laborans was able to transform himself into a socio-political man and fight for his rights. The facts revealed that homo indocilis, if invoked, can change an entire social system. These changes were so important that they gave to people a voice for the first time, slavery and feudalism was finally abolished, marking the transition from the modern to the contemporary age in European historiography.<sup>182183</sup>



The French Revolution shook the minds and consciences of the underprivileged social classes, the animal laborans, who realised that they could change the societal injustices that had always affected them. That is why the century following this first great revolution, the XIX century, was a long period of social upheaval and change. This century of revolutions was driven by the division of the old Third Estate into bourgeoisie and peasantry, with the transformation of the latter into the proletariat, also referred from many as the *Fourth Estate*,<sup>185</sup> through the First Industrial Revolution and the birth of Industry. It is here in this historical period, that thanks to the advent of the factories and a capitalist economy, the human condition of animal laborans definitively took over the other human conditions. Throughout the XIX century, the proletariat organised itself in innovative forms, both theoretical and practical, in order to claim its rights and emerge from the miserable conditions of subordination in which it found itself. The history of the European labour movement thus spans the XIX century as a period of revolutions, which saw the animal laborans becoming homo indocilis and rise to the status of socio-political man.

<sup>182</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "French Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 10, 2020.

<sup>183</sup> Rivoluzione Francese, Enciclopedia Online Treccani.

<sup>184</sup> 'Une exécution capitale, place de la Révolution (Place de la Concorde)', Pierre-Antoine Demachy, 1793. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

<sup>185</sup> "For Marx, the urban proletariat" "fourth estate." Oxford Reference.



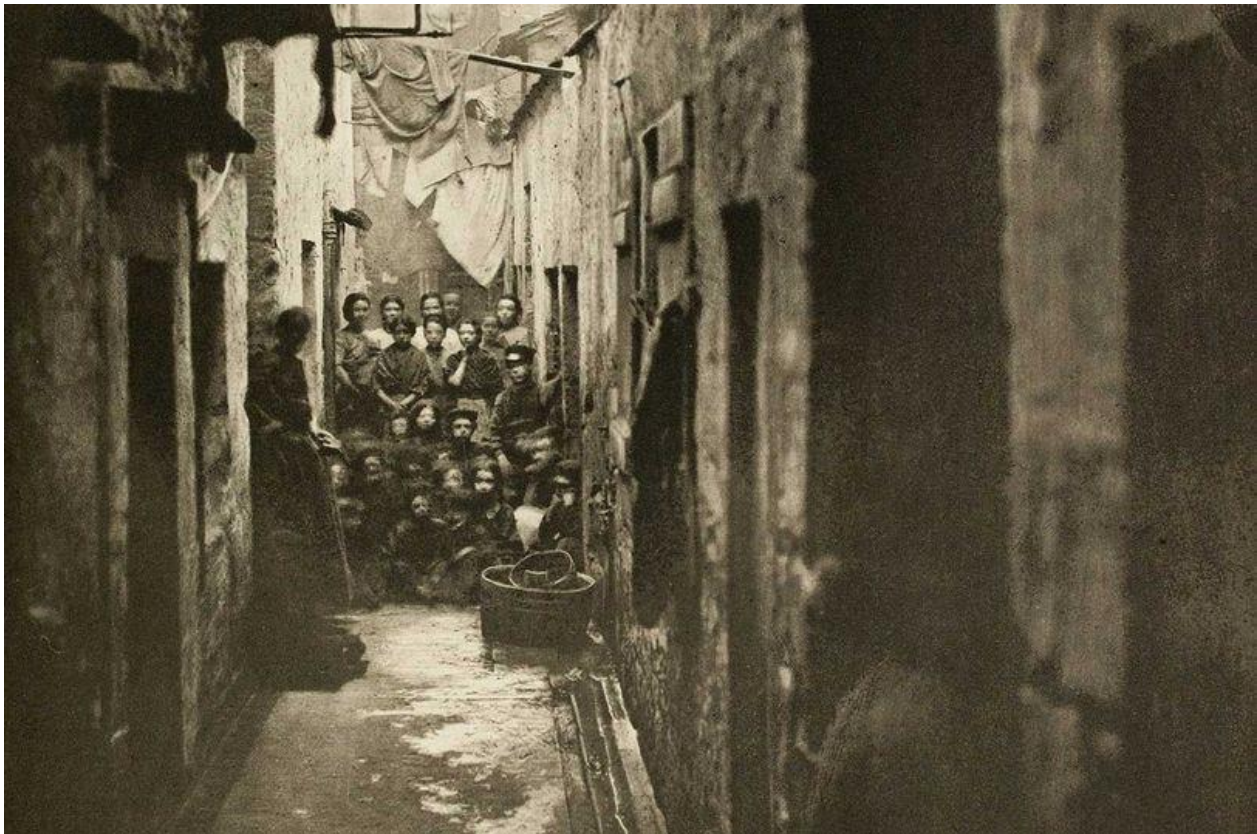
186

The transition from an agricultural economy to a factory-based economy began in England and gradually spread to the rest of the European continent. The technological development of the industry attracted new workers from the countryside to the cities. The new workers, who were part of a production process that saw the introduction of machines and an increasing division of labour, greatly increased their numerical presence in the urban contexts that were being industrialised. Little by little, the Industrial Revolution changed the secular structures in European societies. The division from birth classes was replaced with a division based on class membership, derived from an economic and social position within the new production system. The social dualism was therefore now between the proprietors of production, exponents of the bourgeois capitalist class, and the proletarians, workers in possession only of their own work capacity, the animal laborans, given in exchange for economic retribution, the wage, which constituted their essentials for the biological life-work cycle. In the cities affected by industrialisation, a different individual and social condition was created for those who entered the new factory system. Burdened by exhausting work shifts of up to 16 hours and the precariousness of their position, forced to live in unbearable hygienic and housing conditions, the workers became aware of their common circumstances and destiny. The new working class could not live the public spaces of their city and consequently their public life, being alienated from society and exploited by the upper classes as a man-machine, mere source of income. Thus, the workers were forced and confined to their biological life-work cycle, spending their daily lives between a dump and their workstation, whether they were men, women or children. The city squares of this period were reserved only for the upper classes, the workers remained enclosed in the slums on the suburbs of the city. Here no form of public space was designed, the slums were narrow streets and tiny flats so to avoid any forms of public life, since the animal laborans could have no distractions from work but only live in their private spaces as if they were prisoners. The animal labourans understood that they were living a new form of enslavement and were ready to rebel again by taking the aspect of the homo indocilis.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>186</sup> 'Il Quarto Stato', Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo, 1868-1907. Museo del Novecento, Milano.

<sup>187</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Industrial Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 21, 2021.





188

The emergence of a common consciousness was accompanied by forms of opposition to the new social structures. In this early period of the birth of industries, took also place an important rebellion led by the *homo faber* who was aware that the animal laborans was taking over from other human conditions, leading to a social crisis. The English textile artisans of the early XIX century saw the spread of modern mechanical looms as the cause of the decline in their earnings and the new upcoming harsh working conditions and wages, as well as of the precariousness of the jobs of the nascent working class of which they were aware that soon, they would also be part of. These first forms of reaction and social discontent took the name of *Luddism* and began in the city of Nottingham in 1811. The English government reacted with violent and bloody repressions against the Luddites, but, by then, they had begun to shake the souls of the English proletariat. From the ashes of Luddism new forms of battles were born, aimed at challenging the prohibition of workers' associations. From 1816, during a negative economic situation due also to the Napoleonic Wars, new revolutions began to rise again in the city of Nottingham. In the following years happened many protests until 1819 when around 60,000 craftsmen and workers, accompanied by many women and children, unarmed gathered in the heart of the city of Manchester, in the area of today's Saint Peter's Square, coming from also other large neighbouring cities to protest in a completely peaceful manner against the government. *Homo indocilis* had awakened and was taking back the public square to change and improve its living conditions. But this frightened the rulers, which ordered the armed police to intervene and put a violent end to this revolt, resulting in the infamous *Peterloo Massacre*. But it was also thanks to this main event and other protests that in 1824 the *Trade Unions*, the first trade union organisations committed to asserting workers' rights, were legalised in England.<sup>189190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> 'A Victorian Slum in London', Birmingham Live, BBC, 8<sup>th</sup> February 2016.

