The Social and Cultural Conception of Space in Early Modern European Utopias.

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The Candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Long Abstract

This thesis investigates the of the role of space in early modern utopianism. Its chronological scope covers the period between 1516 and 1720. The selection of this exact time span is justified by the publication dates of two canonical utopian works—Thomas More's *Utopia* in 1516 and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719. However, in order to illuminate the continuities and breaks between early modern utopian thought with that of the previous and following eras, some representative examples from the Classical and medieval periods are also examined. Space figured prominently in early modern utopian thought and projects. So much so, that it is a distinguishing characteristic of the era's utopian literature. It is one of the main facets separating it from modern utopianism, which fixated on time and the euchronia: a trend that began with the publication of Luis Sebastien Mercier's *L'An 2440* in 1771. Hence, the prominent role of space in early modern utopianism is what delineates it from both modern and medieval examples.

This thesis proposes a new investigation of utopia's spatiality based on the early modern geographical and cartographical conventions, in particular, the division of space into geos, topos, and choros. These spatial categories were first used by Claudius Ptolemy (100-170) in his *Geography* (*c.* 150). Ptolemy's work, however, also significantly influenced early modern cosmographers like Peter Apian (1495-1552) and Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594). Apian, for example, employed exactly the same qualitative and quantitative spatial divisions as Ptolemy in his *Cosmographia* (1524). According to Apian geography was quantitative, requiring complex mathematics in order to represent space on a large scale as accurately as possible. Conversely topography and chorography were qualitative divisions of space concerned with the

meaning and unique features of smaller spatial partitions. Obviously, these three terms were part of an artificial hierarchical division of space that descended from the larger scale of geos to the smaller ones of topos and choros. My utilisation of these terms is to some extent idiosyncratic because I use chorography to mean a smaller partition of space than topography. This usage departs from that of modern geography and is closer to the term's definition in the early modern era.

Additionally, by examining the topography and chorography of early modern utopianism this thesis wishes to counter the view of utopia's architecture as unimaginative and victim of an allegorical aridity, by pointing out the pragmatic approach that the early modern utopian authors and founders of intentional communities took in the designing their cities and updating their initial ideas to the needs of their communities and the obstacles that their surroundings posed. I further argue that is was space which kept utopian thought in contact with contemporary debates surrounding social reform and improvement. In the context of this analysis I use the term 'space' to denote a physical, geographical site easily translatable into a geographical area or point on a map. Space is neutral and bereft of human experience and should be separated from 'place' which is the combination of space and time. A space is transformed into a place only after it is embedded with human experience and is explored, categorised and utilised. The ancient Greek term '*topos'* that I use frequently in this thesis is synonymous with 'place', and is understood as the result of human contact with a given space. Previous work on early modern utopianism tends to synonymise topos to simple space, attributing to it either a secondary role in the shaping of the ideal society or neglecting it entirely. In both cases it is understood as empty and static, used only to provide a form of suspension of disbelief for the reader by adding a veneer of plausibility.

However, drawing from early modern cosmographical writings and intellectual movements in combination with contemporary theoretical works about spatial politics by radical geography scholars like Doreen Massey, I claim that the role of space in early modern utopia was uniquely complex and directly linked with early modern exploration and travel as well as debates on the ideal utilisation of space. In my view topos in utopia was essential on many levels from encouraging the reader to contemplate his/her society's shortcomings through cognitive estrangement, to supplying practical solutions for problems of scarcity and the utilisation of natural resources, to generating and disseminating entirely new sets of values and ways of life.

My focus on space has necessitated a broad and eclectic selection of sources. These sources range from canonical early modern utopian texts, like *Utopia*, *New Atlantis* (1627) and *City of the Sun* (1602), to other literary genres like plays and travel accounts to visual sources including medieval and early modern cartographical depictions of the world, topographical sketches of Renaissance and early modern cities, town plans and paintings of utopian spaces. While space is the focus of my project, I provide a short overview of previous scholarship on early modern utopia. Additionally, I examine More's *Utopia* and the problems posed by his ambivalent stance towards his ideal society as well as the ironic title to investigations of space in utopia. Moreover, in the introduction I analyse the impact that the scientific revolution, and Renaissance globalisation had on space and utopia, claiming that early modern utopia should be seen as part of what Giuseppe Mazzota termed *cosmopoiesis*—a process where poetry, ethics, science, architecture and politics were fused together, in order to construct worlds and alternative paradigms.

In addition, I present and utilise key concepts and theories in my analysis of utopian space as the locus of political and social experimentation, including Foucault's

treatment of utopia as ‘the founder of discursivity’. By incorporating this view into my analysis, I hope to underline both the dialectical and ambivalent nature of the genre, which is simultaneously fictional and relevant to contemporary debates. This dichotomy undergirds my definition of utopia as part of a wider discourse and not simply as a narrow literary genre limited to descriptions of an ideal society. Hence, I claim that utopia’s function as an alternative paradigm within a specific cultural, social and political context is its most important feature.

I have adopted this functionalistic definition of utopia in order to contend with the problem that the composite character of early modern utopias poses to any effort to categorise them. Hence, I see early modern utopia as the product of the intellectual environment of its period, having the specific function of offering both criticism and alternatives to the dominant contemporary social, political and economic paradigms. Early modern utopias were part of a discourse that was interdependent with the real world and its problems.

In the first chapter, I focus on the importance of geographical imagination in early modern utopianism. I examine how Classical heritage and Christianity influenced the way the world was viewed in geographical and poetical terms until the fifteenth century, when the first rifts with this tradition took place due to renewed interest in geography and the Age of Navigation. A significant portion of the chapter pertains to the role of utopian protagonist as link between different spaces and paradigms. More’s Hythloday or Campanella’s unnamed Genoese captain did not simply serve the to further plot, they were also vital to utopias’ aim to produce cognitive estrangement by bringing two separate value systems into contact. In addition, this chapter also looks at characteristic works of medieval and early modern cartography, focusing on their

representation of ideal topoi. I claim that the moralised and Christianised vision of the cosmos depicted by the T-O maps gradually declined in relevance during the late medieval period due to new geographical knowledge of the Americas that could not be reconciled with the old cosmological model.

In the second chapter I investigate the regional geography and the natural environment of early modern utopias and their importance to their function as ideal societies. Initially, I look at the preferred space of utopia, the island, and how its marginality and enclosure rendered it the perfect setting for visions of alternative societies. In an effort to better understand early modern utopian geography I also examine other kinds of ideal societies with Classical and medieval origins. I compare the natural environments of Arcadias, Cockaignes, social satires, earthly paradises and Golden Age myths and contrast the passive stance these older ideal societies took towards their natural surroundings to the active consideration of environmental resources taken by geographical utopias. My analysis reveals how the relationship between an ideal society and its space defines the character of its vision.

In Chapter three the focus is shifted to the utopian topography and its main expression: the city. The study of the early modern utopian city—their design, purpose and functions—illuminates important aspects and values of the societies they housed. For this reason, I contextualise the various visions of utopian cities by examining contemporary theories of urban design and of real city-building projects. This category of evidence allows us to understand how the Renaissance and the early modern city became the focus of various utopian experiments and proposals that strived to create well-ordered, safer and healthier living environments. This comparison proves how the early modern utopian city was heavily indebted to the Renaissance ideal city, as

imagined by Alberti and Filarete, in its planning. However, it also reveals how the utopian city, being the expression of a new social and political paradigm, superseded the limited visions of the ideal city that simply confirmed the already established status quo espoused by the patrons of Renaissance architects. This crucial difference is emphasised by my examination of the few instances of renovations and new cities established in Europe during the early modern period. These cities followed ideal city architecture principles, town-plans and aesthetic ideals. Such cities include the rebuilding of Pienza, ordered by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini a leading humanist and executed by Bernardo Rossellino, and the city of Freudenstadt ordered by the Duke Frederick I of Wurttemberg whose architect Heinrich Schickhardt followed closely an ideal town-plan by Albert Dürer. Finally, the chapter closes with an examination of utopian cities such as Amaurote and Christianopolis and intentional communities like the Jesuit reductions and New Haven. These communities underline how despite the fact that the form of utopian cities obeyed the values of the society they contained, significant consideration was given to the practical aspects of its survival.

Chapter four concerns the choros of utopia. In it I claim that the chorography of the utopian city was linked more emphatically than any other spatial category to the principles and values of its community. If the town-plan and the topography was expressing these values, the chorography was essential for their production and maintenance. In my view the utopian choros was crucial for the education and moulding of utopian citizens. Furthermore, I examine real choroi embedded with utopian qualities like the hospital, the college and the monastery spaces. I then compare their architectural similarities and function with similar spaces in early modern utopian literature. Moreover, the ambivalent character of these small spaces and their existence inside or next to real communities leads me to characterise them as heterotopias. In

doing so I borrow Foucault's term, emphasizing the communal organisation of the school and monastery and their capacity to create rifts in normality and to open new possibilities for the people entering them. In the last part of the chapter, I shift my focus to utopian choroi in the New World, such as the pueblo-hospitals in Mexico and the Jesuit reductions. The chorographical order of these communities indicates their role as disseminators of a desired habitus, according to colonial and Church authorities, to the indigenous population that could ensure their integration in the new political and social reality.

Finally, the fifth chapter discusses utopias situated in an antipodean or austral setting. It traces the parallel routes of European colonial expansion and utopian hopes in spaces like Madagascar, the hypothetical Terra Australia and the islands of the South Pacific. Emphasis is given to the way antipodean theory was employed by early modern writers, like Bishop Hall's *Mundus alter et Idem*, to create satirical and anti-utopian works. These upside-down settings could serve to criticise the shortcomings of their contemporary European societies. The chapter moves to the commercial and colonial expansion of the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. I examine how strong regional powers influenced and limited early modern European colonialism in Asia. I argue that this comparatively constrained expansion resulted in Asia being an undesirable setting for utopias. The few utopias that were located in this region were typically set in the 'empty' space of Australia. Finally, I analyse Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* pointing out the how in its hero's persona the colonial and the utopian desires finally merged. This leads to a vision of settler utopia with Crusoe transforming the desert island he found himself in utopia, by taming its nature through hard work. An individualistic utopian vision that celebrated the hard work and improvement dates back in the early modern geographical utopia to More.

Defoe, however, eschews any vision of alternative communal and political organisation, focusing instead on land appropriation and personal gain.

Short Abstract

This research attempts a new analysis of the early modern utopianism's space based on the Ptolemaic tripartite division of space into geos, topos and choros. This study unfolds through a selection of sources that represent the various patterns and the diversity of the uses of space not only in early modern utopian literature but also in intentional communities and colonial projects of the period. In the beginning, it examines the association of utopia with the newly discovered lands of the Americas and the Terra Australis and how the existence of these 'empty' in the eyes of the Europeans spaces gave new impetus to dreams for an alternative, better society. It then proceeds to an examination of the complex relationship that various expressions of utopianism had with the geographical space and natural environment underlining how their differences are manifested in their perception of nature. Additionally, based on the Ptolemaic cartographic practices, this thesis provides an overview of utopian space that, illuminates the different functions it fulfilled in early modern visions of ideal societies, thus highlighting the importance that was given to space for providing solutions to the various problems that the period's European societies faced. Hence, moving away from the traditional view that understands utopian space as unimaginative, symbolic and static and this thesis emphasises how realistic the utopian space was and how important this element was for the articulation of realistic alternative political and social paradigms. For this reason, great care is given to understand and illuminate the open dialogue that early modern utopias maintained with the real world, through their mutual concern for the best possible utilisation of their space—a mutual dialogue that influenced various fields such as architecture and public health policies both in utopia and the real world.

Corrections list

I attempted to address all of the major issues identified by the examiners in their report by following their suggestions and guidelines. The principle suggestion I decided to follow was to emphasize the use of the Ptolemaic tripartite division of space in early modern utopias. To this end, I focused on the value of Ptolemaic cartographical and geographical categories to early modern cosmographers and geographers and their adoption in utopian conceptions of space.

For this reason, I reorganised chapters 1 and 2 to focus on the importance of Ptolemy's work as both a source of inspiration for a new model of geos and as a substitution for the Classical and medieval *oecumene.* In comparison to *oecumene*, Ptolomaic spatial division offered a new normalised, mathematical geographical model that was able to accommodate the discovery of new lands without corrupting the moralised balance of geos the dictated in *oecumene*. This new model created a space that was both disenchanted and unified where ideal societies like More's *Utopia* and Bacon's *New Atlantis* could be imagined as part of the same world as the author's society, susceptible to the same natural laws.

In the introduction, I supplemented my theoretical discussion about the definition of utopia with additional theoretical works by Sargent and Hölscher. This was done in response to literature suggestions made by my examiners. Also in this chapter, I offered a brief analysis of Karl Mannheim's concepts of utopia and ideology and of the Bakhtinian chronotope. Finally, I touch on Tom Moylan's concept of 'critical utopia' in relation to my own definition of utopia which is based on the work of Darko Suvin.

The concept of heterotopia and Foucault's subdivisions of it were included in chapter 4 as part of the presentation of the heterotopian choroi. Additionally, discussions of heterotopia were added to the introduction and chapter 5. I attempted to illustrate the association between heterotopia and colonialism by focusing on the heterotopias of compensation and deviance and their link with colonial projects. I took Thomas Howard's colonization scheme of Madagascar and Charles Johnson's account of Libertatia as representative examples of both kinds.

I tried to address the unfounded generalizations in the body of the thesis by reinforcing my argument through an examination of the major historiographical views about Renaissance humanism's originality and impact. This discussion is also part of the introduction. Moreover, I tried to clarify my argument about the differences between medieval and early modern attitudes towards nature by supplementing it with additional supportive material.

Moving to more specific concerns voiced by the examiners, due to a lack of clarity in my writing, my characterization as the empty space of Gonzalo's uninhabited island in *The Tempest* was misunderstood as referring to Caliban's island. For this reason, I supplemented my description of Caliban's island with an analysis of Prospero's role as coloniser and civiliser and on how this attitude coincides with and differs from More's Utopus.

In chapter 3, I tried to distinguish my analysis of the Renaissance ideal city from Rosenau's by putting greater emphasis on the origins of Renaissance architectural theories and their concern with creating urban environments that would serve the ideals and needs of the community. Both the architectural theories and their underlying ideologies were crystallised by the works of Alberti, Filarete and Martini. The reason

my examination of paradigms mirrors Rosenau in places is due to a typified genealogy of ideal cities included in all works concerning early modern utopian cities. However, I tried to focus my analysis more on the social and political aspects of these town-plans and less on their technical and aesthetic elements highlighted by Rosenau. That said, I felt obliged to analyse these components in order to underline the shared architectural vocabulary of early modern utopian cities.

Similarly, in my examination of the garden I added additional material from various articles found in A. Giesecke and N. Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect? Nature, utopia and the garden* to my analysis. I also discuss Marin's analysis of Utopia's Hall. In the same chapter, I briefly presented the spatial and descriptive divisions of 'chorographic' and 'communicentric' utilized by R. Kagan and F. Mariás in their *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*. I juxtaposed them to my own use of topography and chorography, explaining where they differ and how my choice, like theirs, was dictated by available sources. Moreover, I used Antoine du Pinet's comments in *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plvsievres villes et forteresses* (1564) about the nature of chorography to further illustrate the importance of the descriptive conventions of the period. These conventions reveal the inevitable inadequacy of Marin's effort to reconstruct a holistic image of Utopia's island by synthesizing geographical, topographical and chorographical descriptions due to the qualitative and quantitative incompatibility of these categories.

Finally, in chapter 5 I underlined how the Antipodes as a geographical concept were not part of the normalised Ptolemaic world model and thus could serve as an inspiration for satirical and antiutopian fiction replete with metaphysical elements and monster races. The utopian works that used the Antipodes as their setting took advantage of the Classical and medieval image of the Antipodes as topsy-turvy worlds.

Finally, based on Artur Blaim's works on Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe,* I underlined the lack of communitarian ideals in the Robinsonade and the works departure from its utopian origins. This analysis is meant to highlight how Defoe's work was representative of a late eighteenth century Robinsonade's transformation into a more action-oriented genre.

Additional images

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ὅτι ἐν πλήθει σοφίας πλῆθος γνώσεως, καὶ ὁ προστιθεὶς γνῶσιν προσθήσει ἄλγημα

Ecclesiastes 1:18

To my parents, Lampros Triantafyllos and Maria Palamianaki, who gave their son a more utopian future through their selflessness, love and hard work.

«Αχ, σιωπή παντοτινή του Είναι σπλαχνοσύνη»

Ν. Καρούζος

Στην Άλκηστη

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List of Abbreviations

EIC	East India Company
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie

Introduction

This thesis proposes a new way of understanding the spatial arrangements early modern utopia,[1] based on the Ptolemaic tripartite geographical and cartographical divisions of space into geos, choros and topos. By focusing on these divisions of space as they were conceived by Ptolemy (100-170 BCE) in his *Geography* (c. 150 BCE) and elaborated by his early modern successors, I aim to underline the importance that Ptolemy's model had for reconceptualizing the world as geographical space that was unified and normalised, a notion that differed from the Classical and Medieval moralised model of the *oecumene*. This view ascribed to the cosmos' geography rigid frontiers and a periphery governed by extremities in direct opposition to the Christian European heartland's climate, ethos, geography, and population. Secondly, I wish to underline the separate roles that the geographical, chorographical and topographical spaces fulfilled in visions of imaginary better societies and how these spatial divisions were accompanied by a correspondent cartographical one that defined the way they were described and how they could be combined to produce a larger image of the cosmos. Finally, I intend to emphasise how the strong connection that the early modern utopia's city shared with the town-planning and architecture of the real-world cities negate any criticism that relegates them to a symbolic or decorative role.

Hence, the corner stone of my analysis is the role that the tripartite division of space into geos, topos and choros played in early modern utopias. The categories of

[1] Due to the numerous times that the term 'utopia' is used in this thesis and its multiple meanings some clarifications are needed to help the reader navigate the text.
'*Utopia*' refers to the literary work by Thomas More published in 1516.
'Utopia' refers to the island and fictional country that More described in his homonymous work.
'utopia' and its plural form 'utopias' refers to literary works that followed the model set by More and described fictional better societies located in faraway lands.

geographic, topographic and chorographic are taken from Ptolemy's *Geography* but in the context of this study their meaning is to some extent idiosyncratic. Ptolemy separated geography, the description of the whole earth, from topography and chorography by its unique scope and nature. Geography was quantitative and required complex mathematics in order to represent space on a large scale as accurately as possible, while topography and chorography were qualitative divisions of space concerned with the meaning and the unique features of smaller spatial partitions. Hence, they were usually described in a textual form and not through a cartographic depiction as was the case with geography.[2]

The reason I call my use of these terms idiosyncratic is due to the myriad meanings ascribed to them during the Renaissance when Ptolemy's *Geography* was rediscovered. The Byzantine monk Maximos Planudes (c. 1255-c. 1305) discovered a manuscript of *Geography* around 1300 but the work reached Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century where it became the core theoretical text for the period's cosmography and geography. Ptolemy, for example, never gave a fine-grained definition of the term chorography, saying only that it was the detailed description of a particular place.[3] Ptolemy's limited definition, however, provoked various interpretations, and, due to Plato's use of the term choros and its similarity to the word chora (land), the term was often synonymised with region. This use has become canonical in modern geography where chorography means the description of a region. Nevertheless, my use of the terms is borrowed from sixteenth century cosmography and in particular from Peter Apian's *Cosmographia* (1524). Apian uses the head as an analogy to describe the various divisions of space. For Appian the description of the

[2] M. R. Curry, 'Toward a Geography of a World without Maps: Lessons from Ptolemy and Postal Codes,' *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 95/3 (2005), pp. 682-4.
[3] C. Ptolemy, *The Geography*, ed. and tr E. L. Stevenson (New York, Dover, 1991), pp. 23-6.

whole head was the aim of geography while the description of the nose or an ear was the purpose of chorography.[4] In practice, chorography was concerned with the description of a smaller entity, a city, a castle or a building site.[5]

Another problem arises from the similar meanings ascribed to chorography and topography, or by the reversed meaning that they had in certain geographical traditions. For example, in English works like John Leland's (1503-1552) 'Itinerary' notebooks the term topography is used to describe smaller spaces than the ones described by chorography.[6] My inverted, at least to the current usage, use of these terms has to do with their function. Topography aspired to the accurate description of the order of a place, and for this reason I am using it as a larger division of space than chorography. In particular, I use it for the description of cities and certain urban areas where the understanding of the order, the meaning and the function of their plan is essential to the understanding the values of the alternative utopian paradigm. I use chorography for smaller, isolated spaces due to the difficulty in relating them to other utopian spaces. This difficulty is derived from their uniqueness or insularity, which precludes any effort to inscribe them into an organic nexus with other spaces with similar characteristics. Moreover, based on the fact that chorography, as Ptolemy underlined, was concerned with the nature of a space and not with its size, I treat choros, the isolated space, as embedded with symbols, the space where rituals are performed. Meanwhile, topos in my view is heavily invested with experiences and as a result functions as a narrative that helps us comprehend the process that creates a place.[7]

[4] P. Apian, *Cosmographia Petri Apiani* (Landshut, 1524), Fol. 3.
[5] A. Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi and the Chorography of Early Modern Architecture* (London, 2014), p. 36.
[6] G. Backhaus and J. Murungi, 'Introduction', in G. Backhaus and J. Murungi (eds), *Lived Topographies and Their Mediational Forces* (Lanham, 2005), p. xx.
[7] Ptolemy, *The Geography*, pp. 30-8.

So, the imposition of this artificial tripartite division helps one to dissect and understand the spaces of early modern utopias according to their functions. The analysis of the geographic space of utopia demonstrates how nature and society with the emergence of modernity were separated in these visions and how due to this dichotomy the early modern utopia was able to base its founding on the subjugation of nature and its improvement in order to build a better society.[8] Moreover, geography is a useful analytical category when endeavouring to distinguish utopia from other forms and examples of utopianism like the Arcadia or the Cockaigne. Similarly, my analysis of topography (with its emphasis on meaning and order) permits an examination of both the cities of utopia and the ideal cities of the Renaissance not as static models of perfection but as working embodiments of the values and aims of the societies they housed. More crucially the uses of topography enable me to trace the dialogue between these fictional utopian cities and real cities of the period that simultaneously inspired them and were inspired by them. Additionally, the chorographic analysis of utopia offers an opportunity to examine spaces that had utopian or heterotopian character and function but were not integral parts of a larger utopian society.

Finally, Ptolemy's work had another more radical impact on the early modern geography and cosmography due to its offer of a mathematical model for the representation of earth that could be employed to normalise the new lands into a new unified spatial system that negated the exceptionality of lands that were included in the Classical and medieval geographical model of *oecumene*. The adoption and utilisation of the Ptolemaic model was inspired by the difficulty of fitting the newly discovered Americas into the old model, but its acceptance was neither a simple process nor a blind

[8] K. R. Olwig, 'Has 'Geography' Always Been Modern?: Choros, (Non)Representation, Performance, and the Landscape', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 40/ 8 (2008), pp. 1843-1861.

act of appropriation. The survival of geographical concepts like the Antipodes until the late seventeenth-century indicate that the Ptolemaic model's adoptions was not an easy process, while Martin Waldseemüller's (1470-1520) modifications and improvements to it prove that it was not blindly accepted.[9] But it was instrumental in the conception of a unified space in which authors like Thomas More (1478-1535) and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) could imagine and place their visions of better societies free from the metaphysical elements and the monster races of the old *oecumene*.

Space during the period under examination became both a source of inspiration and an essential component in utopia's articulation of alternative paradigms of social and political organisation. The discovery of previously unknown lands in the Americas had acted as a source of inspiration for More and his successors, inspiring them not to imitate the newly discovered foreign cultures but to imagine and describe their paradigms of a better society as tangible societies situated on a distant land.

Of course, the role and nature of utopia's space has been examined in the work of many scholars, a result of the spatial turn in the humanities in the last decades of the twentieth-century that renewed the interest in the spatiality of the early modern utopianism.[10] Among these scholars, the works of Luis Marin, Bronisław Baczko and more recently Chloë Houston stand out because they have examined the spatial dimension of either More's *Utopia* (1516) or of early modern utopianism in general, underlining the self-restricted textual character of early modern utopianism's space in the case of Marin and the relation between utopian and travel literature, in Houston's case. Baczko who, in his *Lumières de l'Utopie* (1978) recognised the close links

[9] G. C. Gunn, *Overcoming Ptolemy: The Revelation of an Asian World Region* (London, 2018), pp. 88; N. Chordas, *Forms in Early Modern Utopia: The Ethnography of Perfection* (Farnham, 2010), p. 50; V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 15.
[10] E. W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London, 1989), p. 18.

between literary utopia's urban space and real-life architectural models and urban forms, limited this to the modern period of utopianism, rejecting the topography of early modern utopias as symbolic and generic due to its platonic origins and obsession with symmetry.[11] In addition to these approaches, others persisted that viewed utopia as static and its space as isolated. This criticism that was voiced mainly by Karl Popper and Northrop Frye, was part of a larger anti-utopian critique,[12] but it also echoed teleological, historicist narratives that perceived time as a linear march towards civilisation and prosperity, while they also relegated space to the role of a passive terrain.[13] Moreover, a basic understanding of utopia's space persisted in the idea that it was a perfect, model space and thus unreal. This view is shared even by scholars such as Michel Foucault and Houston who appreciate the role of space in the creation of utopia's alternative paradigm.[14] There is no doubt that literary utopia's space is fictional, but the view that it is merely a model, ideal space implies that it is a static space, a plot of land that the inhabitants of a utopia attend and maintain like a pleasure garden, having little or no importance in the function and form of the described society.

This is evident even when the utopian cities and islands are examined by students of early modern utopianism, only to have their secondary status reconfirmed by being seen as mere illustrations of the ideas and the political programs that these works expressed.[15] This reveals another issue with the perception of space in the scholarship of early modern utopianism. When attention is given to space, the analyses

[11] B. Baczko, *Lumières de l'Utopie* (Paris, 1978).
[12] L. T. Sargent, 'The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited', *Utopian Studies*, 5/1 (1994), p. 21.
[13] N. Frye, 'Varieties of Literary Utopias', in F. E. Manuel (ed), *Utopias and Utopian Thought* (Boston, 1966), pp. 28-56.
[14] M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5 (1984), p. 42; C. Houston, 'Introduction', in C. Houston (ed), *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham, 2010), p. 1.
[15] T. Morrison, 'The symbol of the city: utopian symmetry', *The International Journal of Humanities*, 3/5 (2005), pp. 93-104.

provided tend either to see it as a unified category that offered a crude summary of the ideals of the society that it housed, or when a dissection of the utopian space is undertaken; then architecture and urban planning are privileged to such an extent that it eclipsed any other partition of utopia's space, focusing on the category of 'ideal city' or to a certain utopian choros.[16] These approaches ignore the complexity of early modern utopianism's spatiality and the various complimentary roles that different divisions of space fulfilled in the model societies that literary utopias described and intentional communities utilised.

Marin's seminal work about the space of *Utopia* and the emphasis he gave on the untranslatable to charts and sketches 'space of the text' had a key role to the negative evaluation early modern utopianism's space.[17] For Marin the space of the text could not have any association with the geographic and topographic realities of the period because More refuses to disclose the island's location in the dialogue between Hythloday and More and Giles in the latter's house.[18] This denial has for Marin a symbolic dimension, in that it limits *Utopia* to its own discourse, isolating its space from the real space outside it, preventing the reader to make any associations between *Utopia's* geography and the real one or from trying to locate it. For Marin the difficulty in interpreting the text in such a way that could provide the necessary information to translate More's description of the island or of Amaurote into a detailed city-plan and map serves as further proof of the textual space's isolation and merely discursive existence.[19] Marin applied this method to *Utopia's* topography and chorography deconstructing the textual descriptions of these spaces and trying to synthesise them

[16] Ibid., *Unbuilt Utopian Cities 1460 to 1900: Reconstructing their Architecture and Political Philosophy* (London, 2015)
[17] L. Marin, *Utopiques: jeux d' espases* (Paris, 1973), p. 124.
[18] Ibid., 153.
[19] Ibid., p. 152.

into a pictorial representation of the island, his conclusion was that More's descriptions were cancelling the information that the text was giving us about the island and Amaurote. For example, the symmetrical walls of the city could not accommodate the number of the houses that More claimed. Neither could the streets and districts of utopia have the communal buildings that More placed in them without ruining the balance that the descriptions attributed to their urban environment.[20] Based on this disparity Marin denied any reading of *Utopia's* space as realistic and as connected to More's contemporary space. Instead, Marin understood *Utopia* 'as a point by point negation or cancelling of historical England itself'.[21]

It is impossible to deny the depth and value of Marin's analysis, but his reading, by focusing on the shadowing of Utopia by More's contemporary England, and by choosing to deliberately deny Utopia's location in the New World, betrays an obsession with denying its value as a wider alternative social and political paradigm. The same can be said about his readiness to interpret the incompatibility of the textual descriptions, and Utopia's image as a manifestation of the ideological conflict that permeates the work. Marin ignores the period's conventions that governed the spatial description of topography and chorography and despite his recognition that More was a scholar and thus not trained in architecture, Marin fails to acknowledge that he was also a bureaucrat with experience in dealing with the everyday running of the city of London. Having a practical knowledge of the realities of an urban settlement made More willing to sacrifice the initial symmetry of Amaurote to include a source of fresh water or even to utilise a river for its fortification. The omissions of details in a textual description do not suffice to reject the pragmatic principles upon which Utopias urban

[20] Ibid., pp. 163-68.
[21] F. Jameson, 'Of Islands and Trenches: Naturalization and the Production of Utopian Discourse', *Diacritics*, 7/ 2 (1977), p. 9.

space was conceived. Nor the contradictions are enough to dismiss the real-world parallels that these plans had. For me they are evidence of More's break with previous traditions and forms of utopianism like the ideal city where the formalist adherence to the urban plan left no space for consideration of the social and political problems that an urban community had to face.

However, Marin's dismissal of Utopia's geos and topos outside its own textual discourse led to *Utopia's* isolation, in his analysis, from wider discourses about early modern geography and topography, reinforcing the view of utopia's space as static. This position essentially constituted a wider devaluation of space, that was treated (as Foucault bluntly put it), as dead.[22] My thesis by examining the influence of the early modern geographical theories, the colonial project and of the urban theories of the period, hopes to dispute the view of the early modern utopian space as generic or self-referential and thus unable to function as an alternative model.

The majority of the works that scholars of the field brand as utopias offer us a very narrow and brief window to observe their communities' space and this environment usually appears to be already improved and cultivated. This finished product, which is severed from the outer world -- as Utopia's space was for Marin -- cannot be a program for social change. On the other hand, Lyman Tower Sargent in particular has grasped that literary utopias as prose works that describe non-existent societies located in time and space.[23] But this abstract by itself tells us very few things about the relationship these works have with space and how their creators and readers chose to shape and utilise it. It takes us back to the relegated and secondary role space

[22] T. R. Flynn, 'Foucault and the space of History', *The Monist*, 74/2 (1991), pp. 165–186.
[23] L. T. Sargent, 'Themes in Utopian Fiction in English before Wells', *Science Fiction Studies*, 3/3 (1976), p. 275.

was condemned to serve, either as décor that dresses up the ideas each literary utopia may espouse, or as an elaborate embodiment of the values of symmetry or its ideological contradictions that Marin seems to believe.