<sup>189</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Peterloo Massacre." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 17, 2021.

<sup>190</sup> 'luddismo', Storia Digitale, Dizionario Zanichelli Online, March 2013.



191

Along with the first forms of struggle and organisation, emerged the development of political thought that proposed new thinking and solutions on social issues. The core of the new socialist theories was the consideration that in order to redress the injustices of industrialisation, it was necessary to question its values, such as competition and profit, and replace them with solidarity and equality, directing productive systems towards collective welfare so to lay the foundations of a new society. In Germany, the spread of socialism was entrusted to smaller groups of intellectuals, among whom were the two, not yet 30 years old, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who in 1848 published the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in which philosophical theory was combined with economic theory, proclaiming the marked revolutionary character of the proletarian class. From this moment on, the new socio-political men began to emerge, ready to defend the rights and to shake the souls of the animal laborans.<sup>192</sup>

In the same year of the publication of the Manifesto, the whole continent was involved in popular attempts to change the authoritarian and monarchical governments that had been restored after the Congress of Vienna, between 1814 and 1815 following the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, into democratic and liberal ones. The Congress redrew many of the borders of European states and also restored the monarchy in France by appointing Louis XVIII, brother of the guillotined King Louis XVI. This involved above all an attempt of restoring the feudal system of the Ancien R gime in all Europe and to erase the memory of the French Revolution, an anachronistic attempt in the century that distinguished itself with the birth of the proletariat and the bourgeois classes. This led to various and even violent revolutions all over Europe, mainly caused by dissatisfaction with the monarchies that ruled each country. Citizens were tired of feeling oppressed and controlled, and there was a widespread demand for democracy against the monarchy. In 1848, Europe was shaken by revolutionary uprisings that were exceptional in their intensity and extent, revolutions driven by strong

<sup>191</sup> 'Peterloo Massacre', Richard Carlile, 1819. Manchester Libraries, UK.

<sup>192</sup> 'La questione sociale nel XIX secolo: storia e pensiero del movimento operaio europeo', Michele Tommasi, Studenti Storia.



social demands and also called the *Springtime of Nations*. These revolutionary uprisings began in Italy, in Palermo, with the demand for independence from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The uprisings swept through all the squares of the Italian Peninsula, once divided into various kingdoms and states, where citizens began to demand new constitutions and statutes. These first revolutionary uprisings led to a growing climate of nationalisation that gave rise to the First Italian War of Independence, which was fought against the Habsburg Empire that controlled the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom. Famous are the Five Days of Milan, which were fought in the main city squares and in which the population managed to liberate the city of Milan. Street revolts in France led to the abdication of King Louis XVIII, frightened by memories of his brother's fate, and the II French Republic with universal manhood suffrage was established. The Habsburg Empire granted a constitution and freedom of the press along with universal manhood suffrage, as well as other legislative reforms and rights to the Hungarians. Similar movements led to the establishment of a constitution for less than a year in a temporarily united Germany, which was also divided into various states just like Italy at the time. There were also many other uprisings in other European countries, but they were all put down by the military forces that remained loyal to the monarchs and many rights and freedoms granted to the people were restored. However, it cannot be said that the people, who gathered in the squares to obtain new rights, did not achieve great results. In Italy, the 1848 was a symbol of unification and therefore the *Statuto Albertino* was kept in force, in France universal manhood suffrage remained, in Prussia was kept the elective assembly and in Austria, aristocratic rights were not re-established.<sup>193194</sup>



195

In the two decades following 1848, the bourgeoisie experienced a period of growth and affirmation, while the labour movement slowly reorganised itself after the repression. The success of bourgeois capitalism increased the numbers of the urban proletariat, which was increasingly relegated to a lifestyle of stark contradiction with the bourgeois wealth. In

<sup>193</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Revolutions of 1848." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 12, 2020.

<sup>194</sup> 'rivoluzioni del 1848', Dizionario di Storia, Dizionario Treccani Online.

<sup>195</sup> Milano. Combattimento sul corso di porta Orientale presso San Babila il giorno 19 marzo 1848 (Episodio delle Cinque Giornate), 1848 (analisi storica, datata/o), litografia, Comune di Milano, Raccolta delle Stampe "Achille Bertarelli".

this phase, trade unions and workers' organisations slowly consolidated their position, as in Germany wherein 1863, thanks to Ferdinand Lassalle, was born the General German Workers' Association, *ADAV*, the first nucleus of the future German Social Democratic Party. Almost a decade later, in 1871, an auto-governing city government was established, which, despite its short duration, promoted socialist and progressive ideas such as equality between classes, better working and living conditions for employees and equality between genders and social classes, *La Commune de Paris*. In 1871 France lost the war against Germany and the city of Paris demanded a new establishment of the Republic, but this was not granted nationwide and so the capital was the only one to make this decision, arising. The Parisian proletarian class, by conquering the city, established direct democracy, the imposition of fairer wages, the abolition of worker exploitation through worker self-organisation and the appropriation of the means of production. Workers' unions and workers' associations were encouraged and working hours were reduced, leaving more time for education and family. Education was free and accessible to all citizens. Freedom of speech and the press was established, newspapers flourished, formed clubs where meetings were held and anyone could speak, including women. Women played a central role in this revolutionary experience. Were created new committees and set up workshops so to employ women. Were disseminated topics for women's rights that would only return in the XX century, such as gender equality, equal pay and the possibility of voting. This experience, seen as the first autonomous organisation of the working class replacing the existing state apparatus, can be considered as an important lesson of aptitudes for homo indocilis. Everybody, cooperating, can be a socio-political man and be an active part of social public life. Unfortunately, however, this great political experiment lasted only 73 days and was ended by an incredible bloodbath that cost the lives of some 20,000 citizens and the expatriation of 7,000. But even at this time, the city squares became the place where the animal laborans succeeded to get their rights.<sup>196197</sup>



198

<sup>196</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Commune of Paris." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 11, 2021.

<sup>197</sup> 'La Comune di Parigi, il primo governo socialista della Storia', Alice Strazzeri, Storia Contemporanea, 30 Dicembre 2020.

<sup>198</sup> 'The Paris Commune: an ode to emancipation', Socialist Resistance, 19th September 2021.



In the last decades of the XIX century, Europe experienced a further phase of rapid economic growth and industrial development, which due to its characteristics and ubiquity can be defined as a Second Industrial Revolution. With this further phase of industrialisation, a new 'mass society' emerged in the most advanced countries. The extent of the transformations and the inevitable growth of the urban proletariat made it unavoidable for the bourgeois class to address the question and the social demands of the proletariat. To avoid new revolts, the right to vote was extended to the proletariat and were created workers' parties. The possibility of electoral competition allowed the workers' movements to organise themselves into mass party forms and to gather public support. The first socialist party was the German Social Democratic Party, *SPD*, which emerged in Germany in 1875, adopting Marxism as its official theory. In Italy, a socialist-inspired party emerged in 1892, called the Italian Socialist Party, *PSI*. In England, where the trade union movement had long been strong, the Labour Party only saw the light of day in 1906. More troubles had the French socialists, where the workers' party only came together in 1908. From this point onwards, the public squares of the city became the political centre of the city, where citizens gathered to listen to politicians' rallies or debate politics and rights during the holidays. The animal laborans could finally become a socio-political man, perhaps even becoming free.<sup>199200</sup>



201

Thus ended the XIX century, a period of great revolutions that brought major societal changes. The twentieth century could have started with better auspices given the consolidated rights and the emerging globalisation, but the course of events led to the Great War, which together with a severe and unprecedented economic crisis, triggered a much more tragic Second World War. This second conflict, so far, the largest on an international scale till nowadays, saw the animal laborans in the limelight, enslaved by their own biological life-work cycle. Proletarians were exhausted in rebuilding the economies of the various European countries, the hardest hit in the Globe, and worked tirelessly to pay

<sup>199</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Industrial Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 21, 2021.

<sup>200</sup> 'La questione sociale nel XIX secolo: storia e pensiero del movimento operaio europeo', Michele Tommasi, Studenti Storia.

<sup>201</sup> Striking workers raise the Red Flag in St George's Square in Glasgow, 31 January 1919.

off the war debts of the First World War, while also coping with the great economic crisis of 1929. Thus, the animal laborans lost sight of public and social life and locked itself into its own human condition. This shutdown created paranoia of the individual and increased the amorality and dissatisfaction in society, driven by a relegate animal laborans again obliged between its private spheres. In this phase, the vote earned as a right during the XIX century became a social weapon. In Europe, particularly in Italy and Germany, totalitarian political personalities rose to power through lies and deceptions with the vote or the support of the frustrated proletarian class, which by this time was the almost totality of society. These absolutists, as unhealthy as their societies were, used the public squares to demonstrate their strength and to deliver their speeches to the people of the nation, bringing the European countries to a terrific war. The end of the Italian dictator was a memorable one. When the proletarians themselves revolted and executed the despot, awakening from his deceptions, exhibited his cadaver in the very public square where he once delivered broad-shoulders speeches. Then, after the end of the German tyrant, most of Europe's squares were filled with joy and colour and became places of liberty.



202

So, the square, as a symbol of a free society, was also what kept the same society free. Since the Second World War, people of Europe and from many other parts of the World have been able to go to the squares and to freely protest for their civil rights. Nowadays, in the majority of the cases, civilians are not being the target of any bloody threat as was the case throughout the past, where the homo indocilis risked its life so that we could now enjoy liberties and the right to protest, considered basilar today. From the square protests which oust monarchs, the square protests for women's rights, the square protests for the Civil Rights Movement under the voice of Martin Luther King, the protests against the

<sup>202</sup> '1945 Partigiani, with weapons and flags, march on Piazza San Marco, Venezia', Archivio Luce, 25 Aprile la Liberazione.



war in Vietnam and all the students took to the squares to protest in 1968, from the protests of Tiananmen Square to the protests in the European squares to seek the fall of the Berlin Wall. Up to the present day, wherein almost all the World's squares there are the Fridays For Future started by Greta Thunberg, the Movements For Black Lives Matter and all the protests that now are taking place in many squares around the world, against war, for peace, in Ukraine, which is also getting together people in Russia, where demonstrators, bursting of their European Democratic values, are yet risking their liberty.



<sup>203</sup> 'Stop the War in Ukraine!', Plein 1992, Maastricht, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2022. News in English – RTV Maastricht, Facebook.

## Conclusion

The reasons for the decay of the public square are not a result of mathematical calculus but the results of many variables present in our society. For this reason, concluding with a definite solution is reductive and impossible. Therefore, my conclusion remains a Social Manifesto to my readers.

It can be said that the square has remained intrinsic in our identity. It is a strong symbol of community, from a single city to our entire world. The city square is a public good and cannot be treated in the way it is exploited today. Public concerts must be free of charge, the square cannot be seen as a source of income since it is a public good. If nowadays the public square can occasionally host markets, this must be seen as a done and, when it cannot do so, it must be able to accommodate the small stands of independent vendors or organised students, the ground must never be rented out or given in payment. The historic and artistic landscape of the squares must not be turned into a profit from bars and restaurants and their terraces, which are appropriating ever larger areas of common land, converting it into small private islands. The square should not be used as a road, a roundabout or a crossroads, the square is not velocity and getaway but calm and dialogue. The square should not be a deserted space in the heart of our communities. People should be encouraged to frequent and inhabit the square, so that they can communicate with each other, broadening their horizons and ideals of life and their friendships, living a life open to others, without being confined and limited to their own closed spaces and personal ideas. Even those who design squares must think of the populace and its new and ever-increasing needs. Those who design our public squares, cannot expect these spaces to remain clean and clear so that they can exalt the magnificence and beauty of the area and the buildings that surround it. The square cannot be a precise place; its inhabitants are humans and not machines. The square must not be a place of discomfort, where people are afraid to stop because alone at the middle of an empty field. The square must be a place of comfort, where people are not afraid to stop because are not alone and can always meet a new smile. The square is a public good, a community right, and as such, it cannot and must not be neglected. A sad and desolate square is a symbol and symptom of a society that is just as sad and lost in its individualities. The public square is a human right, the public square represents each one of us and for this reason it must be an example of respect, of comprehension and fraternity between people.



In my opinion, nowadays, many elements preserve and push for increasingly empty public squares. An empty square does not represent public distraction and keeps people away from each other. Without public distraction, humans remain enslaved of the economy and their human condition. Above all, people distant from each means people separated and divided. When divided, we are easily governable, more docile and easier to dominate. The square is humanity, both must remain free and never under the threat and yoke of anything or anyone. The square is "Liberty".

« I have a couple of minutes to talk to you because there are small strikes and missile attacks. This morning was tragic to all of us. Two cruise missiles hit Kharkiv. The city, which is near the border with Russia, where there have always been a lot of Russians and they have always been friends, there used to be very warm relations, there are more than 20 universities there, it was and is the hub hosting the largest number of universities in our country. The youths there are bright, smart, always gathering for all holidays in our country's largest square. Liberty Square. Also, this is the largest square in Europe. And this is true, it's Liberty Square. Imagine this: in the morning, two cruise missiles hit Liberty Square. Dozens of casualties. So this is the price of freedom. We are simply fighting for our land and our liberty, and believe me, despite the fact that all the big cities of our state are now under blockade, no one will penetrate our liberty and state. Believe me. Every square today, whatever it is called, will be referred to as Liberty Square. In every city of our state. Nobody will break us, we stand strong, we are Ukrainians. »

Volodymyr O. Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine to European Parliament, 1st March 2022

## Conclusione

Le ragioni della decadenza della piazza pubblica non sono il risultato di un calcolo matematico ma il risultato di molte variabili presenti nella nostra società. Per questo motivo, concludere con una soluzione definitiva è riduttivo e impossibile. Pertanto, la mia conclusione rimane un Manifesto Sociale per i miei lettori.

Si può dire che la piazza è rimasta intrinseca nella nostra identità. È un forte simbolo di comunità, dalla singola città a tutto il nostro mondo. La piazza cittadina è un bene pubblico e non può essere trattata nel modo in cui viene sfruttata oggi. I concerti pubblici devono essere gratuiti, la piazza non può essere vista come una fonte di guadagno poiché è un bene pubblico. Se al giorno d'oggi la piazza pubblica può saltuariamente ospitare i mercati, ciò deve essere visto come un dono e, quando non può farlo, deve poter dare la possibilità di accogliere le piccole bancherelle di venditori indipendenti o degli studenti organizzati, il suolo non deve essere mai affittato e concesso in pagamento. Il panorama storico ed artistico delle piazze non deve essere trasformato in profitto dai bar e dai ristoranti e dalle loro terrazze, che si appropriano di zone sempre più grandi del suolo comune, convertendolo in piccole isole private. La piazza non deve essere usata come una strada, una rotonda od un incrocio, la piazza non è velocità e fuga ma calma e dialogo. La piazza non deve essere uno spazio desertico nel cuore delle nostre comunità. Le persone devono essere incoraggiate a frequentare ed abitare la piazza, così da poter comunicare tra loro, allargando i propri orizzonti ed ideali di vita e le proprie amicizie, vivendo una vita aperta al prossimo, senza rimaner confinati e limitati ai propri spazi chiusi ed alle idee personali. Anche chi disegna le piazze deve pensare alla popolazione ed alle sue nuove e sempre maggiori necessità. Chi disegna le nostre piazze pubbliche, non può pretendere che questi spazi rimangano puliti e candidi così da poter esaltare la magnificenza e bellezza dell'area e dei palazzi che la circondano. La piazza non può essere un luogo preciso; i suoi abitanti sono uomini e non macchine. La piazza non deve essere un luogo di disagio, dove le persone hanno timore di fermarsi poiché sole nel mezzo di un campo vuoto. La piazza deve essere un luogo di conforto, dove le persone non hanno timore di sostarvi poiché non sono sole e si può sempre conoscere un nuovo sorriso. La piazza è un bene pubblico, un diritto della comunità, ed in quanto tale, non può e non deve essere trascurata. Una piazza triste e desolata è simbolo e sintomo di una società altrettanto triste e persa nelle proprie individualità. La piazza pubblica è un diritto umano, la piazza pubblica rappresenta ognuno di noi e per questo motivo deve essere esempio di rispetto, di comprensione e di fratellanza tra le persone.