Early modern utopia's space can have a more complex relationship with the geographical, topographical and chorographical context of the period than that of an isolated island, severed from the rest of the world and limited to function as a generic spatial Otherness. Hans Seeber, for example, sees utopias as mirror images of the emerging national states with a well-articulated and plausible space that harboured the ambition to function as universal models.[24] My thesis, by examining the influence of early modern geographical theories, colonial projects and various urban theories of the period, disputes the view that the early modern utopian space was merely generic or self-referential and thus unable to function as an alternative model.

In the aftermath of the travels of exploration, there was a changing and expanding world that for early modern Europeans was open not just to multiple co-existing spaces but also, as Doreen Massey claims, to multiple temporalities where the European traveller could access spaces with 'origins and lives of their own'.[25] In the literary utopias that were emphatically placed in this post-Columbian world, scholars of utopia tend to ignore this fact, attributing agency only to the traveller, the figure that embodies both the author and the reader.[26] Hence, in my effort to re-evaluate the role and importance of space in early modern utopianism as both dynamic and bound up with the early modern debates and quests about concrete political, social and urban

[24] H. U. Seeber, *Globalisierung, Utopie und Literatur: Von Thomas Morus (1516) bis Darcy Ribeiro (1982)* (Berlin, 2017), p. 123.
[25] D. Massey, 'Some Times of Space', in Susan May (ed), *Olafur Eliasson: The Weather Project* (London, 2003), p. 110.
[26] C. Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (London, 2014), p. 121.

reform, I start with the hypothesis that utopia's space was not isolated but was integrally linked to a continually re-ordered and expanding early modern world.

Utopia: origins and context.

Utopia was published in a time that many events we associate with modernity such as Columbus' travel to the New World, the Protestant Reformation and the emergence of the printing industry took place.[27] This fact that led Fredric Jameson to theorise about the close relationship between utopia and modernity, understanding the former as a by-product of the latter, but also recognizing authors like More as promethean figures, who were inventors of worlds. Nevertheless, More was not the first to describe in the western tradition a better society. Neither was he the first to be critical towards his own society. This place is usually attributed to Plato who, as the 'forefather' of the literary utopia's genre, bequeathed a version of utopia whose space could be described only as static and its role only as secondary. This fact should not surprise us, considering that given the constraints of his time, Plato could not imagine a better form of political organisation than the ancient Greek *polis* (city-state) characterised by the organisational principles of autarky and self-preservation.[28] Every interaction between a city-state and its neighbours was based on an effort to achieve this difficult equilibrium between production and consumption. Thus, Plato imagined his ideal city in *The Republic* (*c.* 380 BCE) as a self-isolated and self-preserved stratified society whose spatial structures

[27] F. Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London, 2005), p. 1.
[28] T. F. Scanlon, 'Echoes of Herodotus in Thucydides: Self-Sufficiency, Admiration, and Law', *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, 43/2 (1994), pp.143-76.

were equated with stasis and isolation.[29] Autarky was essential for the survival of the classical city but it did not demand a complete secession of a city from its surroundings, nor did it impose a form of quarantine. The Greek city-states traded with their neighbours, clashed with them and established colonies when their social and political equilibrium was in danger. Yet, students of Plato's writings are quick to emphasise that Kallopolis, the ideal city described in *Republic* was a mental exercise aiming to define 'justice' and thus located on nowhere, landlocked within its own discourse.[30] Nevertheless, in his other utopian work, the *Laws* (360 BCE), Plato was occupied with the organisation of a different ideal city called Magnesia, a city located in the very real space of Crete. Thus, the ideal *polis* had a history and a realistically described spatial arrangement that required good laws in order to flourish and house a happy community.

I began with this small comment on Plato's utopian writings because the ironic name that Thomas More gave to his ideal island, 'utopia' ('no place') has been easily identified as a nowhere, having an isolated, enclosed, and self-referential space similar to that of Kallopolis.[31] However, utopian models of a better society were closer in form to Magnesia than to Kallopolis, with a space that was not a metaphor for Athens or a mere embodiment of discourse but which was conceived and described as identical to real spaces. Hence, the role that their geos, topos and, choros had in their organisation and functioning as visions of better societies was essential. Production, housing, equality, social and even political organisation in utopias were linked to their spatial arrangement. Undeniably, there was a vast difference between the earliest paradigms of utopian narratives with their paradisiacal, God-given environments, and those that

[29] M. Dikec, 'Space, Politics, and the Political', *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space*, 23 (2005), pp. 171-4.
[30] V. Moldovan, 'Utopia and the Utopic construction in Plato's The Republic', *Studia UBB Philologia*, LVII, 4, (2012), p. 24.
[31] K. Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2016), pp. 180-1.

were crystallised in early modern utopias. In the latter, space was managed, transformed, and reorganised by Man in order to *construct* utopia; to borrow a concept frequently used by radical geography, nature had first to be transformed and only then could utopia be built.[32]

Hence, space in early modern utopia was not just an inert, raw building material, but was a socially and culturally invested terrain. This is crucially important for understanding the political physiognomy of utopias but it is also indicative of a conscious choice by their authors. Especially for their geographically oriented early modern variant, *eutopia* ('happy place'). These narratives have been also described as 'geographical utopias' to emphasise their concern about space.[33] Yet this concern is seen as built upon a dichotomy between space as a raw source, a background and human ingenuity that built on it, its cities and its farms.[34]

To return to Jameson's thesis that utopia as conceived by More was deeply interlinked with the modernity, it must be underlined that early modern utopianism and its literary and ideological expressions were products of their epoch, which as Jameson notes, today is synonymous with the age of exploration, colonialism, scientific revolution, Renaissance globalisation and the emergence of the modern nation-state. Yet, in my view attention must be given also to the common denominator in all these events, namely the transformation of space and the acquisition of territory. In their voyages of discovery, explorers were crossing boundaries and exploring new spaces. Through colonialism, people occupied, remade and exploited such spaces, a situation

[32] N. Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (London, 1984), pp. 78-80.
[33] N. Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment', in G. Claeys (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 52-5.
[34] D. Massey, 'Landscape as a provocation: reflections on moving mountains', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11/1-2 (2006), p. 39.

that enabled utopian thinkers and writers to employ this man-made space in a way that was never done before, as the basis for the creation of a better more just society. Moreover, Renaissance globalisation involved the discovery of the Other and the creation of new zones where meetings between European societies and global Others could take place. Similar meetings were replayed countless times in literary utopias through the personae of the European explorer/hero and the local guide of utopia but in the intentional communities were coping the strategies of the coloniser and the persona of the civiliser.

Finally, it is important to note that the nation-state, as thinkers such as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1511), Jean Bodin (1530-1596), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) imagined it, was a project which required the construction of a political identity deeply rooted in a space that was embedded with a unique cultural and historical identity. This was clearly distinct from the previous imperial and religious inspired theories of sovereignty.[35] Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Grotius tried to supplement the emerging monarchical absolutism and its state-building efforts with a notion of territorial politics that underlined the connection of sovereignty with a particular territory. Increasingly, and particularly after the Peace Treaty of Westphalia (1648), this conception of a nation-state was based on a contract between the people and the Monarch, one that bestowed power to the latter.[36] Thus, within European culture of this period, it is impossible to ignore the importance of space in utopia or to

[35] P. L. Rose, 'The Politique and the Prophet: Bodin and the Catholic League 1589-1594', *The Historical Journal*, 21/4 (1978), pp. 800-806; J. P. McCormick, 'Prophetic Statebuilding: Machiavelli and the Passion of the Duke', *Representations*, 115/1 (2011), pp. 1-19.
[36] A. M. Ardito, *Machiavelli and the Modern State* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 177-182; N. Onuf, 'World-Making, state-building', in N. Lemay-Hébert, N. Onuf, V. Rakić and P. Bojanić (eds), *Semantics of Statebuilding: Language, Meanings and Sovereignty* (London, 2014), pp. 22-26; Rose, 'The Politique and the Prophet', pp. 800-6.

understand it solely as an influence from travel literature serving only narrative and rhetorical strategies.[37]

Evidently, despite all the conditions that led early modern utopianism to a spatial turn, *Utopia's* origins and tropes in the European intellectual tradition cannot be understood as footnotes to the works of Plato. The Christian influence on early modern utopianism can be found in the legacy of various millenarian visions and sects during the medieval period.[38] More's *Utopia,* published on the eve of the Luther's demands for radical reforms in the doctrines and practices of traditional Christianity, may have opened a new phase in the evolution of utopian writing and thinking, but its foundations can be traced back to both ancient models and religious ideals originating in Augustinian philosophy and medieval monasticism. It is difficult, for example, to dismiss the impact that the myth of Eden and Christian eschatological promises of Paradise had on More's work.[39] Meanwhile, the Edenic myth served both as the raw material for the most popular medieval utopian fantasy, the Land of Cockaigne and as inspiration for the search for Eden's location in a period in which it was still believed to be part of the earthly realm and thus potentially accessible to a few chosen by God to rediscover it.[40]

As Quentin Skinner has underlined, *Utopia* shares the language, ideas and fallacies of Renaissance humanism.[41] How innovative was Renaissance humanism in the field of ideas is a question far more broadly than that of humanism's influence on *Utopia*. The importance of Renaissance humanism in the emergence of a different

[37] Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia*, p. 77.
[38] J. E. Duncan, 'Paradise as the Whole Earth', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 30/2 (1969), pp. 171-3.
[39] N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 19-29.
[40] A. B. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton, 1966), pp. 4-6.
[41] Q. Skinner, 'More's Utopia', *Past & Present*, 38/1 (1967), pp. 153–168.

'modern' paradigm has been debated from the original late nineteenth century's thesis of Jacob Burckhardt in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) that attracted criticism on his periodisation and his view of it as precursor of modernity to contemporary criticisms about its scope and originality. Another key debate concerns whether humanism constituted a positive break with the previous scholastic medieval tradition or it must be seen as a continuation or even a reversion of the achievements of the late medieval period in fields like science.[42] Scholars like Paul Kristeller and Robert Black have seen humanism as mainly a philological and educational movement, emphasizing the continuities between the late medieval period's *dictatores* and those renaissance humanists who acted as rhetoricians, differing only in their adopted model of emulation, that of the classical texts.[43] Black is much more radical in his rejection of humanism's originality, disputing even its contributions in textual analysis as mere esoteric pursuits without wider impact in culture or politics.[44]

These criticisms are not completely unfounded. Humanists indeed shared the same social and cultural status with the *dictatores*, their medieval predecessors and until the early fifteenth-century humanism was mainly a grammatical and educational movement.[45] However, as both Kristeller and Ronald G. Witt underline, even if Renaissance humanism was a small, elitist movement, it has a clear ideological side as well. The philological studies of the humanists and their interest in antiquity were not esoteric or sterile, but on the contrary, they inspired solutions to the crisis of the old

[42] A. Mazzocco, 'Introduction', in A. Mazzocco (ed), *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden, 2006) pp. 1-8; J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1924); L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (6 vols, New York, 1923-1941).
[43] P. O. Kristeller, 'Humanism and Scholasticism in the Italian Renaissance', *Byzantion*, 17 (1944), pp. 346–374.
[44] R. Black, 'Humanism', in C. Allmand (ed), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, (7 Vols, Cambridge, 1998), vii, pp. 243-277.
[45] R. G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (Leiden, 2003).

feudal relationships and system of governance that were collapsing in the fifteenth century's Italian city-states. Humanists resorted to classical authors and Rome to find models upon which they could inaugurate a new morality grounded on the idea of civic duty, communicated in a classicizing Latin poetic style.[46]

The humanists' original occupation as rhetoricians and their familiarity with the late medieval literary tradition is apparent in their political writings where during the fifteenth century, they kept following the model set by the medieval 'Mirror of Princes', providing helpful models for a godly and just ruler or exalting the virtues of a specific type of government. Humanists proved surprisingly versatile in their writings, adjusting their works to the tastes of their employers and patrons. Bartolomeo Platina (1421-1481), for example, had no difficulty in proving the superiority of monarchy in his work dedicated to the Gonzaga rulers of Mantua, *De Principe* written in 1470. Four years later Platina proved the superiority of the republican form of government in a revised version of *De Principe* under the title the *De optimo cive* dedicating it then to the 'optimus civis' of Florence, Lorenzo de Medici.[47] Nevertheless, founding figures of humanism like Brunneto Latini (c. 1220-1294) and Lovato Lovati (1241-1309) whose background was that of the notarial class, could not hide their antipathy for the values of contemporary aristocratic society or even for its language, proposing instead a new concept of nobility based on virtue inspired by Sallust's and Cicero's texts.[48] Hence, while the political writings of humanists, before Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1532),

[46] P. F. Grendler, 'Humanism: Ancient Learning, Criticism, Schools and Universities' in Mazzocco (ed), *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, pp. 73-95; R. Fubini, *L'Umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici. Origini rinascimentali. Critica moderna* (Milan, 2001).
[47] N. Rubinstein, 'Italian Political Thought, 1450-1530', in J. H. Burns (ed) *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 30-2.
[48] R. G. Witt, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 485.

avoided breaking new ground; their critical approach proved a valuable inspiration for the early modern utopia.[49]

This may sound like an unfounded generalisation only if we choose to ignore cases such as Lorenzo Valla's (c. 1407-1457) critical textual analysis of *The donation of Costantine* (c. 1440), which stands out for its pugilistic attitude or the much more interesting case of fifteenth-century medical humanism. The interest in previously unavailable classical medical texts led a number of medical scholars with excellent knowledge of Greek and philological skills such as Nicolò Leoniceno (1428–1524), Agostino Gadaldino (1515–75) and Andreas Vesalius (1514–64) to undertake the project to edit, restore and publish texts like Galen's in their original Greek and then to produce more reliable Latin translations.

These scholars, after restoring the Galenic corpus, they proceeded to criticise the way that Galen's work was taught under the influence of Aristotelianism in the medieval universities and more importantly they corrected them when texts were proved inaccurate.[50] Most famously, Vesalius in his *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543) dedicated a significant part of his magnum opus to the correction of errors found in Galen's anatomical writings, thus, displaying profoundly original anatomical learning based on his criticism of the classical account.[51] Hence, it is wrong to dismiss Renaissance humanism as a simple continuation of the medieval period or as a purely grammatical and stylistic movement without real impact on the period's thought.

[49] C. A. Patrides, 'Dialogues with reality', in C. J. Summers and T. L. Pebworth (eds), *Figures in a Renaissance Context* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 7-28.
[50] W. F. Edwards, 'Niccolò Leoniceno and the Origins of Humanist Discussion of Method', in E. P. Mahoney (ed), *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (New York, 1976), pp. 283–305.
[51] A. Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 120; Grendler, 'Humanism: Ancient Learning, Criticism, Schools and Universities', pp. 84-8.

Renaissance humanism had one more important influence on the shaping of early modern utopianism by redefining humanity's position and role in the creation. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1464-1494) summarised this new role of humanity in his *Oration for the Dignity of Man* (1486). In this work Pico makes the case that the importance of man is not due to his fixed position in a cosmic hierarchy of beings but due to his power to create based on his reason.[52] In some ways this was an old idea that had its basis in the early Christianity, but it was revived and juxtaposed to the prevalent notion in medieval asceticism of the misery of the human condition.[53] From a rejection of a fallen humanity and its ephemeral achievements that Pope Innocent III (1161-1216) expressed in his treatise *On the Misery of Man* (c. 1195) to the defence of the very same human nature as the basis of human dignity and the brilliance of its achievement that Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459) put forward in his polemical reply to Innocent III's work, titled *On the Dignity of Man* (c. 1453) there is a clear change of attitudes towards the capacity of human beings to shape this world for a better outcome.[54] It is no coincidence that the Augustinian *vita contemplativa*, where withdrawal from everyday affairs and devotion to monastic life was seen as the only path to perfection, gave way to the ideal of *vita activa*, that of a life of action. This ideal was translated by renaissance humanists as an invitation to engage in public affairs and to utilise their learning for the improvement of human well-being, while for religious reformers like Martin Luther it was seen as a call for Christians to serve God in their everyday activities.[55]

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[52] P. O. Kristeller, 'Introduction', in E. Cassirer, J. H. Randall and P. O. Kristeller (eds), *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 217-8.
[53] G. W. McClure, *Sorrow and Consolation in Italian Humanism* (Princeton, 1991), p. 55-8.
[54] *Two Views of Man: Pope Innocent III-On the Misery of Man; Giannozzo Manetti- On the Dignity of Man*, tr. B. Murchland (New York, 1966).
[55] N. Temple, 'Gesture and Perspective in Raphael's School of Athens', in J. S. Hendrix and C. H. Carman (eds), *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (London, 2010), p. 135, U. H. J. Körtner, 'Calvinism and Capitalism', in M. E. Hirzel and M. Sallmann (eds), *John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society, 1509-2009*, (Cambridge, 2009), p. 165 and P. A. Lombardo, P. A., 'Vita Activa versus Vita Contemplativa in Petrarch and Salutati', *Italica*, 59/2 (1982), pp. 83–92.

However, except the intellectual incentive that Renaissance humanism provided to early modern utopia, a change of equal importance started to be crystallised on the way that natural world was seen.[56] The late medieval perception of nature was that of a menacing, chaotic wilderness, summarised in Dante's words as an *immensa sylva* ('vast wilderness').[57] Humanity stood helpless in front of this wilderness, which was replete with raw power. David Herlihy identifies in these views voiced by Dante and his contemporaries an 'adversarial attitude towards nature'. Nevertheless, this fear of wilderness coexisted with other attitudes towards nature, especially during the High Medieval period (1000-1300). This was a period where large forest clearings and trade expansion led to more optimistic view of humanity's potential to shape nature. This optimism was shaken by the ecological collapse and the plague of the fourteenth century that led to a revival of eschatological thinking and of the negative view of nature as a menacing and irreparable wilderness.[58] However, during the early modern period as Keith Thomas points out attitudes towards nature once more shifted. The Christian call to tame the wilderness was combined with a genuine care to tame these lands for the benefit of the public weal.[59] As it was summarised by Francis Bacon in his *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627) nature had to be understood and tamed.[60]

Both the *vita activa* and this new call to the utilise nature for the public weal led to what Giuseppe Mazzotta has described as the early modern world-making expressed

[56] E. F. Arnold, Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes (Philadelphia, 2013), pp. 23-5; L. Ross, 'The Tame wilderness of Princes', in A. Classen (ed), *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (Berlin, 2012), p. 583.
[57] J. Freccero, 'Dante's Prologue Scene,' in R. H. Lansing (ed), *Dante: Dante and Interpretation* (New York, 2003), p. 71; S. Perfeti, *Aristotle's Zoology and its Renaissance Commentators, 1501-1601* (Leuven, 2000), pp. 187.
[58] D. Herlihy, 'Attitudes Toward the Environment in Medieval Society,' in L. J. Bilsky (ed), *Historical Ecology: Essays on Environment and social change* (New York, 1980), pp. 100-116; G. F. LaFreniere, *The Decline of Nature: Environmental History and the Western Worldview* (Salem, 2008), p. 98.
[59] K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 15-20.
[60] F. Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum or, a Natural Historie in Ten Centuries*, (London, 1627).

in various mediums and texts such as More's *Utopia* (1516), in the romantic adventures of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605 and 1615), in the reimagining and rebuilding of Rome by Pope Nicholas V (1397-1455), in the transformation of medieval Corsignano into the Renaissance city of Pienza (1459-1462) according to the humanistic ideals by Eneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464) and his advisor Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and in Mexico City's re-foundation (1521-1522) under the guidance of Alonso Garcia Bravo (1490-1561).[61]

These were different, alternative worlds that were created during the early modern period, which confronted reality and dared to suggest new paradigms. They varied from strong criticism of their contemporary society, as in *The Praise of Folly* (1509), to visions of a new world in which nature would be completely under the control of humanity, such as *New Atlantis* (1627) and to confrontations with the aesthetic forms and old world values, as in Pope Nicolas V's rebuilding programme which aimed to level medieval Rome and replace it with a city that could be *caput mundi* ('capital of the world').[62] These cities and literary works were the outcomes of a different kind of creation, the kind of world-making which has been called *cosmopoiesis* (from the words '*cosmos*', meaning 'world' and '*poiesis*' from the Greek '*ποιώ*' which means 'to create'). In this process, poetry, ethics, science, architecture and politics were fused together, in order to construct worlds and paradigms alternative to the actual ones.[63]

Travel literature was also essential for the flourishing of early modern utopia. Chloë Houston has pointed out the shared interest of these two literary genres in exploration, discovery and encounter with new people, seeing in both of them a deep

[61] G. Mazzotta, *Cosmopoiesis* (Toronto, 2001), pp. xiii-xv; L. Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, tr. J. Landry (2 Vols, London, 1978), i, p. 170.
[62] C. L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1998), pp. 7-14.
[63] Mazzotta, *Cosmopoiesis*, p. xv.

affinity based on their self-reflexivity and their ability to force their audiences to question their own conditions of living when presented with foreign ones.[64] However, in the realm of spatial, travel literature also supplemented the period's utopianism with an Edenic and exotic scenery. Explorers, missionaries and merchants who wrote travel narratives were eager to describe lands of exceptional beauty and fertility that could serve as ideal investments for their patrons. Indicative of this use of the Edenic model was its adoption during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by writers and geographers such as Richard Eden (1520-1576) and Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), who urged their countries to establish colonies. However, More, who inaugurated the new relationship between travel literature and utopia, avoided the use of this Edenic scenery. On the contrary, he adopted the travel account's tropes in an effort to enhance his work's plausibility in a similar way to writers of Hellenistic utopian travel writing.[65] Hence, according to Hythloday's description, the island of Utopus was discovered in the same way that European explorers, traders and colonisers were discovering previously unknown lands in America, Asia and Africa—through a difficult and dangerous journey that did not prepare them for the exploitation of paradise on earth but, rather, led them to the discovery of a different society. Moreover, its founder, Utopus, was described as a foreign general who destroyed the previous corrupt civilisation in order to build a better society upon its ruins. Indeed, Utopus is not too dissimilar from the adventurers who would conquer and colonise America. In addition, More accompanied the publication of his work with an alphabet of the utopian language

[64] C. Houston, 'Introduction', in Houston (ed), *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, p. 5.
[65] M. Futre Pinheiro, 'Dialogues between Readers and Writers in Lucian's *Verae Historiae*', in M. Paschalis, G. Schmeling and S. Panayotakis (eds), *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel* (Groningen, 2009), pp. 22-5.

and a map of the island, just as travellers and cosmographers did in their accounts of the New World. It becomes apparent that More made every effort to ensure that the ideal society he described would be perceived as a real topos, built by humans, visited by humans and inhabited by humans, and not as a spiritual, symbolic vision of a perfect world like St. Augustine's *City of God* or Bartolomeo Del Bene's later *City of Truth* (1609).

Another defining element of *Utopia*, which would later become a characteristic of the genre, was its concern for practical and everyday issues. Its society faced the same political, social and practical problems that More's contemporaneous European societies did, and overcame them practically, through reforms and redistribution of goods, rather than by any miraculous means. This practical spirit evolved and found its perfect incarnation in the early eighteenth-century Robinsonades. However, even in the classical eutopias of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concern for practical, mundane issues was a central motif. Thus, More described a society that was neither an allegory about an unachievable perfect state of humanity nor a lamentation about a lost paradise. It was, instead, a paradigm of a better society that could be established through reforms and careful planning in a realistic space.

This optimism about man's potential and the achievements that Renaissance and humanistic approaches had bequeathed to areas such as the arts, politics and ethics were also influenced by the sixteenth century's religious reformation movements. Important figures of the Northern Renaissance, like John Colet (1467-1519) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), who were More's contemporaries and friends, became staunch supporters and promoters of the belief that medieval Christianity, both

as an ecclesiastical institution and a way of life, was in urgent need of reform.[66] This campaign for renewal was crystallised in the Protestant Reformation and its various challenges to the corruption and dogmatic failures of the old Church and its institutions. This Reformation also contained a more commonplace aspect and the reforming zeal, which was initially manifested in religion, created a mode of reformative thinking that extended beyond spirituality and into wider aspects of civic life.[67] Martin Luther's zeal for a *reformatio doctrinae* that characterised the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation was soon supplemented by a zeal for *reformatio vitae*.[68]

The active engagement espoused by the *reformatio vitae* of the Reformation deeply influenced seventeenth-century utopian discourse and these ideas were often linked to millenarian writings. According to this idea, a sudden catastrophe would announce the end of Antichrist's reign on Earth and the Second Coming would lead to the establishment of the Kingdom of God. Millenarianism became prominent in sixteenth century Germany and in England during the 1640s, when radical political and religious ideas found fertile ground in a time of continual crises.[69] Religious zeal fuelled millenarian dreams, which interpreted the conflict in apocalyptic terms as a clash between Good and Evil.[70] However, there was a significant difference between this period's millenarian paradigm and previous examples of religious apocalyptic or paradisal visions. The Second Coming was understood by Protestants not only as imminent, but also as the establishment of a very real, perfect society in this world,

[66] M. E. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London, 1999), pp. 25-6, 41-3.
[67] P. Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 10-11.
[68] A. Fix, 'Radical Reformation and Second Reformation in Holland: The Intellectual Consequences of the Sixteenth-Century Religious Upheaval and the Coming of a Rational World View,' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18/1 (1987), pp. 63-70.
[69] C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London, 1975).
[70] P. Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 10-18.

immediately and directly accessible to its chosen ones. The expectation of an imminent realisation of a godly society provoked radical actions by many Christians. This belief transformed millenarianism from a passive longing for society's sudden change by divine Providence to a profound commitment to effecting spiritual, political and social improvement. This view was expressed by the biblical scholar Joseph Mede (1586-1639) in his *Clavis Apocalyptica* (1627), where he claimed that:

> Our dutie in subordination to the waie of God is cleerly this; that we should with all readiness of minde applie ourselvs to entertein all spiritual motions, tending to mutual and universal edification: not onely by praiers… but by counsel and endevors.[71]

Mede's view, about the necessity of human actions for the preparation of the Second Coming, was interpreted by Samuel Gott (1612-1671) in his utopia *Nova Solyma* (1648) as a call to construct a godly society before the Second Coming.[72] Gott presented his heroes, two English students, as visiting Nova Solyma a recreated Jerusalem designed both to house a godly society and simultaneously, to trigger the Second Coming. A less extreme and interventionist stance than that expressed by Gott's vision, and one closer to Mede's view about the need for preparation, was also adopted by other major figures of the period, who supported the need for political and religious reform alongside various utopian schemes. These figures include John Dury (1596-1680) and Samuel Hartlib (1600-1662).[73] Through their pamphlets and sermons, these reformers promoted the necessity for practical improvements in areas such as learning

[71] J. Mede, *Clavis Apocalyptica: Or, A Prophetical Key* (London, 1651), p. 8.
[72] S. Gott, *Nova Solyma The Ideal city; or Jerusalem Regained* (London, 1902).
[73] S. Hutton, 'The Appropriation of Joseph Mede: Millenarianism in the 1640s,' in J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (eds), *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture Volume III: The Millenarian Turn: Millenarian Contexts of Science, Politics, and Everyday Anglo-American Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Dordrecht, 2001), pp. 1-13.

or state finances, linking reformation ideals with advances in other areas of civic life.[74] At the same time in Catholic Europe, the Counter-Reformation, while officially hostile to the millenarian visions that inspired the Protestant reformers, also adopted a more active approach. The Church not only concentrated on moral and spiritual purity but also on organizing welfare and educational institutions like hospitals and schools—spaces with utopian characteristics as we will see in the following chapters—and with the issue of social improvement more generally.[75] Hence, early modern utopias were among the most representative examples of both Renaissance world-making and of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' reforming zeal.

The problem of defining Utopia.

There are many different definitions of utopia and a large debate exists over the criteria according to which a certain literary work may be classified as a utopia. Some scholars claim that a linear, progressive idea about time is what differentiates a utopia from other types of ideal societies, like Golden Age visions or religious millenarianism. According to this view, a utopia is the end result of a long period of social and political reform.[76] Thus, it is the outcome of a progressive, moral vision of time that culminates in utopia. Others have focused on the literary conventions that belong to a family of texts typical for this genre. For example, J. C. Davis identified five types of utopias: the classical

[74] S. Hartlib, *Considerations Tending to the Happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State* (London, 1647), p. 2; J. Dury, *The Reformed School* (London, 1649).
[75] J. Henderson, 'Charity and welfare in Early modern Tuscany', in J. Arrizabalaga, A. Cunningham, and O. P. Grell (eds), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 64-71.
[76] L. Racine, 'Paradise, the Golden Age, the Millennium and Utopia a Note on the Differentiation of Forms of the Ideal Society', *Diogenes*, 122 (1983), pp. 119-36.

utopia; the Land of Cockaigne; the millennium; Arcadia; and the perfect moral commonwealth.[77] However, there are works that share or use certain utopian modes of discourse without adopting the full premises of the genre, thus avoiding Davis' categorisations. Examples of this include proto-Science Fiction accounts of journeys to other planets and satires on the idealism and impracticality of utopias, such as *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Any effort to draw a clear definition of the utopian genre should acknowledge the porous borders between utopian works and other similar literary genres that employ elements of utopian discourse.

The extreme variety in the categorisation of utopias is evident from an overview of the definitions that are given to them and the selection of texts that are labelled as utopias in some of the canonical texts of utopian studies. Works such as Lewis Mumford's *The Story of Utopias* (1922), Frank and Fritzie Manuel's *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (1979), Maria Louisa Berneri's *Journey Through Utopia* (1949) and, more recently, Ruth Levitas's *The Concept of Utopia* (2010), all provide their own definitions for utopia and accordingly each draw on a different array of texts. Some of them concentrate on the belief in the perfectibility of humanity, echoing Ernst Bloch's idea of the Not-Yet.[78] Many scholars, such as Darko Suvin, have emphasised the link between utopia and the real world since, for them, a utopia is an alternative paradigm to the dominant historical one, or as summarised by Suvin 'historical alternative and better community'.[79]

[77] J. C. Davis, 'Formal Utopia/Informal Millennium: The Struggle Between Form and Substance as a Context for Seventeenth-Century Utopianism', in K. Kumar and S. Bann (eds), *Utopias and the Millennium* (London, 1993), pp. 17-31.
[78] N. Eurich, *Science in Utopia: A Mighty Design* (Cambridge, 1967), p. vii; R. Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 101-3.
[79] L. Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York, 1922), pp. 17-20; D. Suvin, *Metamorphoses of Science Fiction: on the Poetics and History of Literary Genre* (New Haven, 1979), pp. 48-9, 52.