In mia opinione, oggi, molti elementi preservano e spingono ad avere piazze sempre più vuote. Una piazza vuota non rappresenta alcun motivo di distrazione pubblica e mantiene gli uomini lontani tra loro. Senza distrazioni pubbliche, gli umani rimangono schiavizzati dall'economia e dalla loro condizione umana. Soprattutto, persone lontane tra loro significano uomini separati e divisi. Quando divisi, si è facilmente governabili, più docili e semplici da dominare. La piazza è umanità, entrambi devono rimanere liberi e mai sotto la minaccia ed il giogo di niente o nessuno. La piazza è "Libertà".

« Ho un paio di minuti per parlarvi perché ci sono piccole colpi e attacchi missilistici. Questa mattina è stata tragica per tutti noi. Due missili da crociera hanno colpito Kharkiv. La città, che è vicina al confine con la Russia, dove ci sono sempre stati molti Russi e sono sempre stati amici, c'erano relazioni molto calde, ci sono più di 20 università lì, era ed è il centro che ospita il maggior numero di università del nostro paese. I giovani lì sono brillanti, intelligenti, si riuniscono sempre lì durante tutte le feste nella piazza più grande del nostro paese. Piazza della Libertà. Inoltre, questa è la piazza più grande d'Europa. E questo è vero, è Piazza della Libertà. Immaginate questo: la mattina, due missili da crociera colpiscono la piazza della Libertà. Decine di vittime. Quindi questo è il prezzo della libertà. Stiamo semplicemente combattendo per la nostra terra e la nostra libertà, e credetemi, nonostante il fatto che tutte le grandi città del nostro stato siano ora sotto blocco, nessuno penetrerà nella nostra libertà e nel nostro stato. Credetemi. Ogni piazza oggi, qualunque sia il suo nome, sarà chiamata Piazza della Libertà. In ogni città del nostro stato. Nessuno ci spezzerà, siamo forti, siamo Ucraini. »

Volodymyr O. Zelenskyy, Presidente dell'Ucraina al Parlamento Europeo, 1° marzo 2022

## Conclusie

De redenen voor de achteruitgang van het openbare plein zijn niet het resultaat van een wiskundige berekening, maar het resultaat van vele variabelen in onze samenleving. Om die reden is het reductief en onmogelijk om met een definitieve oplossing te komen. Daarom blijft mijn conclusie een Sociaal Manifest voor mijn lezers.

Men kan zeggen dat het plein intrinsiek is gebleven aan onze identiteit. Het is een sterk symbool van gemeenschap, van één enkele stad tot onze hele wereld. Het stadsplein is een openbaar goed en mag niet worden behandeld op de manier waarop het vandaag wordt uitgebuit. Openbare concerten moeten gratis zijn, het plein mag niet worden gezien als een bron van inkomsten omdat het een openbaar goed is. Als er op het openbare plein nu en dan een markt wordt gehouden, moet dat als een verworvenheid worden beschouwd en als dat niet kan, moet het plein ruimte kunnen bieden aan de kleine kraampjes van zelfstandige verkopers of georganiseerde studenten; de grond mag nooit worden verhuurd of in betaling worden gegeven. Het historische en artistieke landschap van de pleinen mag niet worden misbruikt voor de winst van kroegen en restaurants met hun terrassen, die zich steeds grotere delen van de gemeenschappelijke grond toe-eigenen en deze omvormen tot kleine privé-eilandjes. Het plein moet niet worden gebruikt als een weg, een rotonde of een kruispunt, het plein is er niet voor de haast en ontsnapping maar de rust en dialoog. Het plein mag geen verlaten ruimte zijn in het hart van onze gemeenschappen. De mensen moeten worden aangemoedigd het plein te bezoeken en er te wonen, zodat zij met elkaar kunnen communiceren waarin ze hun horizon en hun idealen over het leven en hun vriendschappen kunnen verruimen. Waarin mensen een leven kunnen leiden dat openstaat voor anderen, zonder beperkt te zijn tot hun eigen gesloten ruimtes en persoonlijke ideeën. Zelfs zij die pleinen ontwerpen, moeten denken aan de bevolking en haar nieuwe en steeds toenemende behoeften. Degenen die onze openbare pleinen inrichten, kunnen niet verwachten dat deze ruimten schoon en opgeruimd blijven, wat nodig is om de pracht en schoonheid van het gebied en de gebouwen eromheen te versterken. Het plein kan geen precieze plaats zijn; zijn bewoners zijn mensen en geen machines. Het plein mag geen plaats van ongemak zijn, waar mensen bang zijn om te stoppen omdat ze alleen zijn te midden van een leeg veld. Het plein moet een plaats van troost zijn, waar mensen niet bang zijn om stil te staan omdat ze niet alleen zijn en er altijd een nieuwe glimlach kan worden gevonden. Het plein is een openbaar goed, een gemeenschapsrecht, en als zodanig kan en mag het niet worden verwaarloosd. Een treurig en desolaat plein is een symbool en symptoom van een samenleving die even treurig is en verloren in haar eigen individualiteit. Het openbare plein is een mensenrecht, het openbare plein vertegenwoordigt ieder van ons en daarom moet het een voorbeeld zijn van respect, begrip en broederschap tussen mensen.



Naar mijn mening zijn er tegenwoordig veel elementen die steeds meer pleinen leeg houden. Een leeg plein is geen reden voor publieke afleiding en houdt mensen uit elkaars buurt. Zonder publieke afleiding blijven mensen slaaf van de economie en hun menselijke conditie. Mensen op afstand van elkaar betekent vooral gescheiden en verdeelde mensen. Wanneer men verdeeld is, is men gemakkelijk te regeren, volgzamer en gemakkelijker te overheersen. Het plein is de mensheid, beide moeten vrij blijven en nooit onder de dreiging en het juk van iets of iemand. Het plein is "Vrijheid".

"Ik heb een paar minuten om met u te praten omdat er kleine inslagen en raketaanvallen zijn. Vanmorgen was tragisch voor ons allemaal. Twee kruisraketten raakten Kharkiv. De stad, die dicht bij de grens met Rusland ligt, waar altijd veel Russen zijn geweest en zij altijd vrienden zijn geweest, er waren altijd zeer warme betrekkingen, er zijn daar meer dan 20 universiteiten, het was en is het centrum waar het grootste aantal universiteiten van ons land is gevestigd. De jongeren daar zijn slim, bedachtzaam, komen altijd samen voor alle feestdagen op het grootste plein van ons land. Vrijheidsplein. Wat ook het grootste plein in Europa is. En dit is waar, het is het Vrijheidsplein. Stel je dit voor: 's morgens raken twee kruisraketten het Vrijheidsplein. Tientallen slachtoffers. Dus dit is de prijs van vrijheid. We vechten gewoon voor ons land en onze vrijheid, en geloof me, ondanks het feit dat alle grote steden van onze staat nu onder blokkade liggen, zal niemand onze vrijheid en staat binnendringen. Geloof me. Elk plein vandaag, hoe het ook heet, zal Vrijheidsplein genoemd worden. In elke stad van onze staat. Niemand zal ons breken, wij staan sterk, wij zijn Oekraïners."