However, a different understanding and usage of the term 'utopia' was adopted by the sociologist Karl Mannheim in his *Ideology and Utopia* originally published in 1929, where he juxtaposed utopia to ideology.[80] For Mannheim, under the term ideology, are categorised the beliefs and ideas that the dominant group in a society adopts; this function as a form of false consciousness, blinding it to the shortcomings of the current socio-political system or the reasons of dissent towards Utopian thinking results from an equally insular opposition to the values and ideas espoused by the dominant ideology, to such a degree that for Mannheim '[it] is incapable of correctly diagnosing an existing condition of society'. It ceases to be concerned with what really exists, focusing solely on challenging and changing the status quo that ideology preserves.[81] Obviously, Mannheim was not directly interested in the issue of literary utopia's definition but, in his analysis of ideology and utopia as a pair with antithetical functions, he illuminated a very important function that utopianism as the dream or desire for a better life serves, namely the subversion of the dominant paradigm by a new transformative set of ideas.[82] Yet if utopias supply alternative paradigms they are much more nuanced and distinct than Mannheim's idiosyncratic understanding of the term allows. As Sargent has noted, Manheim's definition of ideology is not adopted by the majority of sociologists who prefer to understand and define ideology as 'a system of beliefs, primarily political, that organise a person's view of the world'.[83] Sargent also notes that all ideologies, dominant or not, have in their core a form of utopia, so while Mannheim's view of utopia as an oppositional subversion to a dominant ideology is useful, and has opened new horizons to our understanding of its function, the

[80] K. Mannheim, K., *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, 1991)
[81] Ibid., p. 36.
[82] K. Thomas, 'The Utopian Impulse in Seventeenth-century England', in D. Baker-Smith and C. C. Barfoot (eds), *Between Dream and Nature: Essays on Utopia and Dystopia* (Amstedam, 1987), p. 26.
[83] T. L. Sargent, *Utopianism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2010), p. 124.

terminology he chose is not helpful. Neither is his monolithic and functionalist view of what utopia really is. Indeed, Mannheim does not see utopia as being a representation of a better society by any interpretation and is equally dismissive of the attribution of the characterisation of utopia to any sort of literary works or myths that describe an alternative better society, which he characterised as compensatory fantasies that have no power to challenge the status quo,[84] thus dismissing what Bloch had described as abstract utopias. In *The Principle of Hope* (1954) Bloch defended the usefulness of this kind of abstract utopias expressed in myths and fantasies for inspiring and carrying the dreams for a better life forward.[85]

A much more similar understanding was shared among Bloch and Mannheim about the difference between utopia and compensatory fantasy expressed in Bloch's concept of concrete utopia. These utopias differ from abstract versions by combining wishful thinking for a better world with careful planning and anticipation for future possibilities to realise their vision. If we understand Mannheim's utopia as a transformative political idea -- as Ruth Levitas suggest we do -- then the affinity of his division between utopia and ideology and Bloch's between concrete and abstract utopia becomes evident.[86] Yet, as I noted earlier, an issue remains over what Mannheim understood and defined as utopia, since his conception differs from what is accepted by the majority of utopian scholars. Peter Fitting, in particular, has claimed that despite the numerous definitions of utopia, some consensus has been achieved regarding the boundaries of the genre, and he cites as proof two definitions, one by Suvin and another by Sargent. The first, by Suvin, describes utopia as: 'the verbal construction of a particular quasi-human community where socio-political institutions, norms and

[84] Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London, 1991), p. 182.
[85] E. Bloch, *The Principle of Hope* (3 vols, Oxford, 1986), i, pp. 246-9.
[86] R. Levitas, *Utopia as Method: The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society* (New York, 2013), p. 102

individual relationships are organised according to a more perfect principle than in the author's community this construction is based on the cognitive estrangement arising out of an alternative historical hypothesis'; the second by Sargent, defines utopia very broadly as 'a non-existent society described in considerable detail and normally located in time and space'.[87]

Both Suvin's and Sargent's definitions are concerned with the literary genre of utopia, leaving aside socio-political definitions of the term. Lucian Hölscher has identified a broadening of the meaning of the term 'utopia' from the name of More's imaginary island to a geographical metaphor for a place situated in another world, where a different better state is described. Hölscher is careful to note that for a long time, the term's usage remained limited to a small academic circle. Only in the eighteenth century was the word included in German and French dictionaries and then only in association with the literary genre. Nonetheless, he detected a parallel trajectory of the term associated with its more abstract socio-political meaning, a use he argues first appeared in seventeenth-century political discourse, in particular during the English Civil War. However, except for the indistinctive use of the term to describe both More's work and the commonwealth described in it, he is not able to identify any wider use of the socio-political concept of utopia before the nineteenth century and even then, the term appears to have negative connotations related to the unrealizable folly.[88]

There are some interesting observations relevant to the context of this thesis in Hölscher's article, firstly his claim that the definition of utopia became more abstract in the eighteenth century and gradually lost its meaning as a geographical metaphor

[87] P. Fitting, 'Utopia, Dystopia and Science Fiction', in G. Claeys (ed), *The Cambridge Companion in Utopian Literature* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 135.
[88] L. Hölscher, 'Utopie', *Utopian Studies*, 7/1 (1996), pp. 20- 40.

associated with distant islands, and secondly, his observation that the association of utopia with the literary genre was dominant during the early modern period.[89] Sargent is careful to warn us about ignoring the multiple expressions of utopianism, which he initially defined in a 1992 article as 'social dreaming'.[90] He later elaborated on this definition by explaining social dreaming as the dreams and nightmares that concern the ways in which groups of people arrange their lives and which usually envision a radically different society than the one in which the dreamers live.[91] By doing this, he also drew attention to the fact that while the literary utopia was, and still is, the most popular expression of social dreaming, other manifestations of it such as communitarianism and utopian social theory exist. Sargent loosely defined communitarianism as the creation of intentional communities based upon shared visions, values and ideas. [92] For Sargent, utopian social theory is hard to define with precision but it has proliferated largely in the twentieth century around questions about the perfectibility of human societies, the dangers of totalitarianism that may arise from the project of building a better society, and freedom of choice.[93]

This unanimous acceptance of the dominant position that the literary expression of utopianism possesses forces me to examine briefly the role of space in literature in general before I proceed to utopia specifically. Traditionally literary studies had ignored space, privileging time instead; as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing eloquently expressed it in his *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766), literature is a

[89] L. Hölscher, 'Utopie', *Utopian Studies*, 7/1 (1996), pp. 20- 40.
[90] L. T. Sargent, 'Political Dimensions of Utopianism with Special Reference to American Communitarianism', in N. Minerva (ed), *Per una definizione dell'utopia: metodologie e discipline a confronto* (Ravenna, 1992), p. 188.
[91] Ibid, 'The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited', *Utopian Studies*, p. 3.
[92] Ibid, p. 15.
[93] Ibid, pp. 22-8.

temporal art while painting is predominantly a spatial one.[94] This belief has been revised in the twentieth century, corroborating Foucault's prediction that the twentieth century would be the epoch of space.[95] The first to radically challenge the secondary role that was attributed to space as the backcloth on which the actions of the heroes took place completely separated by time was Mikhail Bakhtin. Bakhtin claimed that in every literary genre one could identify a certain chronotope which expresses space/time relations that reflect certain social beliefs regarding the placement and actions of human individuals in this particular space and time.[96] These chronotopes define and separate the different literary genres but they also anchor the plot of each story, functioning as its organisational centres. Thus, time and space in literature cannot really be separated, even if time is still perceived as the dominant element in the chronotope.

Bakhtin drew paradigms from various genres, illuminating the differences and significance of each chronotope. For example, in his analysis of the Hellenistic adventure novel, he pointed out that we observe a couple of young heroes traversing stereotypical foreign spaces in a serialised time without really changing their character or feelings, though they have to overcome certain obstacles to be reunited. This 'adventure' chronotope as he called it,[97] re-affirms the identities of the heroes, through a series of events unfolding in typified environments.[98] Only away from their familiar spaces will the heroes be required to overcome certain obstacles such as an attack from bandits or their enslavement. Through this analysis Bakhtin calls us to recognise the

[94] S. Wallenstein, 'Space, time, and the arts: rewriting the Laocoon', *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture*, 2/1 (2010), p. 5.
[95] M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', p. 46.
[96] M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, 2010), p. 84.
[97] Ibid., p. 90.
[98] Ibid., p. 106.

importance that certain spaces have in advancing the plot even if they appear generic or formalistic.

In his study of Bakhtin's writings Michael Holquist, claimed that the concept of chronotope could be used in a wider context, removed from the field of literary analysis. If any effort to make sense of our world and life events is linked to our understanding of our surroundings, then the concept of chronotope can help us recognise the specific space-time relationship of our age, thus making it a wider tool of cultural analysis essential in our effort to understand different conceptions and articulations of space and time.[99] To return to chronotope as a tool of literary analysis and its utility for analysing literary utopia, it is worth noting that Bakhtin utopia is absent I the several chronotopes such as the epic poems and the platonic dialogues examined by Bakhtin which could help us 'determine to a significant degree the image of man in literature'.[100] The closest genre to utopia that Bakhtin does examine is the Golden Age. In this chronotope what really stands out for Bakhtin is a 'historical inversion' where ideals and dreams such as equality and immortality are found in the past and not in the future.[101] This inversion is seen by Bakhtin as typical of mythological and artistic modes of thinking were the past and the present are enriched in expense to the future because only these two categories offer the sense of materiality and concreteness that the future -- with its abstractness and uncertainty -- cannot guarantee.

Following this thread, Tatiana Teslenko tried to describe the chronotope of utopia in her work on 1970s feminist utopias.[102] This chronotope in her view privileged either the future or an alternative present being distinct from the real world but

[99] M. Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World* (London, 1990), pp. 151-160.
[100] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* p. 85.
[101] Ibid., p. 147
[102] T. Teslenko, *Feminist Utopian Novels of the 1970s: Joanna Russ and Dorothy Bryant* (London, 2003).

explaining enough of this reality, due to its creative vagueness, through the specific version of a different world. The genre took advantage of its ambiguity to force the reader to question not just the existence of the world it describes but also the likelihood of any alternative paradigm.[103] Obviously, Teslenko's analysis of utopia's chronotope refers to a wider chronological context than the early modern period that concerns this thesis and her observations seem to underplay the importance that furnishing the world of utopia has in the period I examine. Ambiguity, as Teslenko notices, is indeed an important component of utopia.

Early modern utopias established worlds that *seemed* real and, even when these works were filled with ironic elements like More's *Utopia* or quite obvious symbolisms in their spatial layout, the ambiguity of the genre was employed in a very consistent way and had, sufficient 'reality effects' to allow the works to be perceived by the readers as credible. Moreover, the utopian protagonist/narrator never doubted the validity of his experience. From this perspective, it is helpful to note that, during the early modern period, travel literature, with which utopia demonstrates closer affinity than any other literary genre of the period,[104] became increasingly concerned offering with first-hand accounts as a means of reinforcing their plausibility. Giovanni Battista Ramusio's (1485-1557) *Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550-9) is a telling example of this new trend, with Ramusio using in his travels works that were based on *autopsia*, or 'seeing for oneself', resurrecting a practice widely used in the classical travel literature, as a mean to validate the accuracy of these accounts.[105] Like the majority of its successors, More's *Utopia* made use of this technique by claiming to communicate to the reader an

[103] Ibid., p. 27.
[104] Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia*, pp. 1-15.
[105] F. Lejonse, 'Geography through texts: Evidential strategies in the Travel accounts of *Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venice, 1550-9)', in E. Peraldo (ed), *Literature and Geography: The Writing of Space throughout History* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 150-167.

eyewitnesses' account of a foreign land. The use of autopsy as a validation strategy for these travel accounts allowed the mythmaking that was prevalent in early modern cosmography (as I note in my first chapter) to co-exist with real stories in the travel literature of the period.[106] Literary utopias could use these tropes without diminishing their impact or discrediting them, as the success of the *Isle of Pines* (1668) to be passed as a real account proves.

Bakhtin's interest in space, inaugurated in literature 'the spatial turn' that Edward W. Soja in 1989 had identified as a reality.[107] The concern for space in literary studies was not restricted in Bakhtin. The emergence of postmodernity and the renewed interest in space caused scholars such as B. Westphal and R. T. Tally to re-examine the relationship between literary, imagined spaces and real ones. The fictionality of real spaces and the reality of fictional spaces is one of the key concepts of the different strands of 'geocriticsm' that Westphal and Tally developed, an approach that examines the interaction of literature with geography, urban landscapes and architecture,[108] recognizing a reciprocal, mirror relationship between fictional and real spaces.[109] My view of the space in early modern utopianism and its relationship with the perception of the real early modern spaces is based on exactly this assumption of a mirror relationship and their referentiality that geocriticism underlines.

For this reason, in the present study I examine utopian spaces that are both real and fictional. By comparing utopian geographies and topographies to real ones, I aim

[106] K. Sandrock, 'Truth and Lying in Early Modern Travel Narratives: Coryat's Crudities, Lithgow's *Totall Discourse* and Generic Change', *European Journal of English Studies*, 19/2 (2015), pp. 189-203.
[107] B. Warf and S. Arias, 'Introduction: the reinsertion of space in the humanities and social sciences', in B. Warf and S. Arias (eds), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Abington, 2009), pp. 1-10.
[108] R. T. Tally, 'Introduction', in R. T. Tally (ed), *Geocritical Explorations: Space, Place, and Mapping in Literary and Cultural* (New York, 2013), pp. 1-11.
[109] B. Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces* (New York, 2011), pp. v-xii.

to show, that they were in constant dialogue and I demonstrate how this dialogue was the basis for creating a utopian space that was far from an embodiment of some generic otherness.[110] The establishment of this strong connection will indicate how inaccurate it is to dismiss the utopian geography as secondary and the geos of utopias as a simple upgrade of the paradisiacal model. For this very reason, I use a wider, all-encompassing working definition of utopia, that applies to both the literary genre and to the intentional communities. I understand 'utopia' as a discourse concerned with the description of a model society—its institutions, its environment and life within it—which aims to provoke comparisons with its author's and audience's society. In my view, utopia does not demand blind obedience to its vision of a better world, but rather, by describing its ideal version, it produces what Suvin has called 'cognitive estrangement.' Like science fiction, utopia alienates its audience from their social reality, helping them to see their society's imperfections and to engage with them in a creative way.[111]

In my view utopia is more than a literary genre or description of a just society. On the contrary, utopia's most important feature is its function within a specific cultural and political context. Thus, I adopt Suvin's analysis, which emphasises the function of the genre, claiming that utopia is the 'literature of cognitive estrangement'.[112] Tom Moylan, in his analysis of his concept of 'critical utopia', has also underlined the importance of 'process rather than the product' in literary genres that include both utopian and dystopian elements.[113] While this concept is useful, I see the classical early

[110] B. Genocchio, 'Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: The Question of Other Spaces', in G. Watson (ed) *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 35-46.
[111] P. Parrinder, 'Introduction: Learning from Other Worlds', in P. Parrinder (ed), *Learning from Other Worlds: Estrangement, Cognition, and the Politics of Science Fiction and Utopia* (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 1-16.
[112] Suvin, *Metamorphoses of science fiction*, pp. 7-12.
[113] T. Moylan, *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination* (New York), pp. 10-11.

modern utopia as predominantly positive in its outlook, at least in its own period's context so I am uneasy with a definition that emphasises its ambivalence. Additionally, through this Suvin-inspired definition I am trying to deal with the problem that the composite character of literary utopia poses. Utopia as a literary genre is a combination both of social critique and of a fantasy tale that in some cases takes the form of counterfactual literature. It always threatens the conventions of standard literary genre's and it can only be understood and safely categorised through its function.

The early modern period, in particular, was dominated by an optimism that recognised humanity's potential for improving itself and its conditions, as well as, and more importantly, its role as a creator.[114] Even if this optimism sometimes did not reflect the reality, the word and the concept of material *improvement*, an English coinage, had entered general discourse from the early sixteenth century and as Paul Slack points out, it was sustained for a long time by 'a boundless optimism' against attacks from its critics.[115] Moreover, this concern about improvement did not leave continental Europe untouched. The term improvement may not have dominated European discourse in the same way as in England but material improvement, together with educational and moral improvement became essential concerns of the early modern states, especially in their various colonising activities.[116] Early modern utopianism was the product of its social and intellectual environment and had a specific function, offering both criticism and alternatives to the dominant paradigms of social, political and economic organisation. Thus, early modern utopianism exemplifies a

[114] G. Frank, 'Phillip Melanchthon (1497-1560): Reformer and Philosopher', in P. R. Bloom (ed), *Philosophers of the Renaissance* (Maryland, 2010), p. 156.
[115] P. Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 1-8, 253.
[116] U. Klein and E. C. Spary, 'Introduction: Why materials?', in U. Klein and E. C. Spary (eds), *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory*, (Chicago, 2009), pp. 2-6.

specific concern with improvement and only through this function can we understand and define it.

The present thesis has as its primary source a body of early modern texts, images and maps that share in wider utopian discourses, and not merely texts that match the criteria that usually define the literary genre of utopia. Thus, I do not examine solely classical utopian works of the early modern period such as More's *Utopia*, Campanella's *City of the Sun* (1602) and Bacon' *New Atlantis* (1624) but also plays like Brome's *Antipodes* (1638), poems like Sanazzaro's *Arcadia* (1504), picaresque novels like Grimmelshausen's *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1668), engravings of the Americas by Giovanni Stradano (*c.* 1589) and Theodor De Bry (1594) and political satires like the *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites* (1605) by Artus. I also examine technical manuals on architecture, paintings and plans of ideal cities together with the analysis of city building projects, colonial endeavours and unique buildings of the period. These sources are characterised not only by their utopian character but also by their emphasis on space and its utilisation.

In this study, the use of the analytical categories of topos and space forces me to examine the paradoxical nature of the utopian genre's fundamental text, evinced especially by its name. 'Utopia' was coined by More as a name for the fictional country he describes in his work, and it has been interpreted as an elaborate joke.[117] The name of his imaginary land comes from the synthesis of two Greek words '*οὐ* which means 'no' and '*τόπος'* which means 'land', so the ideal land is named '*no-land'*. Many scholars have occupied themselves with the analysis of this word and its

[117] C. Ginzburg, *No Island is an Island: Four Glances at English Literature in a World Perspective* (New York, 2000), pp. 5-10.

interpretation.[118] Was it just a humanistic jest that only More's fellow humanists around Europe could appreciate, or was it a bittersweet recognition of the improbability of his vision for a fair and harmonious commonwealth? The dedication of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* (1511) to More and the close friendship between the two humanists corroborates the idea that *Utopia* was meant to be More's satirical response to Erasmus's work.[119]

Furthermore, it is worth noting More's ambivalent attitude towards the ability of humanity to improve itself or to realise a utopian society like the one he described.[120] Scholars like Quentin Skinner and Carlo Ginzburg have even wondered whether *Utopia* was indeed an ideal society, or just a humanist farce, covering with a very thin layer of irony More's acceptance of the fact that an ideal society is unattainable in this world.[121] There is no definitive answer to the question of More's motives in penning *Utopia* and it does not directly concern the present study. However, we should remain cognisant of two facts: first, that *Utopia* immediately became the canonical work of the early modern utopian genre. Secondly, that whatever More's intentions, his work was perceived by his contemporaries and successive generations as a blueprint for the building of an ideal society. Whatever answer we choose to follow for this problem, we should accept the simple fact that *Utopia*, as the genre's ground-breaking work, was widely read, discussed, imitated and criticised. It defined not only a whole literary genre but a way of thinking about the future of human society, a way defined by its name as an ideal society without space.[122]

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[118] L. Marin, 'Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present', *Critical Inquiry*, 19/3 (1993), p. 411.
[119] H. Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia: Erasmus, Thomas More and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Plymouth, 2010), pp. 159-170.
[120] R. Frost, *Justification and Critique* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 180-186.
[121] Q. Skinner, 'More's Utopia', pp. 153–168; Ginzburg, *No Island is an Island*, pp. 1-23.
[122] S. Hutchinson, 'Mapping Utopias', *Modern Philology*, 85 (1987), pp. 170-5.

I use the term 'space' in this analysis to denote the physical, geographical space which can be easily translated into a geographical area or metaphorically into a point on a map, while 'place' is the result of the combination of space and time. It must be emphasised that in this context time represents the human experience, history itself. The ancient Greek term '*topos'* is synonymous with 'place', understood as the result of human contact on a space. An illuminating example can be found in Cortés's description of his expedition to Mexico, as described in his letters to Charles V in 1519.[123] As claimed by Doreen Massey, Mexico was transformed in this correspondence from a mere abstract space into a place where Cortés and his men encountered Moctezuma and his people. Cortés's crossing of a simply meaningless geographical space ended when he gazed 'down upon the incredible island city' known as Tenochtitlan, Moctezuma's capital.[124] From this point on, when these two different cultures and histories met one another, space was transformed into topos/place. Consequently, utopias often describe places or spatiotemporal loci, which are visited and described by the utopian writers via their various literary devices. The short duration of these visits usually does not help us to observe how human activity shaped gradually and progressively utopia's space but offers us a view of the finished product along with a description of the way this alteration/improvement was achieved and is maintained.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasised that space is not the sole component of utopia.[125] In the context of this study, I avoid associating positive or negative value to space, as was done during the 1960s and 1970s when it was equated with capitalist

[123] H. Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. A. Pagden (New Haven, 2001), pp. 38-50.
[124] D. Massey, *For Space* (London, 2005), pp. 9-18.
[125] D. Suvin, 'Locus, Horizon, and Orientation: The Concept of Possible Worlds as a Key to Utopian Studies,' *Utopian Studies*, 1/2 (1990), pp. 69-83.

repression contrasted with the revolutionary power of history.[126] By perceiving utopias as places I refuse to accept the idea that space and history are mutually antithetical analytical categories. In particular, the use of the term place/topos, which is the outcome of their fusion, is an attempt to give back to utopia both its space and its time as intertwined components. It is essential to avoid an extreme approach where time obliterates accounts of space or the opposite, because, in the early modern utopia, it is the entrance of the narrator/protagonist which reintroduces time, not as an abstraction but as an independent form integral to this space.

Utopia is described by Foucault as having no real place and based on this quality he distinguishes it from the many heterotopias that occupy an area between the physical and mental. For Foucault, heterotopias are 'countersites', multi-layered constructions of relationships and meanings linked to real world situations that emerge when the dominant social models start to lose their grip, allowing the space to become contested.[127] Thus, positive heterotopias can serve not only as the topos of an imaginary perfect society, but also as a critique of or a link to reality.[128] These heterotopias, as described by Foucault, can serve various functions and roles, with positive utopian outcomes being possible. The various potentialities/functions of space were also underlined by Jacques Ranciere.[129] For him, space has a utopian function when it becomes the place where injustice and inequality can be addressed, or when it plays a negative role. Many spaces became the loci of exploitation, violence or martyrdom and were transformed into places of memory, as for example, in the case of the twentieth

[126] M. Foucault, *Power: The Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*, ed. J. D. Faubion, (3 vols, London, 2001), iii, pp. 361.
[127] J. Tompkins, *Theatre's Heterotopias: Performance and the Cultural Politics of Space* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 24.
[128] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', pp. 46-49.
[129] J. Ranciere, *On the Shores of Politics* (London, 1995), pp. 47-50, Dikec, 'Space, politics, and the political', pp. 171-188.

century's concentration camps. In addition, there are cases when the same space can be translated into two or more different places, as can be seen in the case of sixteenth century America. There we witness its transformation into a place with utopian qualities in the eyes of European utopists and colonial promoters, but also to a place of misery and exploitation in the eyes of the natives.

This antinomy is very clear in Bartolomé de las Casas' (1484-1566) *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, published in English in 1583. There, descriptions of torture and injustice inflicted by the Spanish upon the Amerindians are contrasted with descriptions of natural beauty, peacefulness and promises of vast quantities of gold.[130] For las Casas, a space with utopian qualities served as the heterotopian locus for injustice and torture. Hence, he created a narrative which would cause the intended royal reader, Prince Phillip, later King Phillip II (1527-1598), to feel both horror and amazement at this part of his kingdom. It is interesting how this presentation of the New World's nature by las Casas echoes Moylan's critical utopia which he described as 'a text that acknowledges the dialectic between utopian and dystopian elements in every human endeavour'.[131] Of course, the American geos was not a utopian text but we cannot ignore the fact that upon the New World's soil utopian dreams and dystopian realities were written.

As I mentioned previously, it is the introduction of time that transforms space into place, and the access to utopia by an outsider brings with it exactly this element.[132] The visitor breaks the barriers, not only of utopia's isolation, but of its immovability in time. To quote Sargent's definition; the visitor 'links utopia to his own space and time'.

[130] B. de Las Casas, *A short account of the Destruction of the Indies*, ed. and tr. N. Griffin (London, 1999), pp. 2-5, 27-8 & 52-5.
[131] Moylan, *Demand the Impossible*, p. 10.
[132] I. F. Clarke, 'From space to time: the future is another place', *Futures*, 22 (1990), pp. 755-60.

He makes utopia part of his own society's history. In many cases, he even introduces the products of his society's progress. In *Utopia*, for example, Hythloday introduces to the Utopians the new technology of the printing press and the (previously unknown to them) texts of classical writers,.[133] Hence, the view of utopia as a 'final and definitive social ideal' with a static, isolated space seems to ignore the diplomatic relationships that More's Utopia maintains with its neighbouring states and its constant territorial expansion and agricultural improvement projects through the establishment of colonies.[134] The view of utopia as a static no-place seems to stem from its effort to protect itself from external incursions. However, the view that utopias rejected the possibility of improving themselves through the contact with other societies is problematic when we consider basic narrative facts about even the most canonical utopian works. For instance, Hythloday, an outsider, was able to reach More's Utopia and, in Bacon's Bensalem, the House of Salomon maintains a network of spies in Europe and elsewhere.[135]

European visitors to utopia transform utopia's theoretically rigid boundary into a porous one, linking early modern utopia to the rest of the world and making the image of the immutable, stable utopian society even more problematic. With his concept of the chronotope Bakhtin rejected any understanding of space without time and vice versa while Sargent was careful to note that utopias share the time and space of their authors. Moreover, Jameson, drawing on examples from twentieth-century dystopia and science fiction, has questioned whether progress could exist within utopia, or if they are

[133] T. More, *Utopia*, ed. G. M. Logan (Cambridge, 2016), p. 81.
[134] N. Frye, 'Varieties of Literary Utopias', in Manuel (ed), *Utopias and Utopian Thought*), p. 31; E. Grosz, 'The Time of Architectures', in A. Bingaman, L. Sanders and R. Zorach (eds), *Embodied Utopias: Gender, Social Change and the Modern Metropolis* (London, 2002), p. 268.
[135] C. Dhuill, *Sex in Imagined Spaces: Gender and Utopia from More to Bloch* (New York, 2010), pp. 20-2.

antithetical categories.[136] It is interesting to note that among the main arguments against the possibility of progress in utopia is that it exists outside time. In other words, at the time when it is visited, it is a finished product. This idea penetrated the perception of utopia and led to its rejection even by thinkers who espoused utopian ideals such as Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716) who criticised its lack of description of the way that this ideal society had been achieved and the absence of any mention about its future.[137] Massey has noted how space came to be understood as stasis opposite to the category of time perceived as progress, the dimension of change.[138] In her view, the modern geographical imagination perceives spatial otherness, as a kind of historical queue, with advanced and advancing countries. However, a globalised world can accommodate more than one contemporality and more than one social and political paradigm. Massey's analysis of a globalised world draws our attention to characteristics that can be identified in the early modern proto-globalisation, where multiple temporalities and contemporalities co-existed. A world that was bequeathed myths of paradisiacal lands by medieval authors could embrace early modern utopias and dreams of rediscovering humans living in an uncorrupted Golden Age along with evidence that the inhabitants of the New World were not bestial creatures but sophisticated enough to have powerful empires. The realisation that civilisations like the Aztec existed, even if their use as a direct model by More for his Utopia has been disputed, consolidated the image of a world that could host alternative models.

To return to the idea of time as the field of action in early modern utopia, we observe the transformation of space into a place when it is accessed by the protagonist

[136] F. Jameson, 'Progress versus Utopia; Or, Can We Imagine the Future? (Progrès Contre Utopie, Ou: Pouvons-Nous Imaginer L'avenir)', *Science Fiction Studies*, 9/2 (1982), pp. 147–58.
[137]A. Ramati, 'Harmony at a distance: Leibniz's scientific academies', *Isis*, 87 (1996), pp. 430-52.
[138] D. Massey, 'Imagining globalization: Power-geometries of time-space', in A. Brah, M. Hickman, M, and M. Mac an Ghaill (eds), Global Futures: Migration, Environment and Globalization (New York,1999), pp. 27–44

of the work. This transformation happens when the described utopian society becomes a locus of meeting between different cultures and identities. The author's society is represented in the persona of the visitor and by the citizen of utopia who takes the role of his guide. A typical example of this type of meeting can be found in *New Atlantis,* where a member of Salomon's House serves as guide to the European crewmen, explaining to them the origins, social norms and achievements of the Bensalemite society.[139] This tour is not only a narrative strategy for the presentation of the writer's ideas about a better society, but it is also an effort to create a dialogue between the embodiments of two different paradigms. Like Cortés in Mexico, the Spanish sailor crossing through Bensalem succeeds to embed with meaning an alien space. The European visitor transforms the utopian space but unlike Cortés and the colonial projects he does not appropriate it. Instead, he recognises, accepts and admires its difference from his own familiar world. This dialogue can have different forms and sometimes can take place even outside utopia itself. For instance, in *Utopia* the role of the guide is taken by Hythloday. Rather than being a native of the island of Utopus, he is a kind of proselyte, while the role of the visitor is played by a thinly disguised More and his companions. Their dialogue, even if it is largely monopolised by Hythloday and his descriptions, is not a one-sided celebration of the discovered ideal commonwealth. Concerns and doubts are also expressed by Hythloday's collocutors.[140] Is it possible to imitate Utopia's alternative paradigm in Europe? Can the Old World learn from the New? The ambivalence of the whole early modern utopian literature is encapsulated in these doubts expressed by Gilles and More. A genre, born out of a previously unheard-of globalisation, was reluctant to fully commit in an open world. The Old World and

[139] C. Kendrick, 'The Imperial Laboratory: Discovering Forms in *The New Atlantis*', *English Literary History*, 70/4 (2003), pp. 1021–42.
[140] More, *Utopia*, pp. 24-34.

utopia could be interlinked as spaces, they could be contrasted as paradigms, but they could never merge.[141] Yet both could co-exist in the unified post-Columbian globe before Europe imposed its dominance and became itself the model.

[141] C. Houston, 'No Place and New Worlds: The Early Modern Utopia and the Concept of the Global Community', *Spaces of Utopia: An Electronic Journal*, 1 (Spring 2006), ISSN 1646-4729.

Chapter 1

The changing paradigms of the world and the utopian place.

Very few literary genres can be traced back in such absolute terms as utopia. Thomas More's *Utopia* was the first example of a new literary mode and its publication in 1516 is hailed by every scholar of utopianism as the starting point not only of the early modern utopian literature but also of modern utopian discourse. Nevertheless, More's work has sparked a major debate regarding its Classical and medieval sources, along with its contemporary influences. Scholars of utopianism have emphasised the position that early modern variants of utopia had in a larger genealogy of utopian thinking. They have formulated a narrative according to which utopianism evolves along with contemporary intellectual, political and religious conditions. In this respect, utopianism is linked with the Classical paradigms of the ideal city as conceived by Plato and Aristotle, the satirical descriptions of the Lucianic imaginary worlds, as well as Christianity and the other Abrahamic religions. All of these traditions suggest strong utopian tendencies, expressed by their paradisiacal fantasies and their principles of moral regeneration and reform. By placing early modern utopianism in this genealogy, scholars such as J. C. Davis, Maria Berneri and Lewis Mumford overemphasise the intellectual affinities between the various utopian strands of thought and downgrade the importance of contemporary geographical knowledge and spatial imagination had in crystallizing the early modern utopia.

By adopting a definition of utopia as more of a mode of discourse than a strictly literary genre, in the context of this study, we are forced to confront the fact that the

tendency to imagine a better world which negates the current status quo is directly linked to the way we perceive our contemporary world. Utopianism is interdependent with the real world and its problems, and it follows a scheme of thesis-antithesis in order to provoke a critical engagement with the status quo and to provide possible solutions or alternate paradigms. To highlight the importance of contemporary geographical imagination in early modern utopianism, this chapter will briefly examine how the Classical heritage and Christian thinking influenced the way in which the world was viewed in geographical and poetical terms until the fifteenth century, when the first rifts with this tradition took place due to the renewed interest in geography that was inspired by European scholars' re-discovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* and its impact on utopia.[142]

The changing paradigms of the world, travel writing and the utopian place.

Chronologically, *Utopia* is on the threshold between the abandonment of the old conception of the world and the gradual emergence of a new one. Thus, it was in many respects a product of the old world and, not surprisingly, a herald and a major component of the new one that sixteenth-century cosmographers tried to describe and explain. The travels of exploration to the East and West can be credited not only for bringing to Europe vast quantities of resources, such as precious metals and previously unknown fruits, vegetables and spices, but also introducing utopia. The influence of the 'New World' on the creation of *Utopia* was evident in the premise of the work itself, which narrated an expedition starting in America undertaken by members of Amerigo

[142] J. M. Headly, 'Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53/4 (2000), pp.124-5.

Vespucci's (1454-1512) crew under the leadership of Raphael Hythloday. This has led some scholars to label the utopias that followed the publication of the homonymous book as geographical utopias in which the practice of investing real places with utopian qualities was enhanced.[143] Despite this characterisation, the influence of the Ptolemaic conception of the cosmos in these utopias has been largely ignored, as a result of the secondary role that space itself held in these analyses.

On the contrary, the obvious influence of Ptolemaic geographical theory on the early modern utopia has been largely ignored, with scholars such as Houston and David Fausett concentrating instead on its strong connection to the contemporary travel writing. Still, the relationship between utopia and travel writing provides more questions than answers regarding the role of the latter in the creation of early modern utopias. First of all, even the term travel literature is a generic label, as difficult to define as the term utopia. As a literary genre, travel writing could take many forms, from factual, unadorned first-hand accounts and ship logs to literary works such as novels, plays and poems, which present travel as an epic endeavour, and explorers and sailors as heroes. In terms of content, travel literature remains equally difficult to define.[144] If we define travel writing as an ideal type, it is a narration of a real journey to a country accompanied by a description of the geography, economy, people and the mores of this land. Ideally, its purpose was primarily to educate by providing knowledge about a different land and secondarily to present an alternative human society that could

[143] Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and Enlightenment', in Claeys (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, p. 51; F. Arenas, *Utopias of Otherness: Nationhood and Subjectivity in Portugal and Brazil* (Minnesota, 2003), pp. 88-90.
[144] J. P. Rubies, 'Introduction', in J. Elsner and J. P. Rubies (eds), *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999), pp. 1-56.

provoke the necessary cognitive estrangement in order for people to engage critically in the features of their own societies.[145]

However, the exploration of Otherness within travel writing, and its employment within social critique was not always as clear as in utopian literature and definitely was not the central purpose of every work categorised under that label. The breadth and purpose of the travel literature varied according to the period and the writer, although, as a genre, it remained closely linked to utopian forms of discourse. According to some scholars, the beginnings of travel literature can be traced to a text almost four thousand years old that it also serves as the starting point for the utopian literature; *The tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*.[146] Dating from Egypt's Middle Kingdom (2000-1700 BCE), it is the story of a sailor who, while travelling from the Sinai peninsula back to Egypt, has his ship sunk and finds himself on a Red Sea paradisiacal island filled with food and drink and inhabited by a talking serpent.[147] It is a remarkable tale not only due to its age but also because it combines elements from both genres of utopian fantasy and travel literature, thus blurring the boundaries between these two genres and establishing a type of textual hybridity that came to characterise travel writing. This hybridity is evident in works, such as Homer's *Odyssey* (800-700 BCE) and Virgil's *Aeneid* (19 BCE), where through the epic narration of the heroes' feats we follow their travels around the Mediterranean basin and can also find the description of the land of the Phaeacians, with its utopian qualities and the restoration of the Golden Age by Rome that is prophesied to Aeneas during his visit to the underworld.[148] In

[145] C. Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York, 2002), pp. 1-12 and T. Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 1-37.
[146] J. Carey, *The Faber Book of Utopias* (London, 1999), pp. 1-8.
[147] R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BCE* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 89-101.
[148] P. Hulme and T. Youngs, 'Introduction', in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 2.

addition, in works where travelling and geography were the main topics of the narration and the authors claimed to have been first-hand witnesses of foreign lands, such as Herodotus' *Histories*, we read of lands with utopian qualities, for example Ethiopia, which is placed by Herodotus on the southern frontiers of the Persian Empire. All these examples show how the breadth and purpose of these works varied from propaganda and entertainment to the pursuit of knowledge and that despite their categorisation as travel writings, they were actually hybrids of different genres.[149]

An interesting shift in the purpose and breadth of travel literature took place during the early Middle Ages when the collapse of the Roman empire limited travel to a few daring pilgrims and monks.[150] With travel being motivated mainly by religion, travel literature focused upon the description of pilgrimages and the adventures of missionaries that headed to the East towards Persia, India and Cathay, also documented by monks and clergymen. This monopoly of travel and travel writing by the Churchmen began to be contested in the middle of the thirteenth century, when a growing number of European and mainly Italian merchants travelled to the East, seeking trading opportunities and a share of its famous riches, as Pegolotti's manual of commerce (1340) attests, and returned with reports of marvellous foreign lands.[151] As both cases indicate, the purpose of medieval travel literature was practical, seeking to provide guidelines for pious pilgrims travelling to churches housing miraculous relics or vital information for landmarks, market cities and commodities for travelling merchants.

[149] J. Priestley, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture: Literary studies in the reception of the Histories* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 145-149; M. J. C. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and* Influence (Chapel Hill, 1995), pp. 202-210.
[150] M. Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims: Ascetic travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D 300-800* (Pennsylvania, 2005), pp. 8-24.
[151] W. D. Phillips and C. R. Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 47.

This attitude can be associated with the rigid worldview provided by Christianity, which was suspicious towards travel that was not undertaken for religious purposes.[152] Nevertheless, even under these strict and practical purposes, travel accounts of this period were not limited to an austere portrayal of the physical environment and the mores of foreign people, but instead retained their characteristic breadth by including descriptions of miraculous environments, strange animals and marvels. An interesting example of this hybridity of content can be found in an eighth-century hagiographic text, the *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*, that narrates the travels of St Brendan and especially his visit to a paradise island in the Atlantic Ocean adorned with rich flora, tamed fauna and trees that bore strange, delicious fruit.[153] The figure of St Brendan was probably based on tales of pre-Christian Irish heroes, and his travels summarised the adventures of many seafaring Irish monks. As for the description of places such as the Island of the Sheep or that of Hell, real spaces such as the Faroes Islands and volcanic Iceland, are echoed and filtered by the medieval milieu that mixed both fantasy and reality.[154] Nevertheless, the mysterious island that was named St Brendan's Isle was a projection of the belief that paradise lands such as the Garden of Eden were still accessible parts of the world and in this respect it became one of the most popular medieval paradisiacal lands with its exact location frequently debated by sailors and scholars, and a permanent place on the medieval *mappae mundi* reserved for it.

The first real decisive break with the medieval tradition of travel writing took place during the early modern period, under the influence of the travels of exploration

[152] E. Weber, *Traveling Through Text: Message and Method in Late Medieval Pilgrimage Accounts* (Abington, 2005), pp. 24-6.
[153] S. I. Sobecki, *The Sea and Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 16-22.
[154] J. S. Mackley, *The legend of St Brendan: A comparative study of the Latin and Anglo-Norman* Versions (Leiden, 2008), pp. 1-12, 53.

and especially the discovery of the Americas by the Europeans.[155] Previous trade and military expansions towards the South and the East by the Europeans like the Crusades (1095-1291), were in a geographical space that was an organic part of the Christian and European system of knowledge. Columbus' westward travels expanded the world far beyond its Classical and medieval limits, cancelling the geographical rules of the *oecumene* and forcing both writers and readers to seek new normalising models of the world. This process was greatly benefited by the printing revolution that made it easier to disseminate texts that satisfied the public's need for news about this newly discovered New World but also raised questions about its nature and history.

Variations in early modern travel literature can also be understood in the context of the different purposes of travelling. For example, trips to European countries were distinguished from voyages to the New World due to their diplomatic, educational and cultural significance, while the latter were associated with the pursuit of riches, power and colonial expansion. The Italian states and the Low Countries were places related to artistic and educational achievements and were deemed worthy of imitation. For this reason, they became the most frequent destinations for the scions of the ruling elites in their task of accumulating cultural capital.[156] Meanwhile, the New Worlds of the Americas, Africa and Asia were understood, at least initially, as being empty spaces related to vast natural resources, exotic inhabitants and fertile virgin lands waiting to be occupied and improved.[157] These two different kinds of early modern travel were met with opposing attitudes. Travelling to foreign lands was not wholeheartedly

[155] N. L. Whitehead, 'South America/Amazonia: the forest of marvels' in Hulme and Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 122-4.
[156] G. Verhoeven, 'Calvinist pilgrimages and Popish encounters: religious identity and sacred space on the Dutch Grand Tour (1598-1685)', *Journal of Social History*, 43/ 3 (2010), pp. 615-634; G. Darley, 'Wonderful Things: The experience of the Grand Tour', *Perspecta*, 41 (2008), pp. 17-29.
[157] K. Evans, 'How Temperance Becomes "Blood Guiltie" in "The Faerie Queene"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 49/1 (2009), pp. 35-37.

embraced by the ruling and educational elites, perhaps because they realised that the cognitive estrangement of travelling could potentially disrupt to the status quo. Debates on the benefits or the dangers of travel were held in many European societies. For example, Roger Ascham in *The Scholemaster* (1570) composed a learned but violent attack, based on Classical and Biblical sources, on 'educational travel' and particularly on Italianate Englishmen who, after their visits to Italy returned, "not onely with worse manner, but also with lesse learning".[158]

However, travelling was steadily gaining supporters, especially when it was associated with financial and political expansion and some decades after Ascham, an equally learned defence 'Of Travel' was written by Francis Bacon and included in the third edition of his *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Moral* (1625) where travel was presented as an essential practice for acquiring both education and experience in world affairs.[159] Interestingly enough, the criticism of travel rarely if ever touched the various colonial expeditions which, although proven many times to be futile and disappointing, were constantly promoted and presented as being a patriotic duty.[160] In this vein, Bacon's view of the benefits of traveling underlined the importance that was given to exploration missions and travel writing, considering that he wrote in the context of increasing antagonism between European powers in their race to explore, occupy and colonise new lands.[161] Hence, knowledge regarding these places became as valuable as the lands themselves and this need for information was partly satisfied by travel writers and editors who undertook the task of collecting empirical data on a wide range of topics ranging from geography and ethnology to mineralogy and laid the foundations

[158] R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teaching children, the Latin tongue*, (London, 1570), p. 25.
[159] F. Bacon, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (London, 1625), p. 100.
[160] T. Sweet, 'Economy, Ecology, and Utopia in Early Colonial Promotional Literature', *American Literature*, 71/ 3 (1999), pp. 401-410.
[161] Hulme and Youngs, 'Introduction', p. 9.

for a new scientific discourse based on the observation of the physical world.[162] Thus, it is no coincidence that in *New Atlantis* (1627) Francis Bacon, who defended travel as a method of learning, attributed a crucial role to travelling as a way of acquiring knowledge.[163] The leading scientific institution of Bensalem, Solomon's House, organised travel expeditions with the sole purpose of gathering knowledge and maintaining a network of spies in other countries in order to be informed of any new scientific discovery.[164]

Nevertheless, the acquisition of riches and land remained the central motivation for foreign expeditions and the knowledge produced by them was valuable only when it served the purposes of conquering and exploiting the new lands. This attitude was also reflected in travel writings. For instance, Richard Eden, who translated Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *De Orbe Novo* (1530) in 1555 during the reign of Mary, celebrates in his 'Preface to the Reader' the Spanish achievement in the Americas as 'surpassing even those of antiquity'.[165] However, this panegyric, like the text he translated, had just one purpose for a supporter of colonial projects such as Eden, that of providing the necessary knowledge regarding the New World, in order to motivate and support a similar English colonial endeavour. Eden's wish for colonial expansion and his frustration due to its delay was shared by many French colonial promoters, cosmographers and explorers, such as Samuel de Champlain (1574-1635) and Marc Lescarbot (1570-1641). These individuals perceived their nation's failure to colonise

[162] J. P. Rubies, 'Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions, and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe', *Journeys*, 1:1/2 (2000), pp. 5-6.
[163] T. L. Craig, 'On the Significance of the Literary Character of Francis Bacon's "New Atlantis" for an Understanding of His Political Thought', *The Review of Politics*, 72/ 2 (2010), pp. 213-39.
[164] J. L. Cowan, 'Francis Bacon's 'New Atlantis' and the alterity of the New World', *Literature and Theology*, 25/ 4, (2011), pp. 407–421 and M. Peltonen, 'Politics and Science: Francis Bacon and the True Greatness of States', *The Historical Journal*, 35/ 2 (1992), pp. 279-305.
[165] P. M. Angerius, *The decades of the newe worlde or West India. Written in Latine and tr. By R. Eden* (London, 1555), p. ci

parts of the New World, in contrast to the achievements of the Spanish and the Portuguese had done, as a threat to its very existence.[166]

In this light, the large compilations of travel accounts that Giovanni Ramusio (1485-1557), Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) and Pierre Bergeron (1580- 1637) had collected in an effort to promote the trade and colonial future of their countries, serve to highlight the importance of geographical knowledge for countries that had failed to follow Iberian colonial expansion, but also demonstrate the development of a new vision of cosmos, deriving from Ptolemy's *Geography* and the empirical data gathered by reliable autoptic travellers, that treated the world as a normalised, unified space.[167] The Spanish crown reacted to its competitors' quest for knowledge about the New World by imposing of strict regulations upon the cosmographers' work during the sixteenth century. This effort to manage the input and output of information that could be helpful to their opponents led to the careful monitoring of pilot charts by the Spanish and also to a Portuguese policy of secrecy that concealed its cartographic achievements and voyages.[168] Hence, it becomes evident that the new purpose of travel literature during the early modern period was that of disseminating geographical and ethnographical knowledge that could be employed in the quest to reshape the European status quo and the world.[169]

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[166] B. Brazeau, *Writing a New France, 1604-1632: Empire and early modern French identity* (Farnham, 2009), p. 111.
[167] M. Small, 'Displacing Ptolemy?', in K. D. Lilley (ed), *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 153; E. G. R. Taylor, 'Richard Hakluyt', *The Geographical Journal*, 109 4/6 (1947), pp. 165-171; M. Small, 'A World Seen through Another Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio and the Narratives of the *Navigationi et Viaggi*', in C. Jowitt and D. Carrey (eds), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2012), pp. 45-56.
[168] M. M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago, 2009), pp. 6-8; J. Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Introduction', in D. Bleichmar, P. De Vos, K. Huffine and K. Sheehan (eds), *Science in The Spanish and Portuguese Empires 1500-1800* (Stanford, 2009), p. 3.
[169] R. Hilton, 'The Significance of Travel Literature, with Special Reference to the Spanish and Portuguese Speaking World', *Hispania*, 49/4 (1966), p. 839.

As a result, the qualities of accuracy and reliability became highly significant for the genre during the early modern period, the attacks on certain works and writers, such as André Thévet (1516-1590), who invented and falsified parts of their accounts, and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (*c.* 1356).[170] Nevertheless, this quest for accuracy in travel writing must not be misinterpreted as anti-utopian or solely pragmatic. More inaugurated the connection of the Americas to the quest for a better society by utilising the news that were coming to Europe from the travels of exploration and the colonial adventures of the Spanish and the Portuguese to make his imaginary society appear plausible.[171] In a land where unknown civilisations existed, none could easily dismiss the possibility that More's described society could exist. Furthermore, the fact that the Americas were perceived as an empty space seemed the answer to the prayers of many Christian sects that were looking for an uncorrupted land to recreate a paradigm of communal living modelled upon that of the early Christianity.[172] Finally, even colonial promoters who focused on the profits and power that the New World could offer to their nations, kept emphasising that the Spanish were building cities, churches and communities for the first time in the Americas, constructing, a new world from nothing.[173] However, in order to understand the importance of the discovery of the Americas and of the new geographical model of the world in utopia we must take a look at the world before the travels of exploration enlarged it, and before it was encircled by the normalising grid of latitude and longitude that Ptolemy introduced.[174]

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[170] D. Henige, 'Finding Columbus: Implications of a newly discovered text', in C. H. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *The European Outthrust and Encounter: The first phase 1400-1700* (Liverpool, 1994), p. 245.
[171] A. A. Cave, 'Thomas More and the New World', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 23/ 2 (1991), pp. 209-14.
[172] D. E. Pitzer, 'Introduction', in D. E. Pitzer *America's Communal Utopias* (Chapel Hill, 2010), p. 4.
[173] Angerius, *The decades of the newe worlde or West India*, p. ciii.
[174] E. Edson, 'Maps in Context: Isidore, Orosius, and the Medieval Image of the World', in R. J. A. Talbert and R. W. Unger (eds), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods* (Leiden, 2008).

Mappae mundi and the Christian *oecumene*.

Mappae mundi were the medieval manuscript maps that depicted the mundus, the world, and their name also referred to the material on which they were painted since *mappa* was the cloth.[175] The world they portrayed was the Christian *oecumene*. *Oecumene* was the inhabited world, whose limits had first been established by the ancient Greeks, who equated the world to the space of their trading and military expansion and later by the Romans who adapted the concept of the *oecumene* to their own imperium adjusting its boundaries on their own frontiers.[176] This world, which had the Mediterranean basin as its central point, was defined geographically in the Middle East, North Africa and Europe by the limits of the Roman conquests. However, the lands depicted on the *mappae mundi*, after the prevalence of Christianity in the Roman Empire, were now moralised and poetically explained by the life of Christ, the Acts of the Apostles and the Biblical tradition.

It must be emphasised that these small maps (usually the size of a few inches) were organic components of the texts that they accompanied and formed a harmonic ensemble which aimed to better demonstrate the topic under discussion. Hence, the majority of the *mappae mundi* that could be found in manuscripts like the map (figure 1) that accompanies a twelfth-century manuscript of *The Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, usually adopted the schematic depiction of the world as T in O.[177] This scheme

[175] E. Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London, 1997), p. 2.
[176] M. Scott, *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 156; N. Lozovsky, 'Maps and Panegyrics: Roman Geo-Ethnographical Rhetoric in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages', in Talbert and Unger (eds), *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, pp. 169-189.
[177] London, British Library, Royal 12 F. IV, fol. 135v, St Isidore *Etymologies*.

depicted the three continents of Africa, Asia and Europe separated by the Mediterranean Sea forming a T and encircled by the Ocean River denoted by an O in order to demonstrate the division of the three continents of the world between Noah's children after the Flood. Similarly, the Macrobian or zonal maps that separated the world into five climate zones, two of which represented the habitable world, usually accompanied Macrobius *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (*c.* 5th CE) a text concerned with the nature of the cosmos. This kind of map was used to explain meteorological phenomena and the idea that areas away from the *oecumene's* space could not be inhabited. An example of this combination of Macrobius' work with a zonal map (figure 2) can be found in a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Commentarii*.[178] These small manuscript maps, despite their schematic and didactic nature, were incorporated into these works in order to depict the world not as a sterilised space but as a narrative embedded with and aimed to convey a certain moral or theological meaning to their readers. This becomes clear if we examine the few examples of 'standalone' or 'complex' *mappae mundi* that became popular in the twelfth century.

These maps differ from the smaller ones that accompanied manuscripts, mainly, due to their size; some could reach the 158 cm by 133 cm as in the case of the Hereford map (*c.* 1300), the largest medieval map that survives today. The second difference is that their large proportions enabled their creators to incorporate into them a vast quantity of information which was usually contained in the texts that the smaller maps accompanied. In addition, it should be noted that these complex maps were also based on the T in O type but, given their higher availability of space, their creators were able to introduce decorative figures and illustrations in them. Another point worth

[178] Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. NKS 218 4°, fol. 34R, Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*.

mentioning is that the Christian character of the *oecumene* was symbolised in them by a figure of the crucified Jesus whose hands embraced the world. The Hereford map is a fine example of this practice.

Hence, if we examine some of the most characteristic examples of complex mappae mundi such as The Psalter map, one of the smallest complex mappae mundi, the Hereford map and the Fra Mauro map,[179] we can observe not only cities, islands and seas but also historical events, places related to the life of Christ and Classical myths. For instance, on the Hereford map there is an illustration of the labyrinth on the island of Crete while monstrous races like the one-legged Sciapods and the dog headed Cynocephali described in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* are depicted in the south margin of the world in the 13th *c.* Psalter map (figure 3). The Garden of Eden which was traditionally placed on the far East of the world can be seen on the bottom left corner of Fra Mauro map (figure 4).[180]

These diverse information were included on the *mappae mundi* in an effort to produce a vision of the cosmos in harmony with the classical heritage, Christian theology and in some cases (as in the Fra Mauro *mappae mundi*), the latest first-hand observations of travellers.[181] Thus, in many respects the *mappae mundi* functioned as encyclopaedias but they were also testimonials of a moralised and poetical view of the world where pagan science, practical observation and Biblical tradition coexisted and gave meaning to it. Another important role of the mappae mundi was that they enabled their readers to perform a '*peregrinatio in stabilitate'*, a pilgrimage without

[179] N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1250-1285* (London, 1988), pp. 82-83.
[180] P. D. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: the Hereford World Map* (London, 1996), pp. 8-30; London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, f.9r; Psalter Map; London, British Library, Add. MS 11267, Fra Mauro map.
[181] Edson, *Mapping Time and Space*, pp. 50-54.

movement.[182] Rome, the Holy lands or Santiago de Compostela were famous sites of pilgrimage but it could take weeks or months to reach them and the routes were dangerous, infested by bandits or inhabited by hostile populations with a different religion.[183] A *mappa mundi* which featured many locations and figures of religious significance could assist the undertaking of a less dangerous and time-consuming imagined pilgrimage than a real one.

The world as it was depicted on these maps consolidated the boundaries that the Greek *oecumene,* the Roman Imperium and the Biblical tradition had established. The coexistence of sites, figures and myths from different time periods was not a simple anachronism but a way to represent a world embedded with history in the form of both living experience and cultural and religious heritage. By depicting Noah's Ark or the Sea of Galilee, a *mappa mundi* did not serve as an encyclopaedic reminder of a Biblical event. It was demonstrating that the world was not an empty space but a theatre, on the stage of which the creator's great plan was taking place, and it supplied the component of time to the matrix of space.

Mappae mundi thus complied perfectly with the Christian conception of time and predestination. The depiction of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Paradise serves as a reminder of original sin to the faithful but is also the starting point of a sacred timeline. The placement of the Garden of Eden on the far East was sometimes presented as accessible and sometimes as out of human reach. It was also a reminder of people's destiny. This was a world where different times or histories coexisted giving it multiple meanings. For example, Rome on a *mappa mundi* was a pilgrimage locus

[182] A. S. Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York, 2006), pp. 30-32; B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005), p. 111.
[183] J. Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (London, 1975), p.161.

but also a base of imperial power. Toponyms, contemporary or ancient ones, could serve to separate two different historical periods and highlight the importance of the city for them, but in the *mappae mundi* these two periods coexisted.

This could help understand, the denial by the early Christian fathers of geographical theories such as the Antipodes which could disrupt the harmonic vision of the world conveyed by the *oecumene* model. For example, according to the antipodean theory, if the world was to be perceived as a manifestation of perfection, in its southern hemisphere there should be a land of similar mass and shape to that of the tripartite Greco-Roman world and most importantly an inhabited land. The refusal of this ide by early Christian apologists such as Lactantius (*c.* 250-325) was categorical.[184] However, it was Augustine (354-430 CE) who formed the official Church thesis on the matter in his *De Civitate Dei* (426 CE) based on the scriptures and the claim that the Gospel had reached the whole world. Moreover, Augustine dismissed the existence of inhabited lands on the Antipodes due to the belief that the world was encircled by an impenetrable Ocean, making sailing to these lands humanly impossible.[185]

Augustine rejected the existence of inhabited lands but not necessarily that of an uninhabited terra or one populated by the monster races that Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) had described in his *Natural History*, which populated lands in the extreme of the *oecumene*.[186] His denial that areas could be occupied by humans outside the borders of the already known world could be attributed to his need to set the boundaries of the Christian world. Augustine wrote in a period when the transition from the old pagan empire to the Christian empire was taking place and the *oecumene* was still under

[184] M. B. Goldie, *The Idea of the Antipodes: Place, People and Voices* (New York, 2010), pp. 1-4.
[185] *De Civitate Dei*, 16.9.
[186] A. Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before the 1600* (Chicago, 2008), pp, 10, 58-60.

Christianisation. Therefore, his stance on the matter could be interpreted as an act of political and cultural self-determination through the acknowledgment of otherness. Moreover, historians have underlined the similarity of his view to Cicero's comments on *Somnium Scipionis* (54-51 BCE) about the necessity of knowing other lands in order to focus on serving one's country.[187] Nonetheless, Augustine's rejection of the existence of inhabited places outside the *oecumene* could as easily be attributed to his belief that the Christian world was already solidified through the Biblical and Apostolic acts that already taken place on its space. There was no need for the Antipodes or any other terra incognita in his cosmology because the Mediterranean world was already embedded and justified by the history of Christianity.

Hence, it becomes apparent that the *mappae mundi* expressed a completely unique way of spatial imagination which projected as a place, a geographical area seen as inseparable from the time of lived experience.[188] The amount of diverse details on them and the lack of geographical accuracy demonstrates that *mappae mundi* did not aim to serve as instruments of navigation, but primarily as depictions of God's creation, its harmony, its history and its soteriological meaning, and only secondarily as repositories of knowledge. Nevertheless, when naval trade and contacts with the East during the thirteenth century brought to light the need for specialised naval maps focused on practical navigation, the portolan charts were created. These were maps that depicted naval routes linking Mediterranean ports. They were initially produced in the Italian city-states like Venice and Genoa, whose prosperity relied on naval trade. They supplemented the 'portolanos' books that contained descriptions of ports and useful instructions about the voyage between them. On the portolan charts we can trace the

[187] Ibid., p. 10.
[188] E. S. Casey, *The fate of place: a philosophical history* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 15.

first signs of the emergence of a new conception and projection of space, which was not tied to time.[189] Practical need obscured the theological and encyclopaedic role of the other maps. The *Pisana Carta* (*c.* 1275-1296) the oldest portolan chart that survives, gives us an early example of their content.[190] It was designed as a navigational instrument, thus only coastal areas were depicted in detail, while the interiors were usually left blank.[191] Due to their practical character, were among the first cultural artefacts of a new model of spatial imagination and depiction that aimed at practical gain. Thus, they rejected any notion of a moralised complex place in favour of an empty space ready to be exploited. This is also evident on another portolan of the Mediterranean created by Joan Martines from Messina in 1578 (figure 5), which depicted only coastal locations.[192]

Still, during the age of exploration, many richly illustrated portolans were created. These works addressed a noble and rich clientele and were not for everyday use by sailors; as such, they were valuable and prestigious gifts among monarchs in a period when many European monarchies cultivated imperialistic and colonialist dreams. An example of these beautifully illustrated maps is the *Agnese Battista chart* (figure 6) dating from 1559, a map richly decorated with figures of rulers, flags and exotic animals.[193] Yet, the main purpose of the map is to present the important sea routes and ports around Europe and its secondary features like the figures of the rulers and the animals have a practical and secular spirit. This map schematically depicts the important European monarchies of the period like the Ottoman Sultan on a throne in

[189] T. Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts', *Imago Mundi*, 38 (1986), pp. 67-70.
[190] N. J. W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society* (Chicago, 1996), p. 236.
[191] G. R. Crone, 'A manuscript Atlas by Battista Agnese in the Society's Collection', *The Geographical Journal*, 108/1:3 (1946), p.72.
[192] London, British Library, Add. MS 10134, ff. 3v-4, Joan Martines, Portolan.
[193] London, British Library, Add. MS 21029, Olivier Jaume, Agnese Battista Chart.

Anatolia or the Spanish king on his lands and some real or mythical animals such as elephants and dragons. However, it displayed no earthly paradise or any monster races.[194]

In order to better understand better this change on spatial imagination, it would be useful to return to Fra Mauro's map which, as mentioned above, is considered the first modern map. It employs the traditional T in O shape of the *mappae mundi* and shares many other stylistic characteristics with them, but its creator was especially concerned with depicting the world as accurately as possible and by doing so he rejected many of the traditional components of the *mappae mundi*.[195] No Biblical stories or myths can be seen among the routes that linked cities and castles. Instead, ships, compasses, descriptions of naval explorations and lavish drawings of the East based on merchants' narrations like Marco Polo's (1254-1324) and Niccolò de Conti's (1395-1469) prevail, along with an enlarged Venice.[196] The map's aim was clear, namely to glorify Venice, its creator's home, but also to accurately depict vital trading areas of the East upon which the city's fortune and power lay. In the light of the above, we can understand the banishment of the Garden of Eden on the low corner of the map, which is severed from the earthly realm. This was not because Fra Mauro, a monk himself, had any doubt about the existence of the earthly paradise, as he followed the previous tradition, portraying it as a walled garden with the four rivers of Euphrates, Ganges, Nile and Tigris flowing through it and thus maintaining its link to Earth. Rather, in the modern world of sea trade routes and compasses, this earthly paradise was forced to give its place on the Far East to the 'Isola de Cipagu' with its mythical riches, in the

[194] J. R. Short, *Making Space: Revisioning the World, 1475-1600* (New York, 2004), pp. 113-4.
[195] P. Falcetta, *Fra Mauro's Word Map: with a Commentary and Translations of the Inscriptions* (Begijnhof, 2006), p. 475.
[196] B. B. Olshin, *The Mysteries of the Marco Polo Maps* (Chicago, 2014), p. 32.

same fashion that the impenetrable frontier of the ocean of Augustine was dotted with numerous unnamed islands by Fra Mauro symbolising the unknown.

It is not a coincidence that Columbus wished to find the island 'Cipagu' which Marco Polo described as 'having tremendous quantities of gold' and 'its emperor's palace is roofed with pure gold, and his floors are paved in gold two fingers deep'.[197] The semi-mythical character that 'Cipagu', the present day Japan, took on in the descriptions of medieval travellers or, to be more accurate, descriptions of merchants and pilgrims of Asia, and its miracles, are indicative of the material that this type of narrative supplied to the medieval audience's imagination and how it was used to 'fill' the extreme areas of the world in order to complement people's image of the *oecumene*.[198]

As already noted, the main sources of geographical knowledge until the fifteenth century were the Bible and Classical authors. Yet, travel accounts of the East became extremely popular during the Middle Ages. Among these works we can separate out the *Il Milione* which narrated the travels of Marco Polo to the East and his stay at the court of Kublai Khan, as well as the account by Odoric of Pordenone (1286-1331) regarding his missionary work in India and China, both of which are first-hand accounts. Moreover, there are works such as Jordanus Catalani's *The Wonders of the East* (*c.* 1340s) and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (*c.* 1356) which mixed first-hand experiences and facts taken from other travel accounts that included fables and miracles of the East. All of these works were immensely popular and were translated into many European languages. For example, Odoric's work could be found in French,

[197] Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1854), p. 350.
[198] R. Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages: The physical World Before Columbus* (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 40; J. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 41-2.