Volodymyr O. Zelenskyy, president van Oekraïne aan het Europees Parlement, 1 maart 2022



## Bibliography

- ANDREWS, Anthony P. "*The Fall of Chichen Itza: A Preliminary Hypothesis*". Latin American Antiquity, Vol. 1, No. 3 pp. 258-267. Cambridge University, September 1990.
- ARENDT, Hannah. "*The Human Condition*". 1958.
- ARENDT, Hannah. "*The Origins of Totalitarianism*". 1951.
- ARISTOTLE. "*Politics*". IV century BC. Aristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 21, translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944.
- ASHMORE, Wendy. "*City and Town Planning of the Maya*". Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures. University of California, Riverside, January 2014.
- CAMP, John McK. "*The Agora: Public Life and Administration*". Chapter. In The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens, edited by Jenifer Neils and Dylan K. Rogers, 86–97. Cambridge Companions to the Ancient World. Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- CHAMPION, Vanessa A. – SMITH, B.A. (Hons). "*Pausanias in Athens: An Archaeological Commentary on the Agora of Athens*". University College London, Submitted for PhD examination 1998.
- CHIOTI, L. "*The Herulian invasion in Athens 267 AD*". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Athens, Athens 2018.
- CLARIDGE, Amanda with Contributions by TOMS Judith and CUBBERLEY Tony. "*Rome: an Oxford Archaeological Guide*". New York, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- CYPRIAN. "*Vita Caesarii Arelatensis*". 1.31; 11.30, 11.39 cited in Heijmans (2004) 129. Cited in: UNDERWOOD, Douglas R. "(Re)using Ruins: Public Building in the Cities of the Late Antique West, A.D. 300-600". Brill, 2019.
- DAGUAN, Zhou. "*A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People*". XIII century AD. Translated by HARRIS Peter. University of Washington Press, 2007.
- DICKENSON, Christopher P. "*Pausanias and the Archaic Agora at Athens*". Hesperia, The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, October-December 2015.
- EARLEY, Caitlin C. "*The Mesoamerican Ballgame*". Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, June 2017.
- EASTON, Mark – SALDAIS M. – DAVEY K. – SMITH R. – DUMOVIC V. "*The Khmer Empire - Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro*". Oxford University Press ANZ, January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022.
- EATON, Jeff. "*The Forum Romanum*". Honours Programme in Rome, University of Washington, January 9<sup>th</sup> 2004.
- FOUCAULT, Paul-Michel. "*Des Espace Autres. Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*". 1967.
- FOUCAULT, Paul-Michel. "*Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*". 1975.
- FREEMAN, Michael – FREEMAN, Claude Jacques. "*Ancient Angkor*". January 1<sup>st</sup> 2013.
- GALLE, Philipp after STRAET, Jan van der. "*Noua Reperta*". Antwerp, ca 1600.
- HANSEN, Mogan Herman. "*The Ancient Greek City-State*". Symposium on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, July 1<sup>st</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> 1992.
- HERODOTUS. "*Histories*". V century BC.
- HOMER. "*Odysee*". VI century BC.
- HORACE. "*Epistles I*". 20 BC.
- HÜLSEN, Christian. "*Il Foro Romano: Storia e Monumenti*". Ermanno Loescher & Co Editori di S. M. la Regina d'Italia, 1905.

IAKOVIDIS, Spyros. *"The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens"*. Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens, 1962 (E.V. 2006).

KHAIR, Tabish – EDWARDS, J.D. – LEER, M. – ZIADEH, H. *"Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing"*. Indiana University Press, January 30<sup>TH</sup> 2006.

KLASSEN, Sarah (Postdoctoral Researcher of Archaeological Sciences, Leiden University) - CARTER Alison Kyra, (Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Oregon). *"New research shows how many people lived in the Angkor Empire"*. University of Oregon, May 7<sup>th</sup> 2021.

KNOWLTON, Timothy W. – VAIL, Gabrielle. *"Hybrid Cosmologies in Mesoamerica: A Reevaluation of the Yax Cheel Cab, a Maya World Tree"*. Ethnohistory vol. 57, number 4, fall 2010.

MARINI, Sara – CENTANNI, M. – FREGOLENT, L. – FERLENGA, A. – EMERY, N. – CAPUTO, don G. – LOCATELLI, M. – PISANIELLO, P. – BRACCESI, L. – BASSANI, M. – CALAON, D. – PALUMBO, F. – VETTESE, A. – BRAMEZZA, I. – LAZZARINI, D. *"Vuoto/Pieno. I caratteri della Venezia che cambia"*. Edizioni Engramma, 2019.

MATHEWS, Jennifer P. – GARBER, James F. *"Models of Cosmic Order: Physical Expression of Sacred Space among the Ancient Maya"*. Cambridge University Press, January 1<sup>st</sup> 2004.

MONTGOMERY, Charles. *"Happy City, Transforming Our Lives Through Urban Design"*. 2003.

SCARRE, Chris – FAGAN, Brian M. – GOLDEN, Charles. *"Ancient Civilizations, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition"*. New York: Routledge, 2021.

SCHLESINGER, Victoria. *"Animals, and Plants of the Ancient Maya: A Guide"*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

SCHMALZ, Geoffrey C. R. *"The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered?"*. Hesperia, The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006.

SENNETT, Richard. *"Building and Dwelling, Ethics for the City"*. 2008.

SHARER, Robert J. – TRAXLER, Loa P. *"The Ancient Maya: 6<sup>th</sup> Edition"*. Stanford University Press, 2005.

SIDONIUS, Apollinaris. *"Epistles"*. V century.

SISSON, M. A. *"The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens"*. Papers of the British School at Rome 11, 1929.

STRAZZERI, Alice. *"La Comune di Parigi, il primo governo socialista della Storia"*. Storia Contemporanea, December 30<sup>th</sup> 2020.

TELLADO, Raúl Jiménez – ZHIB, Rabih. *"Where is the Agora in the Virtualized Society?"*. El País, April 17<sup>th</sup> 2021.

THOMPSON, Homer A. *"The Odeion in the Athenian Agora"*. Hesperia, The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1950.

THUCYDIDES. *"History of the Peloponnesian War"*. V century BC.

TITUS LIVIUS. *"Ab Urbe Condita"*. 27 – 9 BC.

VANDERBILT, University. *"The Maya Ball Game"*. Center for Latin American Studies.