Latin and Italian manuscripts before being translated into English. It was also included in the *Principal Navigation* (1599) by Richard Hakluyt. Polo's *Il Milione* had even larger popularity than Pordenone's work, with seventy manuscripts surviving today but the popularity of both was surpassed by a work attributed to a knight called John Mandeville. *Mandeville's Travels* was written in French, possibly by a monk who never left his monastery, but had access to a great library. Meanwhile, his decision to attribute the work not to a pilgrim or a merchant but instead to a knight was a break from the previous examples.[199] The world populated by marvels and monsters that *Mandeville's Travels* highlighted proved extremely attractive to audiences. The work became a great success with three hundred and twenty manuscripts surviving in Latin, Czech, Danish, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish and it was the most authoritative work for understanding Asia during the next two centuries.[200]

This could be attributed to the profound demand for extraordinary and adventurous tales, but the narratives also verified the cosmology as it was depicted on the medieval *mappae mundi*. These conveyed the idea that the extremities of the world were populated by the extremities of creation. Moreover, *Mandeville's Travels* was based on previous accounts and traditions about the East, while the authenticity of its information on contemporary geographical and ethnological knowledge could not be questioned.[201] The cosmos was a place where Godly perfection and evil monstrosity co-existed, a world with the figures of Adam and Eve at one of its extremities, as a reminder of original sin and, at the other extreme, the Garden of Eden placed in the Far East. The normality was represented by the *oecumene* and its Christian homelands.[202]

[199] J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 210-211.
[200] C. W. R. D. Moseley, 'New Thing to Speak of Money, Memory and *Mandeville's Travels* in Early Modern England', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 41/1 (2011), p. 8.
[201] Ibid., p. 10.
[202] A. Scafi, *Mapping the Paradise: A history of Heaven on Earth* (London, 2006), pp. 128-130.

The East and Africa were areas of miracles and marvels through which the European Christian normality was established. The East was where strange animals such as griffins existed.[203] Furthermore, if the information that was collected regarding these areas did not conform to these stock images of the East, other lands could serve instead as loci of the marvellous like the Antipodes.

Classical geographers, from Herodotus (484-425 BCE), Strabo (64 BCE- 24 CE), Pliny the Elder (25-79 CE) to Ptolemy (90-168 CE), had described a world which had firm borders overlapping with the limits of their people's trade and cultural and military expansion. Their view of the world was one of harmony and restraint. They replicated a vision in which the centre of their cultures was the centre of the world. Greece, and later Rome held this position and were both described as being safe and harmonious, quite different from the lands at the extremities of the world which were described as miraculous lands, characterised by extreme fertility and crowned by marvellous buildings like the Pyramids, but which also suffered destructive floods and were the home of strange beasts. A great example of these was the crocodile which amazed Herodotus during his visit to Egypt.[204] At these extremes, strange people could also be found with inverted laws, such as the Ethiopians who used gold to create the chains of their prisoners and even stranger people, such as the Sciapods.[205]

Christianity contributed to the way that the *oecumene* was seen, by providing its own exegesis regarding the origins of nations and their place in the world through the Biblical tradition. For example, Genesis 10, which narrated how the world was repopulated by Noah after the Flood, and then how Noah's sons and their descendants

[203] J. Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford, 2012), p. 106.
[204] Herodotus, *Histories*, ed. J. Romm, tr. P. Mensch (Indianapolis, 2014), pp. 106-128.
[205] J. Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 36-37.

populated each continent, offered a religiously sanctioned ethnology. The partition of the world between Noah's sons and their descendants, (Japheth took Europe, Shem was given Asia and Ham received Africa) reconfirmed the *oecumene*'s frontiers with the rest of the world as being left empty or left to the monster races. As the inhabited world's mainland was a moralised space, so were its boundaries. Their break was a symbolic act. Myths regarding the limits that people could not trespass, such as the Pillars of Hercules at the western frontier of the Mediterranean, were accompanied by warnings, for example the Latin 'nec plus ultra' and by cautionary tales regarding the punishment that was accorded by the gods to the few who dared to ignore the warning.[206] Greek and Roman ideas about the significance of the boundaries survived into the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Dante in his *Divine Comedy* (1320, first edition 1472) meets the archetype of the traveller Ulysses himself in the low circles of Inferno, who is seen being punished for his sins. When he is asked by Dante how he died, Ulysses replies that he met his end, along with his loyal crew, after he convinced them to undertake a final voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules where God sank their ship.[207] The moral of this version of Ulysses' death (which Dante had borrowed from Roman sources) was clear. By breaching the frontiers, sailors and explorers were breaking the seal that moralised and normalised the *oecumene*, and they were negating the limits of humanity itself. This break was especially condemned by the Romans. Roman poets and philosophers like Seneca and Virgil wrote with contempt about the travels of exploration. Seneca, in his work *Medea* (*c*.50 CE), presented the Argonauts' voyage to Colchis as opening the world to trade and contact but simultaneously as ending the paradisiacal Golden Age.[208]

[206] Ibid., p. 11.
[207] Dante, *Inferno*, tr. S. Lombardo (Indianapolis, 2009), pp. 127-31.
[208] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, pp. 23-25.

However, the sixteenth and seventeenth-century European response to the breaching of these same frontiers was the opposite to that of the Classical writers. The explorers and the sailors were hailed as being the heroes of their age and the trespassing of the moral and cultural frontiers became the new emblem of the monarch that benefited from the discovery of the New World. The emperor Charles V incorporated two pillars into his coat of arms symbolising the Pillars of Hercules, accompanied by the motto '*Plus Oultre'*, which was a sign of defiance against the old warning and an encouragement to go beyond the old frontiers.[209] The violation of *oecumene's* frontiers, however, meant the end of its dominance as a geographical and cosmographical model. The repercussions of *oecumene's* collapse troubled Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522) who in his translation and commentary of Ptolemy's *Geography* titled *Il cosmographiae libros introductorium* (1498) recognised that the latest discoveries by Columbus discredited the Classical geographical models upon which the notion of *oecumene* was built. Nebrija claimed that the geometrical and mathematical model set by Ptolemy with its emphasis on accuracy could be the basis for a new geography and a new conception of the world.[210] However, for Nebrija, just like Hakluyt and Ramusio Ptolemy's value was limited to his methodology and system of spatial representation, not as a source of accurate geographical information. Nebrija and Ramusio in particular were critical to Ptolemy's description of the Indies as enclosed by a large land mass and thus inaccessible by an Africa circumnavigating sea route, an information that Portuguese and Spanish sailors proved to be wrong.[211]

[209] E. Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the columnar device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34 (1971), pp. 205-8.
[210] G. Tolias, 'Ptolemy's Geography and Early Modern Antiquarian Practices', in Z. Shalev and C. Burnett (eds), *Ptolemy's Geography in the Renaissance* (London, 2011), pp. 121-42; Portuondo, *Secret Science*, pp. 41-3.
[211] Small, 'A World Seen through Another Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio and the Narratives of the Navigationi et Viaggi', pp. 52-6.

Columbus longing to find cannibals and his persistent enquiries to indigenous people about the existence of such a race is well documented. So is Sir Walter Raleigh's conviction that he would find Amazons during his exploration of Guyana. These men hoped to prove that they had found the East by verifying their sources about the existence of these monster races. Still, by using the previous accounts about the *oecumene*, they were also accepting the idea that the extremes of the world were the right place to find them. The cannibals and Amazons were part of the Classical heritage, and Pliny's work served as a source for the majority of the later Roman geographers and medieval authors who penned works about these monstrous races.[212] Pliny had provided a detailed description of the various monster races and their supposed location at the periphery of the Roman *oecumene* in his seventh book of *Natural History*. The existence of these races was even accepted by Augustine as proof of God's infinite imagination.[213]

Hence, it was no surprise that the medieval earthly paradise fantasies were systematically located at the extremes of the world, the areas were miracles could be found. For example, Cockaigne was placed at the western extreme of the world according to a fourteenth-century poem that survives in a manuscript (B.L. Harley MS 913, f. 3), while, the *Le fabliau de Coquaigne*, a thirteenth-century French version of Cockaigne, has its monk protagonist finding Cockaigne in the East extremity of the world after being sent there by the Pope.[214]

[212] J. V. Mirollo, 'The Aesthetics of the Marvelous: The Wondrous work of Art in a Wondrous World', in P. G. Platt (ed), *Wonders, Marvels and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Cranbury, 1999), pp. 29-30.
[213] *De Civitate Dei*, 21.8
[214] H. Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life* (New York, 2001), pp. 245-7.

Cockaigne is a typical example of medieval utopianism. These paradisiacal fantasies relied heavily upon religious and magical sources for their realisation so their location at the extremities of the *oecumene* served their character. However, utopias from More and onwards relied upon human ingenuity and rationality and later upon science in order to realise their vision of a better life. So, although their choice of locations was usually in the periphery of the world they were simultaneously rejecting *oecumene's* spatial imagination, adopting a disenchanted vision which adhered to the Ptolemaic conception of the world as a unified and normalised space.[215] While it is difficult to prove whether this was a conscious choice, the fact remains that all the works that we classify as utopias during the early modern period described their nature as disenchanted, fertile and virgin, but in no way different from that of Europe and definitely without any magical properties.

Nevertheless, although both paradises and utopias are manifestations of the same discourse, and share the need to imagine a better world, they differ not only in their spatiality and the means that they employ in order to realise their vision, but also in their aims and their final outcome. Paradises grant immortality and a blissful existence to their residents; even the paradises of lower classes such as Cockaigne.[216] They are places where individual happiness, salvation, immortality and satisfaction of the lower body's needs are provided. However, when an individual enters these paradises does not mean that he or she steps into a better society. They instead visit a world obeying different natural laws. Paradises are individualistic and the satisfaction and the immortality that they offer are personal. For this reason, they are open only to the chosen ones and are spaces of temporality. Paradises are spaces outside the world

[215] D. Martin, *Curious Visions of Modernity: Enchantment, Magic, and the Sacred* (Cambridge Mass, 2011), p. 157-8; B. Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies* (London, 2008), p.55.
[216] M. L. Berneri, *Journey Through Utopia* (London, 1950), p. 55.

even when they are depicted as being part of it like the Garden of Eden in the *mappae mundi*. They transcend nature's limits and thus are encircled by walls or guarded by monsters symbolising their severance from the world's laws. The peculiar relationship between paradises and the rest of the world and its laws is illustrated in Augustine's view of the events in the Garden of Eden. In particular, Augustine dismissed any attempt to understand it as a mere historical event. According to him, the story of the expulsion of Adam and Eve could not be fitted into a human historical time in which the events had a beginning and an end. On the contrary, he insisted that the Garden of Eden and the story of Paradise had meaning only if viewed as enduring ideas unaffected by the chronological qualities of past, present and future.[217] This theological elucidation of the perpetual meaning and significance of paradisiac events by Augustine helps us understand the relationship between paradises and historical time. That differs from Bakhtin's understanding of them as chronotopes that privilege the past.[218] When, someone is deemed worthy to enter paradises like Cockaigne, he finds a miraculous world which is static, severed from the natural world outside its gates. It is a world of immortality, bliss and beauty where pain, decay and evolution have no place. Thus, time itself, which was related to death in medieval and Renaissance art, is powerless in paradises.[219] Hence, time was expelled from the utopian space of paradise which in its perpetual temporality, barred any notion of change, a concept essential in the building of utopia and a link to time both as practice and memory.

Beginning with More's work, utopias are not only secular in the means they employ but, more crucially, are communal in their beliefs and value core. They are

[217] Scafi, *Mapping the Paradise*, p. 63.
[218] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, p. 147.
[219] S. Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden, 2014), pp. 79-86.

described as societies built by humans and governed by human laws, even if these laws seem peculiar or odd to their readers. More importantly, they are visions based on the invention of a different socio-political paradigm. This was the reason for the success of More's *Utopia* and its imitation by subsequent works. Despite the fact that the original aim of its composition was lost, being eclipsed by its success and its quick imitation by others, *Utopia* is a work of subtle humour with strong satirical content.[220] Nevertheless, the sarcastic toponyms of this new, happy island, were easily overlooked by the readers in an intellectual environment which looked upon the world with optimism.

The travels of discovery, and the renewed interest in geography that was sparked by the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography,* have been identified as vital influences in the birth of the early modern utopia. Thomas More participated in this new fascination with geography that overtook the humanist circles.[221] Although, it is not known if More owned a copy of *Geography*, this possibility cannot be excluded considering that his close friend Erasmus published a Greek edition of the work in 1533. Nonetheless, it is certain that More had seen Ptolemaic maps like that in the *Nuremburg Chronicle* of which he owned a copy.[222] In addition, John Rastell (1475-1536), his brother-in-law, wrote a work about geography entitled *Interlude of the four elements* (1519) and owned a copy of Waldseemüller's *Carta Marina* (1516) which is considered to be the first printed nautical chart of the entire world. Furthermore, the travel towards Utopia seemed to reflect previous descriptions of the East, with More following Waldseemüller's maps where America was situated closer to Asia than it was in reality and was not acknowledged as a separate continent in his description of Hythloday's

[220] G. B. Wegemer, *Thomas More on Statesmanship* (Washington, 1998), p. 98.
[221] S. Roberts, '"Poet and 'World Painter': Francesco Berlinghieri's "Geographia" (1482)"', *Imago Mundi*, 62/ 2 (2010), pp. 145, 148-50.
[222] R. Lakowski, 'Utopia and the "Pacific Rim": the cartographical evidence', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 5 (1999), pp. 2-5.

travel. The theory about the role of Asia as a model for *Utopia* is also supported by the suggestion that Tabropane or Java, islands that were the holy grail of fifteenth and sixteenth-century merchants, may have served as a model for the island of Utopus.[223] These claims, which raise questions regarding the importance of America's discovery in the emergence of the utopian genre, also highlight the privileged position of the island as a geographical space in European utopianism.

Islands were the loci of many European paradisiacal fantasies, and the Islands of the Blessed and Cockaigne, which have already been mentioned, conform to this pattern. The exceptional position that the islands had assumed in Europeans' imagination was also evident in the *mappae mundi* where the Ocean, the frontier of the *oecumene*, is frequently strewn with islands, some named and others not. The named islands are usually Paradise, Thule and Antipodes, places that had to be included in a map of the world but could not be located inside the habitable and Christianised *oecumene*. This means that as unknown and out of reach places these islands served as a reminder to the audiences that they had to concentrate their attention upon their known lands.[224] Finally, this preoccupation with the islands could also be explained by their character as regulated, enclosed, self-preserved and thus easily managed spaces.

Initially, it can be assumed that by sharing the same geological formation, paradises and utopias also shared the a-chronic state of paradises. Paradises were perfect and unchangeable from the first day of their creation. However, utopias were not. They were built after a disaster or a political crisis. The majority of literary utopias presented the final outcome of a procedure, a feature that can be misleadingly

[223] Ibid., 'Geography and the More Circle: John Rastell, Thomas More and the 'New World'', *Renaissance Forum*, 4 (1999), pp. 46-52.
[224] M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992), pp. 20-22.

interpreted as a lack of progress. Yet, it is the result of their participation in a world where the beginning and the end have already been written. They offered the same conceptualisation of time that we can witness in the *mappae mundi*. Perhaps an interesting parallel to the way time was understood can be observed in the cabinet of curiosities; the collections of diverse artefacts, relics, paintings, fossils and animals that were popular during the sixteenth century among aristocrats, scholars and rich merchants.[225] Considering their unclassified and carefully staged contents, these collections have been criticised as aiming only to impress their audience.

This criticism easily understates the importance that wonder had in late medieval and early modern minds. Wonder was a category directly linked to the limitations of the physical world and the cabinets of curiosities were collections of artefacts that were at the borders of normality and came from the extremities of the old *oecumene*.[226] Extreme appearance was usually enough to cause wonder,[227] but, as the depictions of famous cabinets of curiosities demonstrate, such as the *Museo Kircheriano* in Rome and Ferrante Imperato's wunderkammer in Naples these seemingly random collections were instances of a carefully designed chorography. The audience could not only survey the wonders of the world but also the world as a meaningful ensemble, in the same way as in some late medieval *mappae mundi*.[228] These collections of material artefacts from different cultures and continents functioned

[225] S. Dupré and C. Lüthy, 'Introduction: Silent Messengers. The World of Goods and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Early modern Netherlands', in S. Dupré and C. L Lüthy (eds), *Silent Messengers. The World of Goods and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Early modern Netherlands* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 1-12.
[226] M. Hagner, 'Enlightened Monsters', in W. Clark, J. Golinski and S. Schaffer (eds), *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe* (Chicago, 1999), p. 176.
[227] B. J. Garret, 'Wonder among Cartesians and Natural Magicians', in J. Miller (ed), *Topics in Early Modern Philosophy of Mind* (Kingston, 2009), p. 51.
[228] S. Bedini, 'Citadels of Learning: the *Museo Kircheriano* and Other seventeenth century Italian Science Collections', in M. Casciato, M. G. Ianniello and M. Vitale (eds), *Enciclopedismo in Roma Barocca, Athanasius Kircher e il Museo del Collegio Romano tra Wunderkammer e museo scientifico* (Venice, 1986), pp. 249-267.

as a micrography of the world and its marvels. Hence, they followed a taxonomy quite different from the eighteenth and nineteenth-century museums where the artefacts were primarily categorised in strict chronological order and secondly in geographical terms.[229]

Time in the *mappae mundi* and in the wunderkammer was a collective of separate and yet interconnected different times that co-existed. Thus, I prefer to not employ Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope in my analysis of early modern utopianism, not because I dispute its importance or usefulness as an analytical tool but because in my understanding the multiple and interlinked temporalities of the early modern world make it difficult to adopt a wholistic view that attributes to utopia one sole chronotope like Teslenko does when she considers utopias either as placed in the future or in an alternate reality. In the wunderkammer, every artefact represented a different chronological quality encompassed by the Biblical chronology and its focus upon divine predestination, with the beginning and the end of time already written.

Even when the Europeans met a land and a people which were outside the context of the soteriological time frame, as in the case of the Americas and the Amerindians, they were able to integrate them into their cosmos because of this multiplicity of temporalities. The watercolours of the Roanoke Amerindian people by John White (1540-1593) that accompanied Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588) are an interesting example with their depiction of what the Europeans perceived as innocence in their unadorned by etiquette artificiality manners and customs, their semi-nude attire and their participating in ceremonial dances in a period when the New World was likened to a land still in the

[229] C. Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the architecture of display* (New York, 2005), p. 15.

Golden Age state, untainted by the ills of civilisation. This simple and violent way of life which was in harmony with nature amazed European like Michel de Montaigne who in his essay 'On Cannibals' (1580) used the uncivilised cannibals as a device to question his contemporary civilised Europeans superiority.[230] However, the Flemish engraver and publisher Theodor De Bry (1528-1598) responded directly to this problem by accompanying the watercolours of the primitive Amerindians in Hariot's work with similar illustrations of Picts, the ancient and equally primitive inhabitants of the British islands, thus drawing parallels between the present state of the inhabitants of the New World and the origins of the supposedly different and inherent superior Europeans.[231] Hence, the insistence upon representing the Amerindians in an ahistorical fashion dressed with Classical garments and armed with clubs and bows, in many early modern engravings endorses the same conception of historical time as that of a cabinet of curiosities which presented Roman coins, Amerindian feather-hats, and Renaissance paintings that usually depicted historical scenes from antiquity with the figures in them dressed with contemporary clothes, side by side, as symbols of co-existing and interlinked different times.

As for the role of Asia as a model for the *Utopia*, the special place which Asia had as a land of wonder in the European imagination has already been mentioned. However, Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie* (1652), one of the few cosmographic works that introduced Utopia as part of the world presents it not as a part of Asia but more as a part of a group of *Terrae Incognitae* that occupied the southern margins of the map.[232]

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[230] R. Budasz, 'Of Cannibals and The recycling of Otherness', *Music and Letters*, 87/ 1 (2006), pp. 1-10.
[231] M. Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and The Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis, 2008), pp. xi, 60-4.
[232] R. Markley, 'Global Analogies: Cosmology, Geosymetry, and Skepticism in Some works of Aphra Behn', in J. Cummins and D. Burchell (eds), *Science, Literature and Rhetoric in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 191.

Hence, considering this mainly European tradition of situating paradises on islands and the identification of islands with the unknown 'spaces of exploration' More's decision to situate his utopia on an island seems to carry on utopian tradition. Can we consider the construction of an artificial island upon which Utopia was established as a metaphor for the constructed ideal world? There is no clear-cut answer due to the work's many ambiguities and satirical elements, but it is an interesting hypothesis.

The empty space: sixteenth century cosmography and geography.

The explorations created a different world a large part of which could not feature in the medieval T in O maps without depriving them of losing their religious and biblical meaning. Asia the patrimony of Shem and Ham's Africa even if they were not fully known, were part of the biblical world as it was depicted in the *mappae mundi*. Thus, their exploration and colonisation by the Portuguese, the Spanish and later the Dutch did not pose a major problem for the cosmological model of the *oecumene*. Still, when it became obvious that Columbus had not reached Asia but instead a previously unknown continent, the Americas were automatically transformed into politically and culturally empty spaces for the Europeans. Even though they were the bases of rich cultures and powerful empires, these lands were excluded from the poetically moralised place that both Classical tradition and Biblical ethnological myths of the Genesis supplied to the Europeans.

They became spaces without time, or, more accurately, without history and meaning. The original response was to adapt these lands to the old models of geographical representation and imagination as part of the *oecumene*. However, despite

European explorers and scholars' efforts to appropriate them, for example, by interpreting a passage of Seneca's *Medea* as a prophesy of Columbus' discovery of the Americas, the traditional authorities had nothing to say about these newly discovered lands. Moreover, the cartographical tradition of the *mappae mundi* could not accommodate these '*regiones extra Ptolemaeum'*.[233] The new lands were ready to be appropriated and exploited but they also had to be given meaning and become incorporated in the geographical model of the World. After a violent conquest, an empire had to be constructed based not only upon oppression, expressed by brute force but also upon ideas which could regulate the role of both conquerors and conquered.[234] The debates preoccupying the Spanish Crown's Juntas at Valladolid in the year 1550-1551 over the true nature of Amerindians, and the question as to whether they had to be perceived as human beings capable of becoming Christians or as animals ready to be exploited by the Christians, should be understood in this context.[235] This matter was directly linked to the right of the conquistadores to enslave and exploit the indigenous populations but was also important for the self-image of Christendom and the preservation of Biblical authority which was receiving a blow from the existence of people on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. The same desperate search for meaning and history within the context of previous tradition would lead Bartolomeo De Las Casas and other Franciscan missionaries to support the hypothesis that the Amerindians were the ten lost tribes of Israel.[236]

[233] J. Romm, 'New World and "*novos orbes*": Seneca in the Renaissance Debate over Ancient Knowledge of the Americas', in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, (New York, 1993), pp. 78-9.
[234] C. M. MacLachlan, *Spain's Empire in the New World: The role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change* (Los Angeles, 1988), pp. ix-xiv.
[235] V. Seth, *Europe's Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500-1900* (Durham, 2010), pp. 40-4.
[236] J. Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of the Eurocentrism* (Oklahoma, 1993), pp. 170-9.

The collapse of the previous cosmological paradigm was inevitable and inspired an effort to re-imagine and re-integrate the expanding world of this period into a meaningful whole through cosmography. Cosmography, which grew in significance during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, was developed in an effort to reconfigure the world as a harmonious entity. The re-discovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* was essential to the cosmographers' task. As previously discussed, the value of Ptolemy's work was not just limited to its more accurate model of the *oecumene*, which extended from the West of Europe to the East of Asia. This *oecumene* was roughly the same as the habitable world depicted on the *mappae mundi*. Its value stemmed from Ptolemy's hypothesis that the world was spherical and thus covered 360°. Moreover, in his cartographic projections, Ptolemy used a longitude-latitude grid which could then be expanded in order to integrate the new lands. The use of the grid allowed cartographers to add the newly discovered lands to their maps of the world without disrupting its harmony and balance.[237] The instructions about mapmaking and the description of the world were soon the only components that cosmographers and mapmakers retained from *Geography*, even substituting Ptolemy's maps with more accurate contemporary ones in later printings of the work.[238]

To return to the project of reintegrating the New Worlds to the *oecumene*, it must be noted that cosmography was given its name as a discipline by Peter Apian (1495-1552) in his work *Cosmographia* (1524). Apian had distinguished cosmography as being the study of the universe, as opposed to geography, which was the study of the earth, and chorography, which was the study of specific spaces such as towns. At first, the separation between these fields of study could be perceived as an acceptance of

[237] W. G. L. Randles, 'Classical Models of World Geography and Their Transformation following the Discovery of America', in Haase and Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, p. 36.
[238] Short, *Making Space*, p. 33.

different epistemological fields which required individually focused study. However, *Cosmographia* itself confuted this division, and the term 'Cosmographia' figuring on its title page is explained as "the description of the world (which consists of four elements, Earth, Water, Air, & Fire), also of the Sun, the Moon, & all the stars, & of the heavens with whatever vault covers them".[239] The contents of the work undermined this division even more with its chapters regarding geography, navigation, surveying and astronomy.[240] Cosmography was described as a complicated task that aimed to offer a comprehensive description of the whole universe and its mechanism. In many respects, it was a task which shared many aspects with the *mappae mundi* and their creator's aim of describing the *oecumene* and its contents, but it was also the first break with this tradition of moralised, lived space and the first step towards the cartographic depiction of a mathematical, organised space, as Panofsky, Elkin and many others have demonstrated.[241]

Cosmographers aimed to produce a work with a practical value that was not a mere *peregrinatio* for contemplation. Indeed, it was situated not only chronologically but also culturally between the medieval spatial conception and the emerging modern world, in which the capacity to traverse and measure the globe much more extensively and accurately than before created the possibility of a new mechanistic and objectified view of nature.[242] Nevertheless, cosmography, unlike geography, still sought a world where places were endowed with spatial meanings. Thus, the work of some cosmographers, like André Thevet (1516-1590) and Sebastian Munster (1488-1552) was not limited to the examination of matters of navigation or cartography, but also

[239] P. Apian, *Cosmographia*, (Antwerp, 1539), p. ix.
[240] Ibid., pp.13, 89.
[241] J. Elkin, *The Poetics of Perspective* (New York, 1994), pp. 9-12; E. Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (New York, 1997), pp. 50-6.
[242] C. Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (New York, 1990), pp. 102-3.

encompassed descriptions of monsters, strange animals, plants and histories of the newfound lands, thus hoping to create a new narrative for the world.[243]

For example, Munster who was a scholar of Hebrew relied on the Scriptures in order to provide a moralised view of the world as a meaningful place. His *Cosmographia* (1544) had Germany as its starting point and the majority of its material was focused on German lands, something to be expected if we consider that Munster moved around the universities of several German cities and never visited any of the new lands. Nonetheless, Munster's aim was to describe the whole world, and therefore he included maps of the Americas along with obligatory woodcuts of Pliny's monster races.[244] The woodcuts were created by famous artists such as Hans Holbein and contributed to the printing success of the work. Still, the emphasis in the text was placed on royal genealogies, province descriptions, travel accounts and myths which were all interwoven in order to produce a narrative that covered the whole world. [245] Munster could not claim that he had first-hand experience of the new lands like other cosmographers, but he was ready to fill in his information gaps by using the previous traditions and accounts - as in the case of the Cynocephali who supposedly lived in India - though he was careful to note that he gave little credence to these accounts.

On the other hand, André Thevet was among those cosmographers who had first-hand experience of the new lands, and he focused his work mainly upon the New World. Thevet had briefly participated in a short-lived mission to establish a French colony on the shores of Brazil. This experience of the new lands became the main source of his work. For this reason, he systematically exaggerated his participation in

[243] F. Lestringant, 'The Euhemerist and the European Perception and Description of the American Indians', in Haase and Reinhold (eds), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, pp. 182-7.
[244] M. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Munster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 55-6.
[245] Ibid, p. 171.

the exploration of the various regions of the Americas, such as Florida and especially present-day Canada. The credibility of his account was soon under attack, but this did not prevent him from appropriating and plagiarising works of other explorers and writers. What makes Thevet important, despite his inaccurate or falsified accounts was his status as chaplain to Catherine de Medici, the French Queen, and as the Royal Cosmographer for four French kings. Automatically due to his position, his work expressed French colonialist ambitions in a similar fashion to Richard Hakluyt's collection of travel accounts that propagandised English imperial dreams. Thevet's most famous work, *Les Singularitez de la France antartique* (1557), is valuable because it uses information about the Amerindian customs, the animals and plants, the languages and the geography in order to create exactly what cosmography aimed at, a complete picture of the area.[246] Another of Thevet's works, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* (1584), received the same hostile response. As its title claims, it was a series of biographies of Greeks, Romans and 'payens', or pagans.[247] The pagans of the title were the Amerindians and the value of this work lies in the way that it describes chiefs and fighters by borrowing models of ancient kings and generals or heroes like Hercules. The work was not directly cosmographic and included very little geographic information. However, it allows us to observe how cosmographers like Thevet worked, as late as the end of the sixteenth century, by employing previous sources and by conforming their material to the classical paradigms, hoping to incorporate them into the all-encompassing model of the world

[246] M. B. Campbell, *Wonder and Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2000), pp. 30-42.
[247] A. Thevet and, *Portraits from the Age of Exploration: selections from André Thevet's Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres*, ed and tr. R. Shlesinger (Illinois, 1993).

that they espoused when, in the absence of sufficient information, they were forced by the lack of information to invent them.

The separation of cosmography's fields of study that Apian had suggested finally took place in the seventeenth century with the publication of works that described cities around the world, such as the multi-volume *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617) by Georg Braun. This was a highly popular work of chorography and topography during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century,[248] along with works of geography and cartography such as Gerardus Mercator's (1512-1594) *Atlas* and Abraham Ortelius's (1527-1598) *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570). The celestial sphere, which was also among the fields of study in cosmography, would also be moved away from cosmography.[249] During the seventeenth century, figures like Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) and Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) and their published works had little in common with sixteenth-century cosmo-geographers such as John Dee (1527-1608) the English Renaissance magus who also doubled as an importer of geographical knowledge from mainland Europe to England.[250]

Thus, the publication of *Utopia* coincided not with the emergence of a proto-scientific geography practised by experts such as Ortelius and Mercator, but rather with the flourishing of cosmography, which was the last effort to provide a wholistic, meaningful view of the world. Nevertheless, while the emptiness of these lands was a problem for explorers, cosmographers and even theologians and jurists, for the writers of utopias it was an opportunity to build their societies upon an uncultivated and thus

[248] G. Carlton, *Worldly Consumers: The demand for maps in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 2015), p. 132.
[249] Short, *Making Space*, pp. 72-79.
[250] Ibid., p. 60; P. J. French, *John Dee: The World of the Elizabethan Magus* (London, 1992) pp. 17-25, 177-8.

extremely fertile soil, where the theological and cultural restrictions of the old European world were absent.

The cosmographers made use of the *Geography* and its grid in order to introduce the new lands into the maps without having to radically alter their charting conventions. However, their work was not one-sided and geography was only a part of their grand project which aimed at describing creation as a whole and deciphering it by attributing meaning to it again. It has been claimed by John Gillies that the 'new geography' of Waldseemüller, Ortelius and Mercator, underneath its triumphal success, lacked 'hermeneutic identity'. Geographers and cosmographers were deeply perplexed by their confrontation with a world which lacked the old poetic and moral values. The new world had to be domesticated according to their tradition.[251] Utopias built their own tradition independently of cosmography's project of re-adapting the *oecumene* project. Hence, by adopting a rational Ptolemaic view of the geos, More could imagine and place his *Utopia* in a space free from the spatiotemporal and ideological restraints of *oecumene,* making *Utopia* simultaneously a locus of Otherness and part of the same homogenised space that it shared with the real societies he wished to criticise.

The dialogic relationship between utopias and their contemporary societies has created a view according to which utopias can be perceived either limited to their own discourse, as Marin claimed or as idealised constructs overlapping real places like More's contemporary England does with his *Utopia*.[252] To study Utopia as a metaphor of More's contemporary England or of what this country could be is easy, Hans Seeber moves further by viewing utopias as nation-states, very similar to the emerging European ones of the sixteenth century. He posits that the role that was inscribed to the

[251] Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, pp. 34-5.
[252] Marin, *Utopiques*, p. 124.

Americas and the discovery of indigenous populations as a source of inspiration for More's alternative paradigm is overvalued, pointing out that More, in his vision of a better society, used ideas with long tradition in European thought, both with Classical and Medieval origin.[253] Can utopia be better understood in relation to the early modern proto-globalisation, functioning as both its embodiment and its opposite? As a space that embodied supranational ideas while it shared the physiognomy of nation-state? Can its spatial displacement be seen as completely separated and independent from the explicitly European intellectual armoury that draws its ideas from? To address these intriguing views voiced by Seeber, we have to go back to Suvin's concept of cognitive estrangement as vital for the articulation of a successful alternative paradigm.

There is no question that *Utopia* was based on European ideas. Moreover, as demonstrated by the preceding short presentation of cosmographers' project to re-inscribe the New World into the *oecumene* and the artistic tradition of representing the indigenous people of the Americas with an imagery inspired by Classical sources, the 'exoticism' of the Americas and its indigenous population was not only mediated and normalised by the Europeans but in extreme cases was heavily exaggerated. So, there is no real debate as to whether pre-Columbian American culture influenced More's vision, especially in such an early stage of the explorations where these people seemed more like enigmas than models for imitation. Even if this purpose was to distance himself from the authorship of his work, More used these new lands as the setting of his ideal community and as result, he created an ideal community that could be perceived as a believable state. However, this state could not have the impact that Seeber claims on the European audiences without the necessary spatial and cultural

[253] Seeber, H. U., *Globalisierung, Utopie und Literatur: Von Thomas Morus (1516) bis Darcy Ribeiro (1982)* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 48-9.

distance provided by the New World; a distance that made ideas which were indeed so familiar to its audience to seem as new. Utopias had to maintain a balance between pragmatism and idealism, and space was offering them the opportunity to demonstrate their pragmatism, not just by substantiating them as distant nation-states but also utilising their geos, topos and choros to show how they managed to support, embody and cultivate their ideals. Thus, space had a dual purpose in utopia: to provide cognitive estrangement, forcing its readers - or visitors in the case of intentional communities - to observe a different paradigm and supplement this paradigm with the necessary means to be seen as plausible.

My view differs in the vital role that it ascribes on space in the establishment and function of utopia that surpasses that of a mere exotic spatial Otherness that Seeber ascribes to it. Moreover, I understand utopia's geographical space as no different from the European one. My focus on the Ptolemaic normalised and homogenised geos that early modern utopias in my analysis seem to be part of, demonstrate how their displacement did not ostracised them in a metaphysical space outside the accessible by humans *oecumene* like the Cockaignes or the Garden of Eden but in an accessible space similar to the new lands that the Europeans explored, visited or colonised due to the proto-globalisation. Moreover, Seeber's claim overstates the dichotomy between nation state and globalisation in a period where the nation state had not yet been crystallised and was harbouring imperial ambitions.[254] Hence, early modern utopias spatial otherness should not be understood as some form of interstate frontier on a map, but, as Hythloday's six-month travel towards Utopia demonstrates, it should rather be considered as essential component in a process of estrangement and acculturation

[254] Seeber, *Globalisierung, Utopie und Literatur*, pp. 48-52; Marin, 'Frontiers of Utopia: Past and Present', pp. 402-8.

through the various tangible, political, cultural and social alternative paradigms represented by different people Hythloday encounter's, like the 'Achorians', in his voyage to Utopia.

In a 1993 article, Marin interpreted utopia as a boundless ideal surrounded by an endless frontier symbolised in the case of More's island by the ocean.[255] Marin's view of utopia as 'a perfect idea above any limit', which occupies a space between the real and the imaginary called horizon echoes Bloch's concept of the abstract utopia and its value as expression of the hope for a better world.[256] However, the early modern utopias were not abstract ideals, they had a clearly delineated space that even when was riddled with ironic toponyms remained plausible. The heavily invested spatial dimension of early modern utopia is what separates it from the Classical and medieval paradises and the essential component that allows it to be invested with history and meaning, preventing its relegation to the realm of abstract ideas. As Marin notes, a form of utopia without frontiers could be a form of utopia without an anchor to its social and political reality, in other words without relevance to its contemporary quest for a better society.[257] Valuable for the hope it offers but in constant danger to become a form of escapism where the imagined better world becomes a refuge from the current society's problems. The authors of early modern utopias by placing their imaginary societies in the same, normalised Ptolemaic geos with the societies they wished to reform, succeeded to ground them firmly in their contemporary debates and quests for improvement.

[255] Marin, 'Frontiers of Utopia'., p. 412.
[256] Ibid., pp. 407-10.
[257] Ibid., pp. 418-420.

Chapter 2

The geography of utopia: occupying strange worlds.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the geos and natural environment in early modern utopianism, as well as demonstrate their importance in the construction of the utopian society, fulfilling a dual role: as an empty land, which could become the basis upon which a utopia could be established, and as the primary source that could sustain, empower and enrich a utopian society. As discussed in the previous chapter, Classical and medieval utopianism had bequeathed to the early modern period a version of popular imaginary ideal worlds, the Cockaignes, which were lands of bliss in the same vein as the Classical and medieval fantasies of earthly paradises. Perfect world paradigms were based on the belief that lands suppressing the limitations of human nature and physical laws did exist. On the contrary, early modern utopia separated itself from these paradigms not only by adopting a gradually secularised vision of a better society, but also by struggling to build this society on a shared, uniform geo.

Searching for space in Utopia: Sailing away from the old worlds.

Throughout history, utopianism has adopted various visions and expressed the desire for an ideal world in various forms. Paradises, Cockaignes, Arcadias and myths of lost Golden Ages, served as vehicles for the utopian desire from the beginning of time until the early modern period, when More, with his *Utopia*, offered a new vehicle for

imagining a better world. Its focus on space and place defined utopia and reflected the new salience that space obtained during the early modern period for the European society, science and intellectual elites. Under the new Ptolemaic geographical paradigm, the world, once restrained by *oecumene's* conventions was transformed into a space which was not only suddenly enlarged but also normalised in its entirety, incorporating the terrae incognitae along with the infinite possibilities they offered. The collapse of the previous boundaries of the world, those that served as homes for Cockaignes and Paradises led to a quest for a different utopia; a man-made one that could substitute the God-given Garden of Eden.[258] As a result, this better society was not destined to be realised in the old world, which, for the majority of the early modern utopian writers, had exhausted its resources and its moral power, but rather on the newly discovered shores of the Americas.

Yet the focus upon space in the early modern utopia must not lead us to ignore the role space had played in previous incarnations of the utopian desire nor to overlook the fact that space is a critical component for other forms of utopian narratives, which were popular during the early modern period, such as the utopian dialogues and the Arcadia.[259] When we examine the geography of a utopia it immediately becomes clear that the form it takes obeys the needs of the community it houses. Thus, the islands, caves and remote mountains which had served as homes for various utopias throughout history were conscious choices, directed not only by religious traditions but also by a response to the contemporary reality. The choice of the utopian space reflects this conscious decision made by the writer. However, it was not simply the decision to focus

[258] C. V. Duzer, 'Hic Sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters', in A. S. Mittman and P. J. Dendle (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Aldershot, 2012), p. 441.
[259] M. Eliav-Feldon, *Realistic Utopias: The Ideal Imaginary Societies of the Renaissance* (London, 1982), pp. 1-5.

upon space which led to a major break with the previous utopian tradition. Instead, there was also a new attitude towards space that characterised the early modern period. For example, as previously discussed the rich European utopian tradition had a typified utopian space, the island. The island served as a refuge and a fortress, protecting its few elect inhabitants from unworthy individuals intruding on the perfect world. This trope can be seen in the case of Cockaignes, as well as the isles of the Blest or the isle of Saint Brendan. These were paradises where the sun never set, and fountains of youth or exotic trees inhabited them. The environment was, according to these writers, uncorrupted by Man's fall and thus exempt from the laws of nature. Consequently, it could not be manipulated by him.[260] However, Cockaignes, even in their role as escapist dreams, were not characterised by an achronic state, but rather a continual temporality.

The most widely known early modern Cockaigne a painting from 1567 by Peter Bruegel the Elder entitled *The Land of Cockaigne* (figure 7), depicts this continual temporality in an emphatic way.[261] Bruegel presents three figures sleeping after a Lucullan feast, surrounded by a completely edible world. These unworried and satisfied figures summarised the real meaning of Cockaigne, that of pure satisfaction. Thus, not surprisingly, this painting has been seen as an ironic critique against the idleness and gluttony of the peasants.[262] However, Bruegel did not depict a land of tranquillity and harmony populated by superior beings, but instead an anarchist vision of human needs and their continual gratification. These types of visions could not exist at a past time as a memory of a Paradise lost. Moreover, in the few examples where they were presented as visions of the future world, they were intermingled with millenarianism and the

[260] B. Freitag, *Hy Brasil: The Metamorphosis of an Island: From Cartographic Error to Celtic Elysium* (Amsterdam,2013), p. 121.
[261] Peter Bruegel the Elder, *The Land of Cockaigne*, (1567), oil on panel, 52 cm × 78 cm (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).
[262] R. H. Frank, 'An Interpretation of Land of Cockaigne (1567) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22/ 2 (1991), pp. 302-8.

prospect of a new society created after the final victory of the worthy and pious Christians against the impious pagans. For example, in the *Strange and Wonderful Prophecy* (1697), England will be transformed into a paradise on earth, after the victory of the powers of the godly, who will be rewarded by God Himself with plenty and peace.[263] Obviously, this is a fantasy which merges the idea of the elected few entering the paradise on earth —an idea deriving from the myth of the Isle of the Blessed, Cockaigne's promise of desire gratification—and the millenarian promise of the Second Coming.[264]

The early modern Arcadias were similarly generic about their space. As utopian fantasies, they were more focused towards their topography rather than their geography. Interestingly, Arcadia is the only utopian genre that derives its name from a real place, Arcadia in the Peloponnese, the area where the ancient demi-god Pan, a personification of nature's power, was supposedly born.[265] Furthermore, it is notable that it resurfaced during the urbanisation of the early modern period.[266] It is not a coincidence that the writer who imbued Arcadia with its utopian meaning was Theocritus, a poet living in Alexandria, one of the largest metropolises of the ancient world. Nor was it literary chance that precipitated its revival by the early modern poets during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when a trend of urbanisation expansion led to the creation of the first great metropolitan centres of Paris and later London.[267] Urbanisation and the new environment it created, inspired these writers to develop a romanticised view of the

[263] Anon, *A Strange and Wonderful Prophecy, Concerning the Kingdom of England* (London, 1697).
[264] P. B. Smit, *Fellowship and Food in the Kingdom* (Tubingen, 2008), pp. 54-55.
[265] R. Jenkyns, 'Virgil and Arcadia', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 79 (1989), pp. 26-39.
[266] J. L. V. Zanden, 'Early modern economic growth: A survey of the European economy, 1500-1800', in P. Maarten (ed), *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400-1800* (London, 2001), p. 69.
[267] C. R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (New York, 1995), p. 20; K. J. Gutzwiller, *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre* (Wisconsin, 1991), p. 197.

natural world, where a typical pastoral economy existed but only in the background, with nature being the main provider of the necessities for humanity's existence.

Bruno Snell called Arcadia a spiritual landscape due to its connection with love and poetry, but we cannot ignore its focus on celebrating the qualities of nature.[268] Indeed, Arcadia presents a tamed nature which is associated with the blissful and romantic life of the shepherd, carefully omitting the hardships of peasant life. This concentration on a romanticised and elitist vision of nature, where love and poetry are the main features of an idyllic life, echoes a lost Golden Age void of the trappings of the urban, civilised life. Such themes can be attributed, especially for the early modern Arcadias, to the close contact that writers like Sir Philip Sidney and Samuel Daniel had with the English court as well as their relationship with the urban environment. Consider, Jacopo Sanazzaro, the author of *Arcadia* (1504) which was the first early modern pastoral work that influenced later imitators. Sanazzaro was born in 1458 and spent the greater part of his life in Naples, a city held to be the largest metropolis in Europe with a population estimated at around 150,000 circa 1500.[269] His urban upbringing is what accounts for his romanticisation of the countryside and its inhabitants.

It is difficult to discern Arcadia from the Golden Age myth. Both are visions primarily focused on the natural environment with people as their subjects. The inhabitants of Arcadia are less civilised. Samuel Johnson in *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759), characterises shepherds as 'a rude and ignorant' lot.[270] However, in the majority of Arcadias, the shepherd is comparable to the noble savage,

[268] B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind: in Greek Philosophy and Literature* (New York, 1982), pp. 281-4.
[269] K. DeZur, *Gender, Interpretation and Political Rule in Sidney's Arcadia* (Maryland, 2013), pp. xvi-xix.
[270] S. Johnson, *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (Oxford, 2009), p. 47.

who is sometimes ignorant or even barbarous, but with an honest, simpler and much more satisfying way of life.[271] The differences between these two genres lay the ground for their distinction. The Golden Age, as described by Hesiod, was a state of the world without death, without toil and hardship, a world quite similar to the Biblical prelapsarian vision of tamed flora and fauna, under the care and authority of the human race.[272] On the contrary, Arcadia, in its various versions—from Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, and especially leading up to Sanazzaro's work and the other Arcadias of the Renaissance and the early modern period—is a world subject to the same laws of nature as the real one. It is a Garden of Eden after the Fall, one permeated by death and human labour.

Death is present in Arcadia as Nicolas Poussin's painting (figure 8) *Et in Arcadia Ego*,[273] emphatically shows by placing four figures around a tomb with the epigram 'Et in Arcadia Ego', a phrase translated as 'even in Arcadia I (death) am'.[274] This is a reminder that even in a land imagined and described as paradise, death is present. Poussin's painting was inspired by *The Arcadian Shepherds*, an earlier work by Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591-1666) on the same theme. [275] Dated between 1618 and 1622, Barbieri's work also contains the inscription *'Et in Arcadia Ego'*, and presents two shepherds staring at a skull resting on a pedestal, a clear symbol of mortality (figure 9).[276] In addition to a shared symbolic language, there is another, very important similarity between the two paintings: the depiction of the land surrounding

[271] V. L. Forsyth, 'The Two Arcadias of Sidney's Two "Arcadias",' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 49/1 (2009), pp. 1-2.
[272] H. C. Baldry, 'Who Invented the Golden Age?', *The Classical Quarterly*, 2/1/2 (r1952), pp. 83-4.
[273] Nicolas Poussin, *Et in Arcadia ego*, 1637–1638, oil on canvas, 87 cm × 120 cm (Musée du Louvre).
[274] R. Verdi, 'On the Critical Fortunes - And Misfortunes - Of Poussin's 'Arcadia'', *The Burlington Magazine*, 121/911 (1979), p. 95.
[275] Guercino, *The Arcadian Shepherds*, 1618-1622, oil on canvas, 81 cm × 91 cm (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome).
[276] L. D. Steefel, 'A Neglected Shadow in Poussin's Et in Arcadia Ego', *The Art Bulletin*, 57/1 (1975), pp. 99-101.

the inscribed tombs. In both Poussin's and Barbieri's paintings, the landscape is dominated by a lascivious, uncontrolled nature, one that is entirely antithetical to the well-cultivated, friendly and prosperous pasture lands celebrated in the poems of Ovid. Instead, nature in these two paintings is similar to the vast European woodlands, spaces an early modern audience would have associated with a contentious, centuries-long struggle to convert a hostile natural landscape into arable land. What is more, these wooded marginal spaces could also represent life outside the law and state. Take for example Shakespeare's *As You like it* (1603), in which the fugitive Duke, and later his daughter and other courtiers, escape to the Forest of Arden to live a simple, pleasant, though solitary, existence. It is the tranquillity and isolation provided by the Forest of Arden that allows for the amorous adventures of Rosalind to take shape, far from the intrigues and dangers of courtly life: [277] the same courtly life intrigues that Sidney and other writers tried to escape from in their Arcadias.[278]

Another characteristic that distinguishes Arcadia from both the Golden Age and the Cockaignes is the existence of a pastoral economy based on personal labour. In Arcadia one must do at least a modest amount of work to earn one's bread. Meanwhile, in the other two utopian genres, nature alone provides everything necessary for a satisfying existence. But although a fledgling economy can be said to exist within Arcadia, it must be acknowledged that, as in its Classical iteration, the shepherds of early modern Arcadias are more concerned with love poetry than with tending to their flocks. Indeed, a comical, adventurous and sexually charged atmosphere proved an enduring and central characteristic of Arcadia. This was due in large part to Sanazzaro's and Sidney's presentation of the Arcadian utopian fantasy in their *Arcadia* and *The*

[277] W. Shakespeare, *The Complete Works* (London, 2008), pp. 510-522.
[278] H. Morris, 'As You Like It: Et in Arcadia Ego', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 26/ 3 (1975), pp. 269-275.

Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia respectively. Both Sanazzaro and Sidney offered later imitators a new genre that fused together medieval chivalric romance and pastoral love poetry. It is precisely this stylistic marriage that, in many respects, defines the early modern Arcadia. However, though the cumulative result of their literary output was the establishment of lasting generic conventions, as individual writers they contributed different thematic elements and versions of Arcadia that later pastoral works could, and would, incorporate and follow. Namely, it took both authors to write Arcadia's primary modal forms—comical and dramatic—into the literary tradition. Sanazzaro, the first in chronological order, wrote a work that hews closely to the Classical model. The narrative follows a love-stricken poet named Sincero, who, in disappointment, escapes from Naples to the countryside in order to live an idyllic, pastoral life amongst the poet-shepherds. His time of bliss meets an abrupt end when he receives news of his beloved's death and must make a nightmarish return to the urban world of Naples. [279]

Contrastingly, Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* was a prose work which, while not principally a social critique, established a colourful world of light-hearted chivalry. Sidney's Arcadia is the ideal setting for a celebration of courtly love, knightly courage and princely virtue. For this reason, it is useful to examine his work in greater detail. Sidney's plot, in particular, offers a glimpse of some important features and themes of the Arcadian world. The story revolves around Basilius, the Duke of Arcadia, who decides to prevent the fulfilment of a prophesy that he received from the oracle of Delphos. The prophecy in question warns that he will lose his throne, that his wife will prove unfaithful, and that his two daughters will be kidnapped and forced to marry strangers. To escape this terrible fate, he decides to voluntarily abandon his throne and retire to the countryside. At this point in the narrative, the centrality of

[279] C. Kidwell, *Sanazzaro and Arcadia* (London, 1991), pp. 25-8.

escapism becomes easy to discern. Furthermore, if we consider the similarities between Basilius' absconsion and that of Sincero, the importance of escapism to the genre itself is made manifest.

Nevertheless, this escape, even in the comical and sensual climate of Sidney's Arcadia, does not go as planned. The amorous adventures of Basilius' daughters, Pamela and Philoclea, with the two noble princes, Musidorus and Pyrocles, take place against a backdrop of civil unrest caused by the Duke's abdication. This unrest soon escalates into an open armed revolt by the Arcadians, who seek to punish the duke for abandoning his sovereign duty. This horde of aggrieved Arcadians is defeated by the shepherds, while Basilius dies after accidentally drinking a poisonous potion. In the end, the whole situation is resolved, and the two princesses are happily married to Pyrocles and Musidorus. However, this does not occur until after a period of anarchy and turbulence in Arcadia, wherein political instability leads many Arcadians to contemplate establishing a democracy until the miraculous recovery of Basilius from a coma puts an end to the debate.[280] The genre's escapism in Sidney's work is accompanied by an emphatic warning: any invasion of the real world's politics and court intrigues could ruin the blissful and harmonic pastoral life in Arcadia.

The complicated and close relationship between Arcadia and the Golden Age myth is also evident in early modern perceptions of the New World, especially South America. As discussed in a previous chapter, Columbus was hailed throughout Europe as a hero, driven by God's providence, to discover new lands where Christianity was either forgotten or had not yet been established. Columbus easily adopted a multi-faceted role, presenting himself in many instances as a crusader, apostle and explorer

[280] P. Sidney, *The Major Works* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 43-4, 70-6 & 114-128.

who had reached the Garden of Eden—claims that his son and biographer Ferdinand, in *The life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand* (1536-1539), would later take on and propagandise. At the same time, the early modern printing industry, which strived to satisfy readers' thirst for information regarding the New World, completed Columbus' self-fashioning efforts, depicting him as a crusader navigator.[281] Characteristically Giovanni Stradano in his series of prints about America, *Americae Retectio* published in the late 1580s, shows Columbus dressed in a knight's armour, bearing a standard with a cross and being guided towards the new lands by a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit.[282] Thus, from the point of its discovery, the New World was considered a Garden of Eden. It was a world unspoiled by civilisation where people lived in a state of innocence resembling that of the first people in the Golden Age. The deliverance of the new lands to them for the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was considered a true miracle that revealed God's decision to reward them for their piety. For this reason, they were associating the discovery of the Americas with the end of Reconquista. A biblical land of plenty, a place where simple life was complemented with abundant gold and silver or easily grown crops was their reward.[283]

The Garden of Eden was a place where time, and consequently, mortality and history never intruded. According to the Christian tradition this earthly paradise, situated to the East and encircled by a wall, waiting uninhabited to be found again. Hence, the Golden Age was also a mode of utopian thinking capable of casting its shadow on real spaces, as demonstrated in the case of the Americas. However, the

[281] A. Hamdani, 'Columbus and the Recovery of Jerusalem', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 99/1 (1979), pp. 39-48.
[282] L. Markey, 'Stradano's Allegorical Invention of the Americas in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65/2 (2012), pp. 388-402
[283] R. Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 97-102.

Golden Age had one crucial difference from other utopian genres that proved essential to its function in early modern utopianism, it was time constricted. The Golden Age was a universal state of humanity located in real spaces but in the distant past. It was forever lost, and, thus, easy fodder for lachrymose elegies penned by writers and thinkers of the early modern era.

Still, from Hesiod to the obscure figure of William Terilo—a name which could be a pseudonym for the satirist and pastoral poet Nicholas Breton (1545-1626)—the past offered necessary creative license for constructing completely different societies and worlds. In the early modern period, however, the past provided a different kind of cognitive estrangement than utopia. By placing their ideal worlds in a long-lost past, these writers were presenting a pessimistic view not only of contemporary society—as many other critiques and utopias had done—but also of the potential for humanity to build a better world. Golden Age worlds were impossible to imitate and were useful only as critiques of contemporary societies. In their content, these works differed very little from the various Arcadias, whose central vision also consisted of a world where people lived simpler lives in accordance with nature. Nevertheless, the fact that it was a universal state of humanity was a defining departure from the other strands of utopianism. The Golden Age was neither an encircled space, separated from the rest of world and functioning as a refuge from the life of the court or of the city like Arcadia, nor an ideal society that could serve as a model for real reforms or inspire new discourse as utopia. It was, instead, an unbounded and irrecoverable Edenic past.

The Golden Age archetype was set by Hesiod's *Work and Days.* In it, Hesiod narrates a mythical past free of death and labour. His Golden Age, however, was lost due to a gradual decline in human mores. This decline also affected humanity's physical condition, with the comfortable Golden Age supplanted by a bronze, and later iron, age

surfeit in tears, mortality and backbreaking work. It is worth noting that every age of natural decline saw a corresponding decline in humanity, establishing a clear link between nature's decay and humanity's moral and physical waning.

During the early modern period, this Golden Age myth not only survived but due to its lack of a specific space could be employed everywhere, as Terilo's work *A Piece of Friar Bakon's Brazen Heads Prophesy* (1604) shows. Here, the Golden Age is not found in one of the many newly discovered lands, but in the English past where, according to Terilo, a demanding, labour intensive life was rewarded with large yields followed by celebrations and dances around the maypole.[284] This Golden Age England was a world without fashionable 'colored vests and coats' but one in which every man was covered come wintertime.[285] This vision is decidedly set in the past but Friar Bacon's brazen heads, however, also prophesise a better future for a country lost in the mire of vanity and injustice. Crucially, there are no instructions in the text regarding how this vision is to be realised, just a promise to the readers that a better world will eventually come. The aim of the text is simply to criticise its contemporary society, its egotism and widespread corruption. It must be acknowledged, though, that Terilo's pessimism, as opposed to that proffered by similar critiques, was moderated by the promise of a better, albeit unspecified, future.

Criticism was also the primary function of Michel de Montaigne's essay 'Of Cannibals' (*c.* 1580), which has been wrongly identified many times over both as a celebration of Arcadia and as a nostalgic retrospective of the Golden Age enjoyed by the Amerindians but lost to Europeans.[286] These readings are equally fallacious. In 'Of

[284] W. Terilo, *A Piece of Friar Bakon's Prophesie* (London, 1604), pp. 8-16.
[285] H. M. Larkin, *The Making of Englishmen: Debates on National Identity 1550-1650* (Leiden, 2014), p. 115.
[286] M. de Montaigne, *Essays*, tr. M. A. Screech (London, 1993), pp. 228-241.

Cannibals' Montaigne is concerned with critiquing his contemporary society: its trappings, facades, cruelty and conflict. We have to bear in mind always that Montaigne was living through a time of crisis and religious dissent which would eventually escalate into the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598). Yet, the utopian world that he chooses to compare with his own is not the immovable, barricaded space of Arcadia, which could just as easily extend solace to him. Instead, it is a model of existence closer to the natural state of Man, governed by its passions and needs, but also strictly regulated by necessity and nature's providence, the Golden Age. Montaigne wrote with genuine admiration about the cannibal society's equality among men, their common ownership of goods, and their carefree life that remained untouched by the hypocrisy and ceremonialism of his Europe.[287]

Montaigne, however, also wrote with elegant irony when praising the cannibals' extreme cruelty, the effectiveness of their revenge, the perverse punishment they reserved for priests who proved unworthy, their polygamy and their custom of waging pointless wars in order to parade their virility and prowess in combat.[288] Montaigne outlined a society which was not a utopia, as many hoped, but neither was it a tribe of cruel sub-human barbarians which European settlers had an unalienable right to enslave and Christianise. It was a society which, despite its lack of sophistication and technological progress, was, in terms of its extreme tendency for unnecessary violence, Europe's moral equal.

Of course, there was genuine admiration of the primitivistic cannibal societies, the most popular exemplar of which is Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1611).[289] In

[287] R. Celestin, 'Montaigne and the Cannibals: Toward a Redefinition of Exoticism', *Cultural Anthropology*, 5/3 (1990), pp. 298-303.
[288] Montaigne, *Essays*, pp. 234-237.
[289] Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, pp. 18-22.

particular, at the beginning of the second act of the play, when the ship transporting the King of Naples, Alonso, and the usurper Duke of Milan, Antonio, from Tunis back to Naples passes near a seemingly deserted, but fertile and hospitable, island, Gonzalo, a Neapolitan courtier, imagines how he could establish a perfect society there. In response to the ironic comments of his fellow courtiers regarding his kingdom, Gonzalo proceeds to a description of the principles upon which he aims to build his perfect society. Surprisingly, he does not wish to establish a new commonwealth, as Utopus did in *Utopia*, or an imitation of his own European society, like many settlers hoped to do in the New World. On the contrary, he wished to avoid at all cost replicating the old world. Thus, in his 'utopia', every form of art would be forbidden, no agriculture or manufacturing would be introduced, and no magistrates or rulers would dictate the boundaries of life. Rather, everything would be commonly held, and the inhabitants of the islands would be uncorrupted by any form of education, living happily off the fruits of nature. [290]

The possible influence of Montaigne's treatise 'Of Cannibals' on this passage has been noted by many scholars, who note that Shakespeare could have obtained access to an English version of Montaigne's *Essays* which were translated by John Florio in 1603.[291] The essay's description of the happy life led by the uncultured (by European standards) cannibals obviously influenced Shakespeare's depiction of the blissful existence that Gonzalo's dreamed upon an uninhabited island. The difference, however, is that Gonzalo, a man who is described as being among the few honest men in the court, is not criticizing the real world through his imaginary one but is instead

[290] Ibid., pp. 20-2; T. Bulger, 'The Utopic Structure of The Tempest', *Utopian Studies*, 5/1 (1994), pp. 40-2; D. Ebner, 'The Tempest: Rebellion and the Ideal State', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 16/2 (1965), pp. 164-9.
[291] B. J Sokol, *A Brave New World of Knowledge: Shakespeare's The Tempest and Early Modern Epistemology* (London, 2003), p. 85.

merely dreaming of an escape from it. The fact that Gonzalo's dream is part of the Golden Age tradition is evident in the belief that nature could supply everything that was needed for human existence, assuming of course that these individuals, in the tradition for Hesiod, are uncorrupted by money, education and indulgence. Curiously, while the setting of *The Tempest* is in the Mediterranean Sea the island itself is described as a prototypical island of the New World, uninhabited, uncorrupted, and ready to be colonised. This may be the result of the excitement that the discovery of Bermuda provoked in English audiences who were riveted by accounts such as Sylvester Jourdain's *A discovery of the Bermudas* (1609) and William Strachey's *A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight* which was circulating in London by 1609, both plausible sources of inspiration for Shakespeare.[292] Hence, in *The Tempest*, we have a utopian space which has been transported from the New World to the Old in order to function as a spatial tabula rasa with the potential to house a utopian society in an overpopulated and already corrupt civilised region, the Mediterranean Sea.