## Glossary of References

1. Definition of agora noun from the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary.
2. G. Becatti, 'Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica', Enciclopedia Treccani, 1958.
3. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "agora". Encyclopedia Britannica, 15 Dec. 2017.
4. "polis, plural poleis, ancient Greek city-state. The small state in Greece originated probably from the natural divisions of the country by mountains and the sea and from the original local tribal (ethnic) and cult divisions. There were several hundred poleis, the history and constitutions of most of which are known only sketchily if at all. Thus, most ancient Greek history is recounted in terms of the histories of Athens, Sparta, and a few others." Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "polis". Encyclopedia Britannica, 11 Dec. 2017
5. Charles Montgomery, 'Happy City, transforming our lives through urban design', 2003.
6. Mogens Herman Hansen, 'The Ancient Greek City-State', Symposium on the occasion of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 14 July 1992.
7. Homer, *Odyssey*, book VI, 177f.; cf. 191-95, VI century BC.
8. Lohmann, Hans (Bochum), "Asty", 'Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity volumes', Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry, 2006.
9. Richard Sennett, 'Building and Dwelling, Ethics for the City', 22 February 2008.
10. Fabrizio Di Marco, 'Enciclopedia dei ragazzi', Enciclopedia Treccani, 2005
11. Scheme of an Ancient Greek pòlis, personal drawing.
12. Dahl, Robert A. "democracy". Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 Mar. 2021.
13. Stele with a relief showing Democracy crowning Dēmos (the people of Athens), ca. 337 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum, I 6524.
14. Herodotus, "The Histories", Book I 153, V century BC. Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1920.
15. Frye, R. N. "Cyrus the Great." Encyclopedia Britannica, April 10, 2020
16. "Plan of Persepolis", Encyclopædia Britannica Eleventh Edition, Vol.II, Page 376, 1 January 1911.
17. Speeches from Pericles, "The Peloponnesian War", Thucydides, Book II 37, V century BC.
18. "Eudaemonia." Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, Merriam-Webster.
19. Online dictionary, Enciclopedia Treccani.
20. Debates already started in Ancient Greece following, upon all, the different schools of thinking of Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Pyrrhus, the Stoics and the Sophists. Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas in Medieval times till the Critique of Kant in recent times.
21. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.1253a, IV century BC. Aristotle. Aristotle in 23 Volumes, Vol. 21, translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd. 1944.
22. See page 53, VI – Philosophy of Abandonment.
23. Rupestrian art, between 9,300 and 1,300 years ago. 'Cueva de las Manos', Río Pinturas, Argentina. Unesco Heritage, 4th December 1999.
24. "The Tablet on the Gudea Statue". A plan of an enclosure wall for a temple or other large building is shown. Note the graduated ruler at the top edge which provided an indication of scale. Size of the tablet: 12 x 24 cm. By permission of the Musée du Louvre, Paris. A.R. MILLARD, "Bibliography, 6 · Cartography in the Ancient Near East", University of Liverpool, January 1987.
25. This image was first published on Flickr. Original image by Larry Koester. Uploaded by Ibolya Horvath, published on 24 June 2021 under the following license: Creative Commons Attribution. 'World History Encyclopedia' <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/14341/code-of-hammurabi/>
26. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Tower of Babel". Encyclopedia Britannica, 27 Apr. 2020.
27. "Engraving of Babylon", Michael Nicholson, Corbis Historical Collection, 01 January 1900. "The Atlantic", Philip Ball, 10 February 2016. <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2016/02/babylonians-scientists/462150/>
28. Frye, R. N., Edzard, . Dietz O. and Soden, . Wolfram Th. von. "History of Mesopotamia." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 9, 2020.
29. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Babylonia." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 21, 2021.
30. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Sumer." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 13, 2019.
31. Saggs, H. W.F. "Babylon." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 7, 2021.
32. "The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered", *Hesperia*, Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006.
33. "Pausanias in Athens: An Archaeological Commentary on the Agora of Athens", Vanessa A. Champion, Smith B.A. (Hons), University College London, Submitted for PhD examination 1998.
34. "Pausanias and the Archaic Agora at Athens", Christopher P. Dickenson, *The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 2015.
35. "Proposed reconstruction of southeastern Athens", "The Athenian Prytaneion Discovered", *Hesperia*, Geoffrey C. R. Schmalz, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006.
36. "Also known as Building F, Camp postulates that it may have been a palace for the Peisistratids. Because the later Tholos was located on the same spot as the Prytanikon and included the same area in its enclosure, it has also been suggested that this structure served as a state dining hall.", Travlos 1971, 191, 210, 553; Wycherley 1978, 48; Camp 1986, 44-45; Agora Guide 1976, 56-57, Department of the Classics, Tufts University. 2002.
37. Starr, C. G. "Peisistratus." Encyclopedia Britannica, April 4, 2019.
38. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "stoa." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 26, 2013.
39. Hornblower, S.. "ancient Greek civilization." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 10, 2021.
40. Camp, John McK. "The Agora: Public Life and Administration." Chapter. In *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Athens*, edited by Jennifer Neils and Dylan K. Rogers, 86–97. Cambridge Companions to the Ancient World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
41. "Statues of tritons and giants shaped pillars along the former facade of the Odeon of Agrippa", Mstyslav Chernov, 26 February 2009.
42. Tourists Informations, Tours and activities related to Ancient Agora, *Greeka.com*. <https://www.greeka.com/attica/athens/sightseeing/athens-ancient-agora/>.
43. Klio Tsoga Archaeologist, "ODYSSEUS", Ministry of Culture and Sports, 2012. [http://odysseus.culture.gr/index\\_en.html](http://odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html).
44. N. G. Moschonas, Director of Research, National Foundation of Research, Archeology of the City of Athens. <http://archaeologia.cie.gr/archaeologia/En/Index.aspx>.
45. "Athenian Agora Excavations", The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. <http://www.agathe.gr/index.html>.
46. Cecconi N., *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*, 2017.
47. Chioti, L., "The Herulian invasion in Athens 267 AD", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Athens, Athens 2018
48. Hoff, M., "The Roman Agora at Athens", Boston 1988.
49. Thompson, H. "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora". *Hesperia*. 1950.
50. Iakovidis, S.E., "The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens", Athens 1962.
51. Papachatzis, N., "Pausanios Attica", Edotiki Athinon, Athens 2004.
52. Sisson, M.A. "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens", 1929.