This choice was necessary because only an empty space has no history, thus allowing it to have a fresh start. Unlike the empty Gonzalo's island, the main hero of the play Prospero has found a refugee in an island which had both a previous history and indigenous inhabitants. Before Prospero and his daughter Miranda arrived on it, the sole owner of the island was Caliban, a creature born to a witch named Sycorax and the devil with not only a name that is an anagram of the word cannibal but also with a semi-evil nature. Nevertheless, both Caliban's history and language are denied to him by the newcomer Prospero who adopts the persona of civiliser and educator and, in Utopus's fashion tries to purge the past of the island. Even if Prospero is not presented as a pious

[292] Ibid., pp. 80-3.

figure his condemnation of the indigenous culture echoes the hostile attitude of the majority of European colonisers towards the Amerindians, whose religious practices were seen by both Catholics and Protestants as pagan.[293] Obviously, there were no tabulae rasae in the New World. These empty spaces were created in an act of denial by the settlers to acknowledge the indigenous realities and the culture of the colonised as equal to theirs.[294] Caliban this personification of the enslaved and marginalised Other has a bitter exchange with his new master, in which Prospero expresses his pride at the knowledge he offered to Caliban. However, it is a self-serving pride, Caliban harbours no illusions about it and, bitterly recognises that this knowledge was not the way to unlock the mysteries of nature, as he was promised, but an elaborate ploy to corrupt and force him into servitude. In this dialogue, which has been analysed many times by scholars of post-colonialism, it is evident that one of the core reasons for the collapse of the Golden Age was the invasion of the foreigner, who brings with him intrusive new ideas. Therefore, it is new knowledge which causes the corruption and death of the state of humanity that Caliban represents, a utopian mode based on its innocence.

Moreover, Prospero's cruelty towards Caliban and his indifference to become the founder of a new society on the island are underlined in their dialogue making difficult to establish any further parallels between Prospero and Utopus. Unlike More's foreign invader who is presented as a good prince and law-giver, Prospero did not arrive on Caliban's island as conqueror with an army but as a refugee,[295] he acts as superior to Caliban, but in reality, he is just a hunted man who survived the coup d'état organised by his brother. He lacks any vision of a better society, limiting himself to the recreation

[293] Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage*, pp. 54-9.
[294] R. Bauer, *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 21-24.
[295] B. Malieckal, 'Boat People: Wars of Religion, Women Refugees, and Shakespeare's *The Tempest*', in R. Espinosa and D. Ruiter (eds), *Shakespeare and Immigration* (Farnham, 2014), pp. 124-7.

of his lost world, in a micrography. Thus, he rules the island just like he did in Milan without showing any real concern for his new home, or for integrating Ariel or Caliban and his daughter in some new form of society.

Still, if we wish to better understand the role that space played in the creation and evolution of Arcadia, we have to examine not the melodramatic, pastoral poems, but rather the sarcastic perspective of Arcadia articulated by Miguel de Cervantes in *Don Quixote* (1605). Here, the lone *hidalgo,* with his squire Sancho Panza, encounter a group of shepherds and pass the night in their company. Through Cervantes' irony, we can distinguish the main characteristics of the genre. Don Quixote starts by explaining to Sancho and the shepherds the myth of the lost Golden Age, when people were immortal, free of worries and the Earth was the common property of all mankind. For Quixote, this world enjoys partial survival in the lifestyle of the shepherds. Nevertheless, this illusion is shattered by the shepherds when they offer the knight and his squire access into this pastoral paradise. They invite them to the funeral of a young student, Grisostomo, who had abandoned his studies in order to live out the Arcadian fantasy, a blissful existence of romance surrounded by natural beauty. The start of Grisostomo's pastoral fantasy was encouraging. The ex-student, dressed as a shepherd and in the company of a friend, roams the countryside revelling in its beauty and celebrating it in his verse, until he encounters a beautiful shepherdess named Marcella, and falls instantly in love.[296] Marcella, however, breaks with the Arcadian tradition and rejects the advances of the young, love-stricken student turned shepherd. Grisostomo, disappointed by his repeated rejections from Marcella, is unable to escape his bucolic prison—as Sanazzaro's Sincero did when he left Arcadia for Naples—and

[296] M. de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, tr. E. Grossman (Indiana, 2009), pp. 80-91.

consequently kills himself.[297] Thus, quite ironically, the timeless and blissful Arcadian world is shattered by the invasion of death itself. Cervantes' version of Arcadia is not singular, especially in Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are numerous pastoral myths closely related to the construction of an emerging national identity and the space politics of the early modern Spanish monarchy. An idealised pastoral past and the religio-political figure of the Good Shepard were systematically used in early modern Spain as metaphors for the integration into the herd of the Church, reflecting the polities towards the Moriscos and the Conversos, and the Biblical imagery of good governance that the Spanish Habsburgs eagerly adopted and propagandised.[298] Hence, descriptions of pastoral life are abundant in the works of Lope de Vega (1562-1635)—such as in his *Arcadia: Prose and Verse* (1598)—and other poets of the period. In these works, Arcadia serves as the antonym of the urban world as well as an escape from it. It is both an antithesis and supplement to the burgeoning Spanish empire, designed to glorify the Spanish fatherland.[299]

Literary descriptions and usages of Arcadia in literature reveal one of the most apparent class divisions of utopian space. The classical, medieval and early modern writers who use this myth in their works, had to choose between two options: either to celebrate the pastoral world of Arcadia, or ridicule it. Lope de Vega and Cervantes represent these two choices. However, they are not the only ones and it is worth mentioning that mockery of Arcadia was a popular trope in comedy, serving as an inspiration for writers like Angelo Beolco (1502-1542), known as Ruzzante. His anti-Arcadian comedy *La Pastoral* (1518- 1520), which was based on a folk, peasant

[297] H. Higuera, *Eros and Empire: Politics and Christianity in Don Quixote* (Maryland, 1995), p. 126.
[298] J. Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto, 2013), pp. 43-74.
[299] J. P. Wickersham Crawford, 'The Seven Liberal Arts in Lope de Vega's Arcadia', *Modern Language Notes*, 30/1 (1915), pp. 13-4.

background, satirised the operatic pretences of Arcadia as being a land of love and passion.[300] Ruzzante, for example, humorously dramatized the lust of the lovers, and the avarice and ignorance of the shepherds, while the harsh reality of life in nature is underlined in a version of the pastoral world completely different from that espoused by high culture writers who mainly saw it as an escapist fantasy. They were ready to locate Arcadia in the countryside of their countries, thus providing it with a very tangible, real space as its locus. However, they were also ready to strip away any notion of time from this space. Arcadia was always living in the past, a space untouched by the time and progress characteristics of the urban world. Arcadia was a refuge from Court life and its intrigues, from the civil service and town politics, and later from revolution and war. The only real danger Arcadia faced was contact with its neighbouring space.

Finally, if real spaces with utopian qualities are to be considered, it is clear how the initial perceptions of a certain space, in particular the Americas, by the European intellectual elites dictated the trajectory of various utopian projects founded there. An edifying example of this lies in the efforts to colonise South America, especially the large project undertaken by the Jesuits to establish safe havens for the Amerindians who were threatened by slave merchant attacks. These communities soon took on a utopian character.[301] Interestingly, in the space of Columbus' Garden of Eden and of Montaigne's primitive Golden Age, these communities were to follow a different path. The Jesuits were chosen to serve as legal guardians and protectors of the Amerindians

[300] C. E. Fantazzi, 'Ruzzante's Rustic Challenge to Arcadia', *Studies in Philology*, 82/1 (1985), pp. 81-88, 98-100.
[301] G. A. Bailey, 'Le style jesuite n'existe pas': Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts', in J. W. O' Malley, G. A. Bailey, S. J. Harris, and T. F. Kennedy (eds), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto, 1999), p. 56.

in both Spanish and Portuguese domains, and retained this role for two centuries until their expulsion from the Americas and later dissolution of their monastic order in 1767.

The Jesuits were late comers to the New World, contrary to the Franciscans and other monastic orders which were closely involved with the Christianisation of the New World from the start. Having arrived at a time when the initial crusader zeal of the conquistadores had run its course,[302] they soon became the key participants in the missionary work of the Catholic Church to penetrate lands which were difficult to access. Additionally, they took on the even less popular duty of protecting indigenous populations from the greed and violence of the European newcomers. This role precipitated many clashes between settlers and officials of the Crown. In 1607, with the consent and support of the Spanish Crown, they established small villages in areas near the Parana river, known as '*reducciones de Indios'*. These were communities which at the height of their expansion numbered thirty settlements scattered across an area that includes present-day Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia, with a population of approximately 200,000 inhabitants.[303] There, the Amerindians could find refuge under Jesuit guardianship, on the condition that they adopted Christianity. These little enclaves gradually evolved into quasi-utopian communities, which have been characterised by contemporary visitors as Arcadias. In the *reducciones*, the workshops and tools were the property of the community, with income distributed equally among its members under the direction of two or more Jesuits—according to the community's

[302] M. W. Mathes, 'Jesuit Chroniclers and Chronicles of Northwestern New Spain', in J. A. Gagliano and C. E. Ronan (eds), *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chroniclers, Geographers, Educators, and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549-1767* (Rome, 1997), p. 38.
[303] J. R. Barton, *A Political Geography of Latin America* (London, 1997). p. 46.

size. Furthermore, extra provisions were given for the protection of orphans and other needy members of the community. [304]

Nevertheless, as with every utopian vision, these communities were criticised for their repressive nature and their focus on a strict religious program that shaped the daily life of their inhabitants. The masses and the hymns were key components of communal life accompanied by hard work, as agriculture, manufacture, and the majority of other European trades were introduced and taught by the Jesuits.[305] The financial success and the productivity of these communities were such that they forced the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, to admit, shortly before the expulsion of the Jesuits and the abandonment of the reductions, that they were able to produce large quantities of cloth, weapons, gun powder, musical instruments and printed books.[306] This description shows how far the paternalistic utopian scheme of the Jesuits was from both the Golden Age and the Garden of Eden European fantasies. Nonetheless, it also shows how these communities were built and functioned as man-made utopias, similar to the paradigm of early modern eutopia set out by More's *Utopia*, with special care for the equal distribution of goods and for the protection of vulnerable members of the community.

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[304] M. Whitehead, 'On the Road to Suppression: the Jesuits and Their Expulsion from the Reductions of Paraguay', in J. D. Burson and J. Wright (eds), *The Jesuit Suppression in Global Context: Causes, Events, and Consequences* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 89-94; G. Imbruglia, 'A Peculiar Idea of Empire: Missions and Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in Early Modern History', in M. A. Bernier, C. Donato and H. Lüsebrink (eds), *Jesuit Accounts of the Colonial Americas: Intercultural Transfers Intellectual Disputes, and Textualities* (Toronto, 2014), pp. 39-48; C. J. McNaspy, 'The Archaeology of the Paraguay Reductions (1609-1767)', *World Archaeology*, 18/3 (1987), pp. 398-410.
[305] B. E. Bobb, 'Bucareli and the Interior Provinces', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 34/1 (1954), pp. 20-36; O. Merino and L. A. Newson, 'Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion', *Yearbook. Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers*, 21 (1995), pp. 133-148.
[306] Francisco Bucareli y Ursúa, "Instrucción a que se deberán arreglar los Gobernadores interinos que dejo nombrados en los pueblos de indios guaraníes del Uruguay y Paraná no habiendo disposición contraria de Su Majestad, in Brabo Francisco Javier (ed), *Colección de Documentos relativos a la expulsión de los jesuitas de la República Argentina y del Paraguay, en el Reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1872), p. 206.

Utopia: searching for a different world.

The examination of previous strains of utopian thinking serves to distinguish them from the early modern utopia. They function, predominantly, as escapist fantasies or social critiques without any ambition to act as blueprints for the construction of a better world. This analysis also highlighted the special role that space played in Arcadia and the Golden Age. Theirs was a space apart from the real word, severed necessarily from all possible links to modernity in order to be inoculated against its collapse. However, utopia did not have this luxury. In its effort to construct a tangible different paradigm of political, social and financial organisation, it had to be part of a geos shared with the societies that it aimed to criticise and inspire, and thus it strived to maintain an active interconnection and exchange with them.

For example, Montaigne's study on, and admiration for, the Tupi and the Guarani people was the starting point for many sincere, primitivistic utopian fantasies which became very popular in the eighteenth century. Important figures of the Enlightenment, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and poets like Alexander Pope (1688-1744), celebrated the freedom that was enjoyed by the 'noble savage',[307] a figure who in many respects existed only in the imagination of the Europeans. These Europeans romanticised the life of the indigenous people and in some instances, such as in Las Casas, opposed the harsh treatment of the 'innocent Indians' by the conquistadores.[308]

[307] M. Cranston, *The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1754-1762* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 25-30.
[308] B. Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, ed. and tr. N. Griffin (Baltimore, 1974), p. 73.

Nevertheless, primitivism was also present as a trend in earlier utopian works of the seventeenth century, such as in Henry Neville's the *Island of Pines* (1668) or in another utopia with the title *A Paradox: Proving the inhabitants of the Island, called Madagascar or St Lawrence to be the happiest People in the World.* This latter work was a tract which, by the use of the name St Lawrence, can be dated to approximately 1640 and whose writer was probably Hammond Walter, a man who spent four months on the island of Madagascar working as a surgeon for the East India Company.[309] However, primitivism in these works has nothing admirable that could attract the attention of the Europeans. On the contrary, the primitivism of the people that inhabited environments with utopian potential, such as the islands of Pines and Madagascar, is used as an argument for the colonisation of these areas, with the view that the introduction of advanced European science and techniques could transform them into actual utopias.[310]

In particular, in both texts, we see the difference between the highly stylised world of Arcadia and the primitivistic, and sometimes unruly, existence of these island societies. On Neville's *Isle of the Pines*, we have a utopian society established by the survivors of a shipwreck. The castaways are five in total; a man, named George Pines, and four women. The Europeans and their female black servant soon establish a society on an uninhabited isle. Meanwhile, on Madagascar, where the location of the island and its function as major port en route to the East and India is described accurately due to its writer's time there, the utopian society described is one made up of indigenous people.

[309] M. E. Wilbur, *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East* (New York, 1945), p. 200.
[310] M. Stewart-Harawira, *The New Imperial Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization* (London, 2005), p. 63; B. Ashcroft, *Utopianism in Postcolonial Literatures* (London, 2016), p. 33.

On Pines Island, there is a society structured with a clan system, ruled by the descendants of the original group, where the homonymous Pine produced heirs with his four female cohabitants. Neville's utopian society is based upon an agricultural economy, which exploits the island's untouched natural resources. Madagascar, is inhabited by people who, according to Hammond, are slothful and sluggish, neither ploughing nor cultivating their land but rather living in a superfluous manner, basking in the extreme fertility of their island, which happily provides everything they need, from nutritious exotic fruits like the meat tree or pasture for their herds.[311] The analysis that summarised the meaning of Madagascar, and to some extent all primitivistic utopias, was Hammond's line that art cannot act as a substitute for nature. Hence, every technological advance such as, geoponics, planting and transplanting, is inadequate when faced with the power of nature. However, if nature and human ingenuity work together they can overcome any obstacles to building a utopia.[312]

Pines Island follows a different narrative path, being occupied by a society that initially has access to some tools salvaged from the shipwreck and also knowledge of European science and techniques. Nevertheless, despite their focus on the cultivation of the land and the use of every available resource, when the Island is re-discovered by the crew of a Dutch ship its society, at least regarding technique and science, has clearly regressed. Politically, it was in turmoil, with the tribe that descended from the union of George Pine with the black servant having rebelled against the other three tribes, which considered themselves superior. The *Isle of Pines* is not solely a primitivistic utopia, but also a small exercise on colonialism and a political critique not surprisingly linked to contemporary debates, such as the problems in English society emerging in the

[311] W. Hammond, *A Paradox: Proving the inhabitants of the Island, called Madagascar or St Lawrence to be the happiest People in the World* (London, 1643), pp. 2-8.
[312] Ibid., p. 10.

aftermath of the defeat in the Dutch-English war, as well as the opposition to the Stuart dynasty. The espousing of polygamy, which is related to the dynastic problems arising from Charles II Stuart's inability to produce a legitimate heir is indicative of this imbrication of contemporary politics.[313] For all these reasons, the dystopian quality of this work is emphasised many scholars, who claim that it functioned solely as a critique of English society. But the scope of Neville's criticism extends beyond the shores of England. Rather, the regressed, European in origin, society that acts as violently as the cannibals and is amazed by the knowledge and technology of their Dutch visitors, is a condemnation of both notions of European superiority and dreams of a Golden Age revival.

Hammond's work, which expresses the urge to expand the British colonial empire during the 1640s, is equally linked to contemporary politics.[314] The *Paradox* is a significantly smaller work than *The Isle of Pines*, but this short text, which emphasises the advantages of the island's location and the vital route to India, its natural ports, its soil's extreme fertility, and the quality of its timber, makes its aim immediately clear. Furthermore, the negative tone underlying the description of the people of the island as primitive and disorganised, is used in order to reinforce the audience's opinion that the conquering of the island will be easy. Thus, this world, where a Golden Age still existed, was both an ideal location for a profitable future colony and an easy target for conquest. Finally, it must be noted that both worlds were situated on islands in a marginal area that linked Africa and Asia, which as will be examined in latter chapters, during the seventeenth century became the centre of antagonism between the European

[313] M. Knights, *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion, and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 113-116.
[314] *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, ed. N. Akkerman (2 vols, Oxford, 2011), ii, p. 584.

colonial powers looking to explore and expand into Asia. The vital role of the real world in these utopias is reflected throughout both works. Madagascar had to be colonised by the Europeans in order to fulfil its utopian potential, and the island of Pines had to be re-linked with the European world and its achievements in order to survive a regression towards barbarism and to maintain its original utopian character.

However, it must be noted that the spatial closure, which, in many utopian narratives, was symbolised by a violent sea, a vast forest, or a wall that encircled the Garden of Eden, not only remained an essential part of utopia but also found its extreme expression in the island utopia. This was a narrative choice which echoed a long Classical and medieval tradition that viewed the island as both a retreat and a symbol of newly discovered land. During the medieval period, the island remained an important part of fictions about imaginary and new worlds, embedded with a spiritual meaning, regarding redemption. Hence, Dante, in his *Divine Comedy*, located purgatory on an island in the Southern Ocean. This island was forbidden for immoral pagans like Ulysses, who narrates to Dante and his guide Virgil how God punished his choice to break the limits of the ancient world and explore the seas beyond the Herculean pillars. Dante's choice of locating his other worlds in the West leads to the conclusion that he was aware of the 1291 Vivaldi brothers' expedition to find a route to India by travelling westwards. The Vivaldi's ships were lost in the Atlantic after they passed Gibraltar. Dante's tale forecasted the discovery of Madeira and the Canaries in the Atlantic by the Portuguese twenty years later, both of which were identified as the mythical Fortunate Islands.[315] Thus, the early modern period inherited a tradition regarding islands and further enriched it. This is evident in the way that the New Worlds were perceived.

[315] C. S. Singleton, *Journey to Beatrice* (Baltimore, 1967), pp. 25-38; P. S. Hawkins, *Dante's Testaments: Essays in Scriptural Imagination*, (Stanford, 1999), p. 272.

Initially, the Americas were considered by the Europeans as islands,[316] while in Asia, and in the hypothetical Antipodes, Europeans with few exceptions, became interested in the exploration and colonisation of islands.[317]

The island became at a very early stage an essential component of utopia. This was a rational choice considering the island was a space with a clear border, much easier to regulate than any other environment with land borders. As a spatial symbol and a dream, the empty island could offer a fresh start to the European settlers, similar to the one that Gonzalo dreamt of in *The Tempest* (1611). Moreover, the island was a space that allowed for the most extreme type of experimentation in pursuit of alleviating society's ills. Of course, in order to realise this utopian dream, it was necessary to invest these islands with a paradisiacal, Edenic environment. Columbus, through his letters, was the first individual to propagandise the Edenic qualities of the Americas. Moreover, the vast sea, a very real obstacle that separated them from the Old World, was also seen as a spiritual obstacle. This distance from the Old World was another advantage the islands offered utopias. If people such as Gonzalo wished to escape the corrupted world and its old practices, this could happen only in the virgin, empty or forcibly emptied spaces of the discovered New Worlds.

Nonetheless, utopias, retain a close link to real societies, usually their writers' own countries. The relation between Thomas More's *Utopia* and the British Isles is evident throughout his work, despite the writer's effort to distance his utopian land by placing it near the shores of the newly founded Americas. The failure of some writers to place their utopias on distant enough lands highlights their inability to propose a

[316] D. Stick, *Roanoke Island, The Beginnings of English America* (Chapel Hill, 1991), pp. 6-16.
[317] G. Kruijtzer, 'European Migration in the Dutch Sphere', in G. Oostindie (ed), *Dutch Colonialism, Migration and Cultural Heritage* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 103-115.

universal critique or reform plan as well as their refusal to distance themselves from their contemporary politics. Hence, their critiques are limited to lands that were thinly disguised versions of their homelands and for this reason they were unable to inspire and reach international audiences. Johan Eberlin von Günzburg's *Wolfaria* (1521) is paradigmatic of this type of utopia, where the writer is trapped in the narrow, contemporary debates of his society and fails to offer a vision of a completely different society functioning at its full capacity, as More, Bacon and Campanella had achieved in their works.[318] Instead, Eberlin envisages a country named Wolfaria, which has the same geography and climate as the German lands and is in deep crisis just like his contemporary Holy Roman Empire. [319] Eberlin's concern was to propose a number of reforms deeply influenced by his Protestant religious beliefs which could offer solutions to issues such as poverty, the welfare of the destitute, the gradual dissolution of the monasteries, and the future of the members of the monastic orders that would have to find a new occupation.

As a result, even if Eberlin's utopia was the first of a series of Protestant utopias of the period, its value for readers outside Germany was limited and, due to this narrow focus, held limited interest, even for later German and Protestant utopian writers.[320] One can assume that Eberlin, as a result of his connection with the universities of Basle and Wittenberg, and being a member of the humanist circle of Phillip Melanchthon, was aware of More's *Utopia*. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that More most likely provided a model for his own work. However, the work lacks any value as a blueprint for social, political and economic reforms, outside of its narrow political

[318] Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 65.
[319] E. Baldini, *Gli «Statuti di Wolfaria» di Johann Eberlin (1521)* (Torino, 1986), pp. 1-10, 20-36.
[320] S. G. Bell, 'Johan Eberlin von Günzburg's "Wolfaria": The First Protestant Utopia', in *Church History*, 36/2 (1967), pp. 122-139.

context. This is due to its failure to construct the necessary cognitive estrangement for its readers to reconsider the fundamental principles and problems of their society. Eberlin wrote in a period when discussions, heated debates, and finally even armed conflicts were a regular occurrence. The unrest was caused by questions regarding religious reform that, through their probity, had prepared society for a wider re-evaluation of its principles. This is especially true if we consider how fast the question of religious reform moved to other areas, such as the raging economic crisis that affected German artisans and other disenfranchised lower classes. Meanwhile, the peasant rebellion created fertile soil for the resurfacing of medieval prophesies regarding the return of a good emperor, or millenarian religious movements that preached radical political and financial reforms.[321] Another indication of *Wolfaria*'s failure is that, despite reflecting the ideas and debates of Martin Luther's reforming circle, its close focus on Germany hampered its ability to initiate a dialogue with other Protestant utopias or between different societies.

Wolfaria's flaws can also be found in English works written during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These critiques also espoused Protestant and Puritan ideals and employed a thinly veiled depiction of England.[322] Among these works, which had a dialogic form, Thomas Lupton's *Sivqula: Too Good to Be true* (1580) stands out. Here, Sivqula is a native of a dystopian, corrupt land, known as Ailgna, which is an anagram of the word Anglia. He is trying to visit Mausqsun, again an anagram for nusquam (Latin for nowhere). However, Sivqula is unable to reach this utopia, despite having travelled through various ungodly and sinful lands inhabited by

[321] G. Lottes, 'Popular Culture and the Early Modern State in 16th century Germany', in S. L. Kaplan (ed), *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, 1984), p. 170.
[322] Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia*, pp. 120-2.

Muslims, cannibals and Papists. Nusquam, this oasis of godliness, order and piety, has its gates closed to him.[323] Every piece of information he receives about Nusquam is filtered by Omen, an anagram derived from the word Nemo meaning none. Omen is a native of this mythic terrain and acts as Sivgula's instructor, teaching him the godly laws and severe punitive code upon which this utopian society was founded.[324]

The focus of this type of utopian dialogue was placed more upon individual reformation and less upon radical societal transformation, even if the primary concern of the authors was to address the ills plaguing English society as a result of its ungodliness, ills such as whoredom and usury. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Lupton exposed his protagonist Sivqula to various different and exotic lands, the majority of them dystopian. However, even if each of these lands was a step closer to the desired utopian cognitive estrangement, the inaccessible frontiers of these lands ultimately prevented them from becoming a fully developed utopia. Their role is instead confined to a land for a chosen people. Philip Stubbes hoped to offer a similar social critique with his lamentation on contemporary England in his *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). Here, Ailgna is used again as the name of the imaginary land, but this time the utopian façade is completely absent. [325] Stubbes did not try to present his work as a proposal for the creation of a new society but rather as a simple critique. There is neither a traveller protagonist nor a desired land as a destination. There are only vitriolic attacks on every form of sinful entertainment enjoyed by his contemporaries, such as theatre and football. For Stubbes, there was no need to create a new land because there was in turn no need to force people to think of an alternative paradigm existing in this world,

[323] T. Lupton, *Sivqula: Too Good to Be true* (London, 1580), pp. 170-4
[324] Ibid., pp. 12-18, 30-44
[325] P. Stubbes, *The Anatomies of Abuses* (London, 1583), pp. 4-10.

and ultimately no hope for the creation of such a society. Stubbes's goal was merely to provoke repentance and internal reform.

For both writers, the notion that an accessible, ideal society did indeed exist was absurd. To them, the only viable option for social improvement was to inspire individuals like Sivqula to adopt Protestant or Puritan values and seek individual reform. However, a more optimistic vision was expressed by the physician William Bullein. Bullein's *A Dialogue both plesaunte and pietifull: a treatise about pestilence* (1564-5) includes a description of a utopian land modelled after his contemporary England. Playing with anagrams, as many utopian writers did before and after him, Bullein's protagonist follows a familiar route via the lands of the Turks, cannibals, and, in an imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy,* through the island of Hell and Purgatory, with the guidance of a witch. Finally, he accesses Taerg Natrib, (Great Britain), a utopian land very similar to England in climate and geography. [326] This utopian land is populated by pious Protestant Christians, who have expelled the Papists, and have large, well-ordered, walled cities with great gates such as their capital Nodnol (London). In contrast with the previous examples, Bullein's protagonist accesses utopia and this land becomes automatically a tangible paradigm of a different, but realizable world. Utopias needed a tangible paradigm of their opposite, a dystopic real or invented community, in order to self-fashion themselves. New geographical discoveries aided this by providing writers a new world where a utopia, or the city upon the hill of Puritan reveries, could be built and maintained, far away from the old, corrupted world of Europe.

[326] W. Bullein, *A Dialogue both pleasante and pietifull, wherein is a godly regimente against the fever Pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death* (London, 1573), pp. 105-111.

The close relationship between these utopian dialogues and satires, serves as a reminder of the similarly close relationship that the utopian genre had with that of satire in general. One should not deny the utopian character intrinsic to works of proto-science fiction with a strong satirical purpose. In this vein, two seventeenth century texts stand out: Francis Godwin's *Man in the Moone* (1638) and the anonymous manuscript entitled *Selenographia: The Lunarian or News from the World in the Moon*. In both texts, we see people trying to access the ultimate frontier, leaving behind not only their countries but humanity itself, in order to reach the moon via strange and amusing methods, such as balloons lifted by geese or huge kites. On the moon, they find a prosperous society inhabited by the ultimate other, an alien species.[327] These works were not just the last refuge for utopia, when it had exhausted the *terrae incognitae* upon the earth but were also among the most radical examples of the *cosmopoiesis.* This process took place during the early modern period and was not restricted to literature or philosophy but, thanks to Nicolaus Copernicus' and Robert Hooke's works such as *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) and *Micrographia* (1665) respectively, opened up new worlds. The former was was about the macrocosm and the latter about the microcosm, though both opened up access to new spheres of the Creation.[328] One has to bear in mind that the spy-glass, or telescope, was present in both *The city of the Sun* (1623) and in *New Atlantis* (1627); utopias that founded the success of their ideal societies on the improvement and solutions offered by knowledge and scientific research. Moreover, while Hooke's engravings of insects and plant cells, as through a microscope, amazed the public, the sphere of existence they represented was unattractive to utopian writers and satirists. Contrastingly, astronomers, such as Galileo

[327] A. Roberts, 'The Copernican Revolution', in M. Bould, A. M. Butler, A. Roberts and S. Vint (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Science Fiction* (New York, 2009), pp. 7-9.
[328] E. Spiller, *Science, Reading, and Renaissance Literature: The Art of Making Knowledge 1580-1670* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 18.

and Johannes Kepler, opened up a new, uncharted world of numerous possibilities with their telescopes.

Besides, if the early modern authors and pamphleteers wished to criticise their society, they could also look inside the earth. Hans Jakob Grimmelshausen (1621-1676), in his picaresque novel *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1668), was deeply influenced by the period's utopian works and envisaged one of the strangest imaginary worlds extant in early modern literature, the world of the Sylphs. The story begins with Simplicissimus, the protagonist of the novel, staring at the waters of a lake until he falls into it and finds himself not actually drowned, as he feared, but instead in an underground civilisation at the centre of Earth. This civilisation has the responsibility of managing the water supply of the planet through a system of hydraulics that connect every lake, river and sea. Through this system, according to Simplicissimus' guide America was populated by Canaanites who, in their effort to 'escape from Joshua's sword', threw themselves into a lake and resurfaced in America. This underground world is similar to the worlds located on the Moon or Sun visited by other travellers in early modern proto-science fiction works. This world is populated by a different species, one that is superior to humans and created by God to fill the gap between humans and angels in the divine hierarchy of creation. In Simplicissimus' guide Mummel, the Prince of this subterranean world, compares his pious and well-ordered society to the human one on the surface by expounding on the sinful way humans live.[329]

Furthermore, he emphasises the moral righteousness of his people who are there to serve the planet as God commanded. Nevertheless, this utopian world, where

[329] H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen, *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, tr. M. Mitchel (Huntington, 2009), pp. 197-202.

discipline reigns and there is no poverty, has one large deficit: it is without a soul and craves to learn from Simplicissimus matters relating to the Second Coming. Hence, the surface-dweller, based on his limited knowledge of the Scriptures, describes a different vision of a perfect society, where the doctors do not care for money but solely for their patient's wellbeing, the merchants are not cheating their customers, and the innkeepers work with only one goal, that of providing hospitality to weary travellers. This utopian world is portrayed as one episode in Simplicissimus' life. However, although this underground utopia was only one stop in Simplicissimus's intended odyssey, it contains some of the most crucial characteristics of the period's utopianism, namely the comparison between two worlds and the different perspectives held by a newcomer and a native of those worlds. Simplicissimus is amazed at the discovery of this society and wishes to learn more about it. Simultaneously, the same applies for the underground world which, despite monitoring the surface-dwellers, rarely comes into contact with them.