53. Antonine Constitution, in Latin 'Constitutio Antoniniana', also known as the Edict of Caracalla, in which the 'Ius Civile' was extended to all inhabitants of the empire to implement integration reforms in 212AD. Integration reforms, started with the 'Ius Honorum' decree of Claudius in 48AD, that had already taken place at a political level in accepting senators of Gaelic origin. (Tacitus' speech on Integration).
54. Epistles, Book II, Epistle 1, lines 156-157. Horace, 20 BC.
55. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2016.
56. Badian, E., Grummond, . Nancy Thomson de, Saller, . Richard P., Petit, . Paul, MacMullen, . Ramsay, Forsythe, . Gary Edward, Vermeule, . Emily D. Townsend, Salmon, . Edward Togo, Ferguson, . John and Hornblower, . Simon. "ancient Rome." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 15, 2021.
57. Museu d'Història de la Ciutat, Drawing of Barcino. Barcino, Roman Barcelona, Student Activity Book.
58. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2016.
59. Figure 3.1. The Forum Romanum and Sacra Via in the mid-second century BCE. Wilson (2005) 128 fig. 1, after Gaggiotti in Roma: archeologia nel centro (1985) 57 fig. The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.
60. Ab Urbe Condita, XXVI, 27.1-4. Titus Livius, 27 BC - 9 BC.
61. The game of merels on the steps of Basilica Julia, Ancient Rome, Roman Forum, Basilica Julia. Colosseum Rome Tickets, 2019.
62. Figure 3.2. The Forum Romanum in the mid-first century BCE. CAH IX 2 370 fig. 2. The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.
63. Figure 3.3. The Forum Romanum in the Augustan period Giuliani/Verduchi (1987). The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.
64. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Roman Forum." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 14, 2020.
65. Claridge, Amanda. Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998.
66. University of Washington. Honours Programme in Rome. The Forum Romanum. eatonj / 09.01.2004
67. Foro Romano, Tommaso Gnoli, Enciclopedia Treccani, Enciclopedia dei ragazzi. 2005
68. The Definition of Public Space in Republican Rome, Amy Russell, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2011.
69. Glimpse remnants of the Roman Empire in the Colosseum, Roman Forum, and Via Appia. Britannica. [www.britannica.com/video/21918/Remains-Colosseum-Forum-of-Rome-Appian-Way](http://www.britannica.com/video/21918/Remains-Colosseum-Forum-of-Rome-Appian-Way).
70. Il Foro Romano, Storia e Monumenti da Christian Hülsen pubblicato da Ermanno Loescher & Co Editori di S. M. la Regina d'Italia, 1905.
71. View of the Campo Vaccino with the Arch of Septimius Severus, Caspar van Wittel, 1674 – 1736 work permanence period in Rome. Uploaded on October 24th, 2015. Fine Art America.
72. Medioevo, Enciclopedia Treccani.
73. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Middle Ages." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 6, 2021.
74. "L'imperatore Costantino e la conversione al Cristianesimo", Controconcilio, 15 April 2016. <https://controconcilio.wordpress.com/2016/04/15/imperatore-costantino-e-la-conversione-al-cristianesimo>
75. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Council of Arles." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 17, 2020.
76. Sid. Apoll. Epistles 1.11; Cyprian, Vita Caesaris Arelatensis 1.31; 11.30, 11.39 cited in Heijmans (2004) 129.
77. '(Re)using Ruins: Public Building in the Cities of the Late Antique West, A.D 300-600', Douglas Underwood, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2019.
78. Barbarian Invasions and Saracens, Provence & Beyond, Copyright 1995-2019, Russ Collins - All Rights Reserved.
79. "The amphitheater was made a fortress, packed with houses, in the eighth century, on account of Saracen incursions."—Myers, 1905
80. Personal thoughts.
81. Medioevo, Enciclopedia Treccani.
82. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Middle Ages." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 6, 2021.
83. Rinascimento, Enciclopedia Treccani.
84. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Renaissance." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 12, 2021.
85. Whitfield, J. Humphreys. "Petrarch." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 16, 2021. Petrarch Petrarch, engraving. Georgios Kollidas/stock.adobe.co
86. Medieval Academy of America, The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern, Richard Landes, Speculum, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 97-145, Boston University, 04 November 2011.
87. Alma Mater Studiorum, University of Bologna, <https://www.unibo.it/en/university/who-we-are/our-history>.
88. Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, University of Naples, <http://www.unina.it/chi-siamo/cenni-storici>.
89. From the Middle Ages to 1750, Medieval advance (500–1500 CE), Buchanan, R. Angus. "history of technology." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020.
90. From the Middle Ages to 1750, Medieval advance (500–1500 CE), Buchanan, R. Angus. "history of technology." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020.
91. 'L'Agricoltura dopo il Mille', Vocabolario Treccani. [www.treccani.it/export/sites/default/scuola/lezioni/storia/AGRICOLTURA\\_DOPO\\_IL\\_MILLE\\_lezione\\_nc.pdf](http://www.treccani.it/export/sites/default/scuola/lezioni/storia/AGRICOLTURA_DOPO_IL_MILLE_lezione_nc.pdf)
92. 'Nova Reperta', Philipp Galle, Antwerp, ca 1600. 'New Discoveries of Middle Ages', Science in Art, E.C. Watson, 12 April 1949
93. "In Todi, religious and civil power share the same square: on one side is the monumental complex of secular buildings, including the Palazzi del Podestà and the Capitano del Popolo, and on the other is the cathedral." 'Spazi pubblici nel Medioevo italiano', Diario dell'Arte, Arte Medievale Aprile 24, 2018.
94. The Broletto courtyard in Brescia, Photo by Wolfgang Moroder, 16 Maggio 2020.
95. Giotto, San Francesco rinuncia ai beni terreni, 1290-95, basilica superiore, Assisi.
96. Fontana Maggiore a Perugia, Dawid Skalec, 8 December 2013.
97. 'Il Teatro di Florentia', Photo Collage, Musei Civici Fiorentini
98. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Palio." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 19, 2009.
99. Italy Magazine, <https://www.italymagazine.com/dual-language/palio-di-siena-horse-race>.
100. 'Vuoto/Pieno. I caratteri della Venezia che cambia', Sara Marini, Monica Centanni, Laura Fregolent, Alberto Ferlenga, Nicola Emery, don Gianmatteo Caputo, Massimiliano Locatelli, Patrizia Pisaniello, Lorenzo Braccesi, Maddalena Bassani, Diego Calaon, Francesco Palumbo, Angela Vettese, Ilaria Bramezza, Daniela Lazzarini. Engramma, Vuoto/pieno. I caratteri della Venezia che cambia: La Rivista di Engramma 155, Aprile 2018: Vol. 155 Copertina flessibile – 5 dicembre 2019.
101. 'Spazi pubblici nel Medioevo italiano', Diario dell'Arte, Arte Medievale Aprile 24, 2018.
102. Lucca Piazza dell'Anfiteatro, Kasa Fue, September 2021.
103. Hagen, V. Wolfgang von, Bushnell, . Geoffrey H.S., Murra, . John V., Coe, . Michael Douglas, Sanders, . William T., Patterson, . Thomas C., Willey, . Gordon R. and Soustelle, . Jacques. "pre-Columbian civilizations." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 18, 2020. - Pauls, E. Prine. "Native American." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 17, 2021.
104. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Mesoamerican civilization summary". Encyclopedia Britannica, 14 Mar. 2003 - Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia.
105. 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.
106. "Maya." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 31, 2020. – 'The First Maya Civilization, Ritual and Power Before the Classic Period', Francisco Estrada-Belli, 2011.

107. 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.
108. 'The Mayan Calendar', History on the Net, 2000-2022, Salem Media. <https://www.historyonthenet.com/the-mayan-calendar>.
109. Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project - "The City at the Beginning of the World, the only Maya city with an urban grid may embody a creation myth", Lizzie Wade, Archaeological Institute of America, July/August 2018.
110. 'The Ancient Maya', Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, Sharer, Robert J., 2006.
111. "Maya." Encyclopaedia Britannica, August 31, 2020. – 'The First Maya Civilization, Ritual and Power Before the Classic Period', Francisco Estrada-Belli, 2011.
112. Courtesy Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project. GPS scan from flying drones on Nixtun-Ch'ich', 2013. Timothy Pugh/Itza Archaeological Project - "The City at the Beginning of the World, the only Maya city with an urban grid may embody a creation myth", Lizzie Wade, Archaeological Institute of America, July/August 2018. <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/303-1807/features/6684-maya-urban-grid>
113. Tikkanen, A. "New Seven Wonders of the World." Encyclopedia Britannica, Invalid Date.
114. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.
115. 'Xtoloc Cenote at Chichen Itza', Salhedine, 31 December 2004, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacred\\_Cenote#/media/File:Cenote\\_Xtoloc\\_en\\_Chich%C3%A9n\\_Itz%C3%A1.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacred_Cenote#/media/File:Cenote_Xtoloc_en_Chich%C3%A9n_Itz%C3%A1.jpg)
116. 'City and Town Planning of the Maya', Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures, Wendy Ashmore, University of California, Riverside, January 2014.
117. Canadian Museum of History.
118. 'Maya Government', World History Encyclopaedia, Maria C. Gomez, 20 April 2018.
119. Knowlton, Timothy W., and Gabrielle Vail. "Hybrid Cosmologies in Mesoamerica: A Reevaluation of the Yax Cheel Cab, a Maya World Tree." *Ethnohistory* 57.4 (2010): 709-39. Print.
120. Mathews, Jennifer P., and James F. Garber. "Models of Cosmic Order: Physical Expression of Sacred Space among the Ancient Maya." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 15.1 (2004): 49-59. Print.
121. Schlesinger, Victoria. *Animals, and Plants of the Ancient Maya: A Guide*. (2001) University of Texas Press, Austin.
122. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Quetzalcóatl." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 4, 2019.
123. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.
124. 'Equinox at the Temple of Kukulcán in Chichén Itzá', Gray Line, Cancun Blog, <https://graylinecancun.com/blog/equinox-temple-kukulcan-chichen-itza/>.
125. 'The Maya Ball Game', Vanderbilt University, Centre for Latin American Studies, <https://cdn.vanderbilt.edu/vu-wp0/wp-content/uploads/sites/99/2017/06/09204236/The-Maya-Ball-Game.pdf>
126. 'An Exploration of the Great Ball Court at Chichen Itza', MAGGIEANDYASMIN, 19 March 2013, <https://mesoamericanballgames.wordpress.com/2013/03/19/an-exploration-of-the-great-ball-court-at-chichen-itza/>.
127. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.
128. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "tlachtli." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 23, 2019.
129. 'Ball Court of Chichén Itzá', Ashley Foster, HistoricalMX.
130. Cottini, R. (2012). *Exploring Chichén Itzá Archaeological Manual*.
131. Earley, Caitlin C. "The Mesoamerican Ballgame." In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, June 2017. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mball/hd\\_mball.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mball/hd_mball.htm)
132. 'Drawing of the Grand Ball Court in Chichen Itza, representation with spectators during a match'. 'The Maya Ball Game' Vanderbilt University, Center for Latin American Studies.
133. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.
134. 'Ancient Maya marketplace', *World Archaeology* Issue 45, 11 January 2011.
135. 'The Market in Chichen Itza' <https://mayanpeninsula.com/market-chichen-itza/>.
136. 'The Market Place', <https://www.chichenitza.com/the-market-place>.
137. Fig. 110 (p. 151) - A plan of Chichen Itza (Yucatan, Mexico) with the tetradic inspired Castello (or Pyramid of Kukulcan) at a central place in the northern part. STIERLIN, Henri (1981). *The Art of Maya*. Evergreen/Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, Köln. An excellent, early contribution – with maps - is given by RUPPERT, Karl (1953). *Chichen Itza: Architectural Notes and Plans*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 595. Washington, D.C.
138. 'The Fall of Chichen Itza: A Preliminary Hypothesis', *Latin American Antiquity*, Vol. 1, No. 3 pp. 258-267, Cambridge University, September 1990
139. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Chichén Itzá." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 4, 2021.
140. 'Artistic Recreation of a Mayan City', u/Vyerism, 2020. [https://www.reddit.com/r/a:t5\\_2yd2o/comments/esw41n/artistic\\_recreation\\_of\\_a\\_mayan\\_city/](https://www.reddit.com/r/a:t5_2yd2o/comments/esw41n/artistic_recreation_of_a_mayan_city/)
141. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.
142. 'The Khmer Empire at its Greatest Extent, around 1200 AD' The Oxford Press, 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.
143. Overton, L. C. and Chandler, David P. "Cambodia." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 10, 2021.
144. 'Ancient Civilizations', Chris Scarre, Brian Fagan, Charles Golden, 08 April 2021.
145. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.
146. Smith, W.. "flag of Cambodia." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 16, 2008.
147. 'The Bakong mountain-temple' <https://www.renown-travel.com/cambodia/angkor/bakong.html>.
148. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022 (Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
149. *Cambodian-English Dictionary* by Robert K. Headley, Kylin Chhor, Lam Kheng Lim, Lim Hak Kheang, and Chen Chun Catholic University Press, 1977.
150. Freeman and Jacques, 24., 'AD Classics: Angkor Wat' David Douglass-Jaimes. 13 Oct 2018.
151. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Angkor Wat." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 11, 2020.
152. 'AD Classics: Angkor Wat' David Douglass-Jaimes. 13 Oct 2018.
153. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022 (Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
154. Moat Around Angkor Wat, Unesco World is a photograph by David Wall which was uploaded on August 11th, 2017. <https://pixels.com/featured/moat-around-angkor-wat-unesco-world-david-wall.html>
155. 'New research shows how many people lived in the Angkor Empire', Sarah Klassen, postdoctoral researcher of archaeological sciences, Leiden University, and Alison Kyra Carter, assistant professor of anthropology, University of Oregon, 18 May 2021.
156. Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
157. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Bayon, the." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 14, 2009.

158. 'lidar data map tens of thousands of archaeological features at Angkor...organic materials and on wooden posts, these structures are long gone and not visible on the landscape. But lidar revealed a complex urban landscape complete with city blocks', 'New research shows how many people lived in the Angkor Empire', Sarah Klassen, postdoctoral researcher of archaeological sciences, Leiden University, and Alison Kyra Carter, assistant professor of anthropology, University of Oregon, 18 May 2021. <https://around.uoregon.edu/content/new-research-shows-how-many-people-lived-angkor-empire>
159. Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
160. Image by Luis Davilla / Getty Images. <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/cambodia/angkor-thom/attractions/bayon/a/poi-sig/500534/1318768>.
161. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.
162. Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
163. Zhou Daguan (2007). A Record of Cambodia. Translated by Peter Harris. University of Washington Press.
164. Tabish Khair, ed. (2006). Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing. Indiana University Press. p. 115.
165. Cardiff de Alejo Garcia - Passing Notes - Smithsonian Magazine "History & Archaeology"
166. Cardiff de Alejo Garcia - Passing Notes - Smithsonian Magazine "History & Archaeology".
167. Zhou Daguan (2007). A Record of Cambodia. Translated by Peter Harris. University of Washington Press. p. 70.
168. The Orthogonal plan of Angkor Thom', Jacques Gaucher, World heritage review 68, p. 58-59, illus., 2013.
169. 'The Orthogonal Plan of Angkor Thom, as received by Jaccques Gaucher in 2007', , Jacques Gaucher, World heritage review 68, p. 60, illus., 2013.
170. 'The Khmer Empire', Chapter 13, Oxford Humanities 8 Student Book+Student obook pro, Mark Easton, Maggy Saldais, Katrina Davey, Richard Smith, Vladimir Dumovic, 13th January 2022.
171. Reynolds, F. E.. "Angkor." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 15, 2020.
172. UNESCO World Heritage List, Angkor, 1992. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/668/>.
173. 'Holger Behr - Own work , composed from various mapreferences', Map (rough) of Angkor Wat, Cambodja, 3 January 2007
174. 'Where is the Agora in the Vistrualizes Society?', Raul Jimenez Tellado, Rabih Zbib, 17th April 2021.
175. Personal analyses about the raise of totalitarianisms in Europe on the reading of 'The Origins of Totalitarianism', Hannah Arendt, 1951.
176. 'Where is the Agora in the Vistrualizes Society?', Raul Jimenez Tellado, Rabih Zbib, 17th April 2021.
177. 'Des Espace Autres, Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', Michel Foucault, 1967.
178. 'Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison', Michel Foucault, 1975.
179. Personal drawing, Heterotopian Panoptical Square.
180. Personal analyses.
181. 'Le 28 Juillet. La Liberté guidant le peuple', Eugène Delacroix, 1830. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
182. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "French Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, September 10, 2020.
183. Rivoluzione Francese, Enciclopedia Online Treccani.
184. 'Une exécution capitale, place de la Révolution (Place de la Concorde)', Pierre-Antoine Demachy, 1793. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
185. 'For Marx, the urban proletariat' "fourth estate." Oxford Reference.
186. 'Il Quarto Stato', Giuseppe Pelizza da Volpedo, 1868-1907. Museo del Novecento, Milano.
187. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Industrial Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 21, 2021.
188. 'A Victorian Slum in London', Birmingham Live, BBC, 8th February 2016.
189. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Peterloo Massacre." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 17, 2021.
190. 'luddismo', Storia Digitale, Dizionario Zanichelli Online, March 2013.
191. 'Peterloo Massacre', Richard Carlile, 1819. Manchester Libraries, UK.
192. 'La questione sociale nel XIX secolo: storia e pensiero del movimento operaio europeo', Michele Tommasi, Studenti Storia.
193. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Revolutions of 1848." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 12, 2020.
194. 'Rivoluzioni del 1848', Dizionario di Storia, Dizionario Treccani Online.
195. Milano. Combattimento sul corso di porta Orientale presso San Babila il giorno 19 marzo 1848 (Episodio delle Cinque Giornate), 1848 (analisi storica, datata/o), litografia, Comune di Milano, Raccolta delle Stampe "Achille Bertarelli".
196. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Commune of Paris." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 11, 2021.
197. 'La Comune di Parigi, il primo governo socialista della Storia', Alice Strazzeri, Storia Contemporanea, 30 Dicembre 2020.
198. 'The Paris Commune: an ode to emancipation', Socialist Resistance, 19th September 2021.
199. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Industrial Revolution." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 21, 2021.
200. 'La questione sociale nel XIX secolo: storia e pensiero del movimento operaio europeo', Michele Tommasi, Studenti Storia.
201. Striking workers raise the Red Flag in St George's Square in Glasgow, 31 January 1919.
202. '1945 Partigiani, with weapons and flags, march on Piazza San Marco, Venezia', Archivio Luce, 25 Aprile la Liberazione.
203. 'Stop the War in Ukraine!', Plein 1992, Maastricht, 26th February 2022. News in English – RTV Maastricht, Facebook.