All these early modern utopias, despite their differences in narrative, mode and plot, follow a consistent pattern as regards the areas they were placed in. They were almost always situated away from the shores of Europe or ultimately away from the Earth itself. As previously mentioned, the island became the canonical environment for utopia. The earlier European tradition of locating paradisiacal places on islands, combined with practical reasons, both helped to facilitate the rise of the island as the dominant spatial mode for utopian writing. Islands, critically, were closed environments, making them much easier to regulate and transform than the vast landmasses of the Americas, Asia and the Antipodes, the later Australis Terra Incognita. Moreover, even when utopian communities were founded on them, they remained in all respects little isles in an overall environment that was hostile. This was exemplified

by the Jesuits, who maintained their communities by erecting them in marginal areas where the centralised colonial bureaucracy had little power, and by carefully regulating contact with European settlers. Hence, notwithstanding their physical environment and geography, it is not a coincidence that utopias always functioned as islands and, as model communities situated in a sea of poverty, corruption or discord.[330]

Moreover, due to the unwillingness of the utopian communities to maintain a connection with the old, corrupted world, a mild climate and fertile soil were always the most important elements in their establishment and the major factors in their prosperity. This is not surprising considering that, from ancient times until relatively recently, these were also the most important factors that were taken into consideration before the establishment of new cities and colonies. One must not underestimate the allure these newly discovered, fertile lands, with their warm, tropical climate and exotic flora and fauna, for European travellers and explorers. Nevertheless, utopias were artificial worlds, built by humans. Bacon and Campanella, in *New Atlantis* and in *The city of the Sun* respectively, gave two of the most characteristic and well- known examples of the human ability to construct utopias by using science and ingenuity. The soil was scientifically improved, and artificial minerals were constructed together with artificial wells and fountains.

The insistence of many utopian writers regarding the fertility of the land and its improvement with technical means was not just a manifestation of European greed, or part of the desire for utopias to satisfy basic human needs and solve the problem of scarcity once and for all. For many Reforming circles, the land's condition was directly

[330] T. Mora, 'Classics of Sociology and Modern Social Utopias: Displacing Knowledge Boundaries', in J. B. da Silva (ed), *The Epistemology of Utopia: Rhetoric, Theory and Imagination* (Newcastle, 2013), pp. 77-8.

linked to the prelapsarian state of the world, when the Earth would give its harvest to Man without any effort. The Fall of Man denied this to future generations, and in utopian works, such as Gabriel Plattes' *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), only the repair of this damage could inaugurate the creation of a utopian kingdom. [331] As the indigenous scholar who serves as the guide for the European traveller attests, scientific achievements within this society, such as a college of agriculture that manages and improves the land, have rendered this goal attainable. Plattes was a member of Samuel Hartlib's circle and he embraced Hartlib's ideas on the importance of education and the reunification of the Churches.[332] Hence, Macaria's society is not one of pious Protestants, but instead one of undivided Christians. The primitivism of the Golden Age myth and the isolationism of Arcadia has little to do with these types of ideal societies which have improved and transformed their existing worlds into a utopia.

In early modern utopias, and in many respects in the early modern novel, travelling became a process similar to pilgrimage, a life-changing experience. Don Quixote and Simplicius Simplicissimus were travellers just like Hythloday.[333] They travelled between the urban and rural worlds, between war-torn countries, but also between utopian and dystopian worlds. Don Quixote heard about Arcadia, while Simplicissimus lived as a pilgrim in the German forests supported only by nature, an existence similar to that of the lost Golden Age. Johan Valentin Andreae in his *Christianopolis* (1619) describes the escape of his protagonist from the old academic world in an allegorical visit to new lands. This symbolic use of travel nevertheless

[331] G. Plattes, *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (London, 1641), pp. 2-6.
[332] C. Webster, 'The Authorship and Significance of 'Macaria', in C. Webster, *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1974), p. 382.
[333] Hulme and Youngs, 'Introduction', p. 6.

brings the traveller into a space which is outlined as realistically as possible. Andreae states that his utopian island 'is in the Antarctic zone' and, mimicking early modern navigators, provides the exact co-ordinates and the stars that we have to follow in order to find it. Similarities are also present in the description of the island of Caphar Salama, where Andreae depicts an island 'rich in grain and pasture fields' with fresh water, vineyards and herds of animals.[334] This was an island that could easily feature in the texts of the English and French colonial promoters, who propagandised the need for their nations to expand to new, distant lands, imitating the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires.

Hence, in all these utopian worlds it is evident that the explorer plays two equally essential roles: that of the individual who discovers the utopia and that of the link between different spaces. This spatial chain can be as modest as two lands or extensive enough to encompass half the globe. Thus, in the *City of the Sun,* there is a Genoese captain who, while travelling to Taprobana, stumbles upon a utopian society. However, in *New Atlantis,* a ship, probably Spanish, is led by storms to the shores of Bensalem, having sailed from Peru and passed through Japan and China. Meanwhile, Bergerac stops in Canada before his journey to the Moon, and Godwin's Gonsales travels through the paradisiacal island of El Pico.[335] Travel and discovery are what separates the early modern utopia, as it was modelled by Thomas More, from other utopian paradigms. Utopian travellers are not escaping like the courtiers and the poets in Arcadia, but instead are exploring and searching for new lands.

Nevertheless, a world ruled by order and rationality is, by definition, immobile. In utopian dialogues and critiques, such as Lupton's work, the figure of the traveller is

[334] J. V. Andreae, *Christianopolis,* (New York, 1916), pp. 142-4.
[335] C. de Bergerac, *L'Autre monde ou les états et empires de la Lune* (Paris, 1657), pp. 30-2

also static, locked outside utopia's walls and engaged in a theoretical discussion about the foundations of his desired, ideal society but never admitted within it. In some respects, we can say that these types of travellers represent what Michel De Certeau had called the 'rational utopia of the train', where everything is numbered and regulated, including the invader or explorer who has to be placed in this structured, ideal cosmos.[336] However, the argument of this thesis is that utopias are not or, more accurately, must not be perceived as cities in snow globes but rather as being accessible societies, in the narratives and dreams of the utopists. As Seeber claims, they are homogenised nation-states, while he also points out that the early modern utopias with their well-developed narratives took advantage of the enlarged post-Columbian world to describe communities 'aesthetically plausible'. According to him, this narrative strategy was compatible with the era's geographical conventions since these spaces, as I also have claimed, occupied the margins of the period's maps, the terrae incognitae.[337] Seeber's citation of the 1507 Waldseemüller map to support his claim about the importance of unknown lands upon which utopias could be imagined as plausible societies, is an interesting choice. Obviously, Seeber is aware of More's interest to geography and his knowledge of the Macrobian climate zone theory.[338] However, he chooses to not comment further on the technicalities of the map that he uses as a representative example of the period's utopian spatial conception. The Waldseemüller map is important not just because it includes the first appearance of the name America for the new continent but also for its creator's effort to fit the newly discovered lands into cartographic models that were becoming obsolete, adhering to the Ptolemaic representation principles. Waldseemüller's insistence on including in the map

[336] M. de Certeau, 'Railway Navigation and Incarceration', in J. Morra and M. Smith (eds), *Visual Culture: Spaces of Visual Culture* (New York, 2006), pp. 114-117.
[337] Seeber, *Globalisierung, Utopie und Literatur*, pp. 121-2.
[338] Ibid., 'Hythloday as Preacher and a Possible Debt to Macrobius', *Moreana*, 31/32 (1971), pp. 71-86.

information about India derived from Ptolemy, as well as information obtained from Marco Polo, in a period where *Geography's* value as a source of actual geographical information was diminishing, is a telling example of his veneration of the ancient sources in general and, in particular, bears testament to his acceptance of the Ptolemaic model.[339] Of course, in order to provide an accurate depiction of the world he proceeds to the necessary adaptations of Ptolemy's model and the introduction of new techniques like quadratic plane projection, but with great pains to not violate the basic principle of it.[340]

Therefore, to return to Seeber and his views on the importance of the terrae incognitae I wonder if his use of the Waldseemüller map also implies utopias adherence to the Ptolemaic conception of space as homogenised and normalised, this would have made sense considering the co-existence of the paradigmatic nation states called utopias with the European states in the same terrain, and would justify their plausibility given their shared nature —or if his insistence on the isolation of these spaces, of their spatial alterity and uniqueness accentuates their resemblance to the antipodes. Although, I cannot provide an answer to this question, I can establish where my view on early modern geos and spatial difference diverges from Seeber's, despite their similarities. He sees utopia's occupation of marginal spaces as the one of the main reasons for their newly perceived plausibility, but in my perspective, he misplaces this alterity. The lands were distant, but their otherness was cultural and political. More's island may be was an artificial but it's geos and nature were no different from any other island that could be found in Europe, no strange animals or miraculous fruit trees could be found on it.

[339] T. Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia: The Epic Story of Seafarers, Adventurers, and Cartographers Who First Mapped the Regions Between China and India* (Singapore, 2012), pp. 82-6, 100-6.
[340] Gunn, *Overcoming Ptolemy*, pp. 88.

Paradises like the isles of the Blessed were also distant and part of the terrae incognitae yet they never became the locus of the specific variation of narrative utopia that Seeber associates with the expanded early modern cosmos. Their paradisiacal environment and the meaning heavily embedded to them could not sustain a society that could have served as a tangible paradigm for imitation. The Garden of Eden had always had a space reserved for it in the margins of the mappae mundi but, despite the strong Judeo-Christian influences on their works, none of the early modern utopias' writers placed a utopia n it. Instead, Puritan sects went to the Americas to find a wilderness to build their version of the New Jerusalem. Unknown, distant spaces were not essential to imagining plausible worlds, but they offered an extension of the world stage, which allowed for the construction of plausible better worlds. The isolation of the utopian nation-state, as Seeber understands it, and the tension that he points out between this ideal isolated national-state and globalisation overlooks, in my view, Doreen Massey's proposal to understand places as dynamic entities, with multiple identities and no clearly defined borders. According to Massey, a topos is a processual entity and, as made clear in my introduction, I believe that the same applies to early modern utopia. Consequently, its paradigmatic or anti-paradigmatic place/topos can be seen as 'constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus',[341] and not as a rigid and self-absorbed in its exceptionality national state.

Utopias are working within a triptych of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. If we are not ready to perceive utopias as a part of this equation, and there is strong evidence that the early modern readers viewed them under this light, then we have two immovable worlds: the utopia and the real world, without any interconnection. The case of Vasco De Quiroga (1470-1565), the man who had been called the Bishop of Utopia

[341] D. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis, 1994), p. 154.

due to his great love and admiration for More's book, is indicative of this synthesis.[342] He was the first person who tried to establish a utopian community in the New World based on More's book. Initially, he established two hospital-towns for the protection of the Amerindians, the first one in Mexico City in 1531 and the second one in his bishopric of Michoacán in 1534.[343] Both were met with growing resistance by Spanish *encomenderos* (land-grant holders) who wished to take control of the lands and the Amerindians living in them.[344] The organisation, however, of these communities was not a simple imitation of More's *Utopia.* On the contrary, it was an amalgam of different utopian, Christian and humanist ideas sprinkled with a dose of pragmatism. Thus, in these hospitals, there was no private property and no luxury as in *Utopia*, but there was also no slavery, no extreme punishments and, of course, no golden chamber pots, and a quite different political organisation. In addition, the hospital-towns included churches, schools and workshops and a less strict working ethic than the one that Utopus had introduced in his isle. Meanwhile, isolation from the settlers' cities and the organisation of militias were adopted as measures of safety for the Amerindians. It is hard to ignore the similarities between these hospital-towns and the reductions. Nevertheless, the re-evaluation of the original utopian blue-print of Thomas More by Quiroga, with the purpose of serving the needs of the Amerindian communities, is even harder to dismiss. For example, Quiroga recognised in a *Utopia*-inspired communal living an effective model of resistance to the enslavement of the Amerindians and the usurpation of their ancestral lands by the greedy Spanish settlers.[345]

[342] E. Krauze. *Mexico: Biography of Power*, (New York, 1998), p. 36; T. Green, *Thomas More's magician: a novel account of Utopia in Mexico* (London, 2004), pp. 209-14.
[343] G. Gómez, *Good Places and Non-places in Colonial Mexico: The Figure of Vasco de Quiroga*, (Maryland, 2001), pp. 53-54.
[344] Green, *Thomas More's Magician*, pp. 254-60.
[345] Ibid., p. 282.

Michel Foucault has called utopia 'the founder of discursivity', underlining both the dialectical and ambivalent nature of the genre, which is simultaneously fictional and relevant to its contemporary debates.[346] Hence, utopias always need a version of dystopia to function, usually the contemporary real society, whose excesses are satirised,[347] in many instances, in order to leave space for the reader to contemplate his own society and to find ways to improve it. In some cases, the dystopias or the ideal societies are more than one in number. Moreover, the utopias' protagonists, who were in search of the ideal society, (in its many incarnations, from the land of plenty to the Godly society), had travelled to many places, which, during the seventeenth century, became typified, such as the land of cannibals, the isle of Hell, the land of the Turks and, for Protestant England, the land of the Papists, before reaching their desired destination.

In the various branches of utopian thinking, space has always played an important and unique role. Cockaignes, Arcadias, Golden Ages and utopias were defined by their spatial arrangements. Cockaignes were places with a magical environment which satisfied the needs of its inhabitants, while Arcadias were defined by the virgin, triumphant nature that constituted most of their territory. The pastoral blissful existence in an encircled protected space, which offered as a retreat from the real world, amazed contemporary courtiers and the poets. As for the depictions of the Golden Age, they were more focused on time than space, and in particular, the time of a glorified past which was characterised by a simpler, more harmonious relationship between man and nature. As a result, nature rewarded mankind by providing everything

[346] M. Olssen, *Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Westport, 1999), p. 45.

they needed. The comparison of these utopian genre's with early modern geographical utopia, shows the important and distinctive role that space played in utopia; a space that was not frozen in an eternal contemporarity as in Arcadia, or in a long-lost past as in the Golden Age myth, but was generating cognitive estrangement, forcing its visitors and readers to consider a different social and political paradigm than the one they were familiar with. Moreover, space was essential to utopia's perception as a tangible/plausible alternative paradigm, by supplying the resources and the means to survive and prosper. For this reason, the identification of early modern utopia's geos and natural environment with that of Europe was a necessity.

Chapter 3

The city of utopia: designing and constructing an ideal topography.

This chapter focuses on the topography of early modern utopia. As it was established in the introduction, the Ptolemaic tripartite division of space is used in an idiosyncratic way in the context of this thesis. My reinterpretation of the Ptolemaic category of chorography as it is described in *Geography*, divides chorography, the description of the 'parts of the whole' into two categories; topography and chorography. However, this additional division is not arbitrary but was based on the fifteenth and sixteenth century's cosmographers' reinterpretation of the Ptolemaic model and in ancient geographical conventions.[348] Hence, in order to deal with this issue, I chose to introduce a quantitative dimension in the mainly qualitative chorography, and to separate topography, defined as the description of cityscapes, from chorography, defined as the description of a particular building such as a castle, a hospital or a monastery. Taking pains to remain faithful to their function as qualitative spatial description categories that work in conjunction with geography to convey a picture of the world not just in proportion but also in harmonic relation between its components. Namely, its geos, topos and choros which are all parts of one greater image.

Richard Kagan and Fernando Mariás in their *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (2000) used similar, Ptolemaic terminology in their analysis of the urban centres established by the Spanish in the Americas and the Philippines.[349]

[348] Gunn, *Overcoming Ptolemy*, p. 15.
[349] R. Kagan and F. Mariás, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 55-8.

However, their examination of paintings, maps and topographical sketches of these cities is based on a dichotomy between the chorographical and the communicentric descriptions, with the first focusing on the 'urbs' (the technical description of the urban space) and the second on 'civitas', the second one included representations of public spaces associated with the public life of the community and the cities' governing elites. Thus, in the second category are included depictions of Plazas like the Zocalo in Mexico City and the Plaza Mayor in Lima.[350] This choice of analytical categories, much like mine in this thesis, was demanded by the nature of their sources and subject, however, unlike Kagan and Mariás my sources do not include depictions of public worship or of Viceregal entrances in Lima that may have justified the use of the term communicentric. Moreover, the tension that they recognise between a form of technical description of the urban space and a more anthropocentric one, that described the city as a lived space, I believe it can be encapsulated in my choice of spatial description categories with chorography as the space of daily practices fulfilling the same role with the communicentric descriptions.

Hence, in this chapter I examine the topographies of the early modern utopias based on town-plans and Renaissance architectural treatises hoping to underline the malleability of the ideal and utopian town-planning and its consideration for practical issues. Through this analysis, I aim to respond to the criticism of Baczko who saw in early modern utopia's topography only a sterile adherence to a highly symbolic symmetry or of Jameson who described utopian topography as the victim of an unimaginative 'allegorical aridity'.[351] For this reason, I focus on the core ideas behind the Renaissance architecture in an effort to not just repeat other previous examinations

[350] Ibid., pp. 1, 9-12, 159-62 and 173-4.
[351] Baczko, *Lumières de l'utopie*, pp. 20-4, 314-23; F. Jameson, 'Of Islands and Trenches: Naturalization and the Production of Utopian Discourse', *Diacritics*, 7/ 2 (1977), p. 7.

of the technical aspects of the ideal city but to underline how the utopian architecture was not strictly formalistic and definitely not isolated from the needs of the community that it was designed to house.

The early modern city and the Renaissance ideal city.

The ancient Greeks and Romans recognised the city as the foundation of civilisation itself and more precisely, as the beginning of organised communal life.[352] During the early middle ages, the decline of the number and prosperity of cities until their recovery in numbers and importance in the eleventh century, was translated also to their diminishment as political and production centres. Moreover, in the Mediterranean world, particularly on the Italian peninsula where important urban centres such as Rome had survived, the descriptions of urban centres focused predominantly on the remnants of their glorious past. Even in notable exceptions with a long civic tradition such as Milan, the descriptions of the imposing urban environment were eclipsing any mention of the community.[353] Albrecht Classen considers this a reflection of the early medieval city's political weakness. Indicative of this attitude is for him, the description or more accurately the absence of descriptions of urban centres in the German epic poem *Herzog Ernst* (c. 1170). The anonymous author, while he sets his hero in a journey to the Orient where he visits cities like Constantinople and Jerusalem and narrates a civil war between Ernst and his father-in-law Emperor Otte which involves the siege of many German cities, shows no interest to provide any descriptions of their urban

[352] C. Freeman, *Egypt, Greece, and Rome: Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2014), p. 17.
[353] C. D. Benson, 'The Dead and the Living; some medieval descriptions of the ruins and relics of Rome known to the English'. in A. Classen (ed), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 147-52.

environment. The only city that for Classen is adequately described in the poem is Grippia, a city that Ernst visits with his comrades while travelling to the east. Then in what Classen calls 'the first extensive description of a major city in the vernacular medieval literature',[354] Ernst informs us of the luxurious and sizable Grippia placing emphasis on its strong towered walls, impressive palaces, clean roads and park. A model city that could be interpreted as the quintessential medieval urban utopia.[355]

However, even this urban utopia is conflicted between the way its model urban environment is depicted and the description of the community it housed which consists of crane-like monsters. It reveals both the admiration for its space and deep fears for the corrupting influence this urban world could have on those who chose to enter and occupy it. Of course, late medieval paradigms of idealised urban spaces that also hosted also an idealised, perfect community in harmony with its surroundings existed with Christine de Pizan's (c. 1345-1429) *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1404–5) being a characteristic example of it. Yet, these medieval descriptions of utopian architecture whether they were deeply allegorical or dominated by the monastery's choros and imagery of New Jerusalem, striving to evoke a celestial chorography or to imitate the proto-Christian communal living.[356] Only in the late medieval period we can see a genuine move toward descriptions of urban spaces that reflect on how urban landscape accommodates the needs of the community for a safe and hygienic space. This was a change that coincided with the achievement of a greater degree of self-governance by the cities. However, it was not until the Renaissance, that writers developed a new set of values and celebrated the 'vita civile' that this interest in the welfare of the urban

[354] A. Classen, 'Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Historical, Mental, Cultural, and Social-Economic Investigations', in A. Classen (ed), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 44.
[355] Ibid., pp. 44-8.
[356] F. Seibt, *Utopica. Modelle totaler Sozialplanung* (Düsseldorf, 1972), p. 47.

community was crystallised and that the city as a concrete space became the locus of utopian aspirations.[357]

Helen Rosenau in *The ideal city: its architectural evolution in Europe* (1972) has provided a thorough examination of the architecture and aesthetics of the Renaissance and Baroque ideal city. However, she focused more on the forms of these cities and their technical details and less on their social character. Hence, in my analysis, that follows closely Rosenau's selection of town-plans and artworks, I will further illuminate their ideological underpinnings and their concern with contemporary urban problems than their technical aspects.

The Renaissance was born in the flourishing late medieval urban environment and as a result, humanism not only celebrated the city but also became preoccupied with its form and function. Leon Battista Alberti summarised this view by pointing out that 'everyone relies on the city and all the public services that it contains'.[358] Soon, he and other artists and architects would attempt to describe an ideal city that could house improved facilities for a better society.

This quest deeply influenced early modern utopia with its close affinity to civic humanism, and its quest to conceive and describe a different urban organisation.[359] In the works of More and Campanella, for example, the detailed description of the town and its topography became an extension of their perfect communities' social and political organisation.[360] These authors, through their study of classical texts, had adopted the idea that the city was synonymous with civilisation. This was association

[357] A. Ceron, 'Political Friendship in Medicean Florence: Palmieri's Vita civile and Platina's De optimo cive', *History of European Ideas*, 41/3 (2015), pp. 301-317.
[358] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, p. 95.
[359] Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia*, pp. 20-4.
[360] Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 103.

so deeply held during this period that even in the early sixteenth century's descriptions of Mexico and Peru by chroniclers like Francisco López de Gómara (c. 1511-1566) the impressive Aztec and Inca cities were used as evidence of how developed these civilisations were.[361] Nevertheless, it was Alberti who in his *On the Art of Building* underlined the role of the city as the locus of a political community and the role of architecture to provide the suitable built environment for it and its civic order. Hence, it is not difficult to understand the importance that the city and its description had for any aspiring utopian work that aimed to propose a better form of social organisation. Moreover, Alberti, in his examination of the origins of architecture, that started with the great eastern monarchs' desire to beautify their capitals but culminated with Roman architecture's combination of pragmatic aims with harmony, conflated the image of the city with that of civilisation itself, transforming it into the archetype of the developed human society. Hence for Alberti and the later *trattatisti* the city became the locus of their problematisation on how to provide a safe, better life for its civic community. Nevertheless, this very earthly city that these renaissance architects focused on could also be the locus of a perfect geometry that served as a model of perfection which humanity could imitate.[362]

The first Renaissance ideal city was Florence, which had served also as the model Italian late medieval city for the contemporary educated elites who praised both its beauty and virtuous citizens.[363] Florence lacked a coherent town-plan or symmetrical walls (figure 10) but it had a centuries-old tradition of civic pride that led its powerful

[361] F. López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias y todo lo acaescido en ellas dende que se ganaron hasta agora y La conquista de Mexico, y de la Nueva España* (Saragossa,1553); S. Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 230.
[362] R. Eaton, *Ideal Cities: Utopianism and the (Un)built Environment* (London, 2007).
[363] P. Howard, 'Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61/2 (2008), pp. 325-7; S. U. Baldassarri, 'Like Fathers like Sons: Theories on the Origins of the City in Late Medieval Florence', *MLN*, 124/1 (2009), pp. 23–44.

citizens to contribute both to its beautification and to its practical development, thus shaping its topography continuously.[364] However, during the fifteenth century, the discussion about the ideal city was linked to the question of the perfect society and its limitations.[365]

This renewed interest in architecture and its utopian potential was inspired both by the discovery of the manuscripts of classical treatises and by the formation of new design techniques that expressed a new perception of space.[366] It has been noted by scholars like Walter Ullmann that several of the achievements of the Renaissance had their roots in the late medieval period and as a result we should be careful of 'false dichotomies' like Medieval and Renaissance,[367] but this cannot negate the fact that many humanists actively sought to dismantle their cultural, artistic, educational and philosophical links with the previous period. Among the most important of these breaks was a new perception and representation of space which can be traced as early as the fourteenth century in the travel and cartographic writings of Petrarch (1304-1374). Specifically, in a series of letters concerning his travels, collected under the title *Epistolae Familiares* (1366), Petrarch seems to reject the poetical and ideological paradigm of the *oecumene* as it was depicted in the medieval *mappae mundi* for a more empirical and less metaphysical view of space. The archetypical humanist self-promoter who travelled between Paris and Bruges and ascended Mount Ventoux could not ignore anymore the fragmented nature of a world filled with marginal and liminal

[364] Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, 'Florentia', in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (6 vols, Cologne,1572), i, p. 99.
[365] R. A. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore, 1980), pp. 68-9.
[366] M. Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 15-22.
[367] W. Ullmann, *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism* (New York, 1977), pp. 195-7; G. H. Tucker, 'Introduction: Petrarch's Curious Mountain of Virtue', in G. H. Tucker (ed.), *Forms of the "medieval" in the "Renaissance"* (Charlottesville, 2000), pp. 1-28.

spaces.[368] This new perception of space is exemplified in Petrarch's letter about Thule where he is not just sceptical of its existence but also of its paradisiacal character, noting that it may be not worth the effort to find it and more importantly we may want to escape from it as soon as possible, underlining the negative potential of a paradisiacal space, describing an earthly paradise as a claustrophobic prison.[369]

The medieval Aristotelian conception of space was attacked in the sixteenth century by figures such as Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler, Francesco Patrizi, Tommaso Campanella and others. However, even before this, the Renaissance artists had adopted linear perspective in painting as the sole system of spatial representation in two dimensions, and even before this, relevant concepts in geometrical optics were known in classical times and during the medieval period.[370] However, it was during the fifteenth century that Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) with his work on two panels on the Florentine Baptistery and the Palazzo Vecchio became one of the first individuals who successfully applied the idea in practice.[371] Soon figures such as Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in his *De Pictura* (1435), Piero Della Francesca (1415-1492) in his *De prospective pigendi* (1482) and Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) in his manuscripts continued this ground-breaking work.[372]

Linear perspective as a method of representation has been interpreted by Erwin Panofsky as a symbolic form, which expressed the theoretical stance of the Renaissance towards space.[373] Panofsky argued that Brunelleschi's invention of linear perspective

[368] T. J. Cachey, 'Petrarchan Cartographic Writings', in S. Gersh and B. Roest, *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 73-91.
[369] Ibid., pp.87-91; F. Petrarcha, *Letters on Familiar Matters: Books I-VIII* (New York, 2005), p, 119.
[370] Alhazen, *Alhacen's Theory of Visual Perception: A Critical Edition*, ed. A. M. Smith (2 Vols, Philadelphia, 2001).
[371] N. Wade, *Art and Illusionists* (London, 2015), p. 7.
[372] S. Resnik, *The Theatre of the Dream* (New York, 1987), p. 156.
[373] Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, p. 65.

expressed the period's way of seeing through a method of spatial representation that appeared objective and was able to express a unified, 'mathematically ordered systemic space'.[374] Hence, the dual symbolic meaning of linear perspective was on the one hand the triumph of the real, based on a carefully calculated distance and objectivity, and on the other, it was the desire for power, because it created in the viewer the feeling that he could survey the whole space.[375] According to Panofsky, this satisfied the need for an anthropocentric way of viewing that did not negate the objectivity of the cosmic order.[376]

On the other hand, Samuel Edgerton without disputing Panofsky's claim about the significance of the linear perspective to renaissance art, focused more on the process of the rediscovery of the linear and how Ptolemy in his *Geography,* that by 1400 was already circulating in Florence, provided instructions for the creation of maps that served as the source for Brunelleschi's rediscovery of the linear perspective.[377] Ptolemy, as we have already seen, was the first to admit that cartography and painting had many similarities and likened the process of chorography with putting the final details onto a painting. Thus, his influence on the process of the rediscovery of linear perspective by Brunelleschi and Alberti is no surprise. Especially if we consider that the other major source from which instructions about the perspective could be found on was the *Ten Books on Architecture* (20-30 BCE) by Marcus Vitruvius (80-15 BCE) and in particular its instructions for the creation of stage sceneries that seem to be heavily influenced by Ptolemy's mapmaking instructions from his *Geography.*[378]

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[374] M. Kubovy, *The Psychology of Perspective and the Renaissance Art* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 164-5.
[375] Ibid., p. 67.
[376] W. V. Dunning, *Changing Images of Pictorial Space: A History of Spatial Illusion in Painting* (New York, 1991), p. 99.
[377] S. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective* (New York, 1976), p. 111.
[378] A. Pérez-Gómez and L. Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge Mass, 2000), pp. 94-101.

All the major artists associated with the theoretical examination of optics and the adoption of linear perspective also had a key role in the systematisation of Renaissance architecture. Pioneers among these men were Brunelleschi and Alberti. A painter and architect, Brunelleschi was also celebrated as an important innovator or, in the language of a Renaissance that was desperate to rekindle the Classical heritage, as an '*antiquae architecturae instaurator'*.[379] Giorgio Vasari gave him this title due to Brunelleschi's effort in reconnecting with Classical architecture by returning to its source. He studied the remnants of Classical antiquity in Rome and other places, hoping to avoid any kind of contamination by late medieval architecture. In doing so, he created a new architectural language that was not simply an imitation of the Classical one but instead an effort to express Classical ideals such as order and homogeneity in his contemporary architectural vocabulary. Thus, in his designs, the emphasis was given to the geometry and the analogies of the buildings while he also tried hard to remain faithful to the rules of the new style and to avoid any intermixing with older styles.[380]

More theoretical than Brunelleschi's work was that of Alberti who, influenced by Vitruvius and by Ptolemy, gave the theoretical depth to Renaissance architecture that until then was lacking. For Alberti, any architectural work was defined by three qualities; stability, functionality and beauty.[381] The last term is not just the natural beauty of a building but also the result of the well combined, harmonious sum of the construction processes that produced a perfect building. Alberti made the quest for perfection and harmony an architectural dogma though this same desire could be traced back to the Pythagorean beliefs and Platonic cosmology and through Boethius and

[379] Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, i, p. 29.
[380] L. M. Roth and A. Roth Clark, *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History, and Meaning* (Colorado, 2014), pp. 16-22.
[381] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, p. 125; A. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance* (Harvard, 2002), pp. 274-275.

Augustine it was also part of the medieval architectural tradition. However, it was Alberti and the later Renaissance architectural authors, also known as *trattatisti*, who placed these ideas at the core not only of their aesthetics but also of their civic values.[382] This quest for harmony and perfection was accepted with pleasure by the humanist Neoplatonists, who tried to reach a perfection symbolised by a cosmic harmony (harmonia mundi) and the perfect human analogies described by Vitruvius in his works.[383] The famous 'Vitruvian man' (figure 11) by Leonardo,[384] is a symbol of the infinite divine perfection as it was embodied in God's creation.[385] Imitating this perfection became the purpose for these artists, architects and poets.

Geometrical schemes like the circle and the square, with symbolic meaning, were among the most frequently used schemes, but the choice was not just a theoretical one. It reflected ideas that were practically applied by architects like Alberti, who introduced the circle into his designs. Of course, there were examples of circular buildings that had survived from antiquity like the Pantheon in Rome (figure 12).[386] However, this shape during the Renaissance came to be seen as the most perfect in nature, and for the period's architects and artists, the circle geometrised God's essence, or perfection itself.[387] As a result, this simple but perfect form became the chosen one for many ideal and utopian town-plans.

Moreover, designing was elevated by the adoption of an education based on the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music) on an equal standing with

[382] A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre, *Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order* (London, 1999), p. 5.
[383] B. Goldstein and G. Hon, *From Summetria to Symmetry: The Making of a Revolutionary Scientific Concept* (Berlin, 2008), p. 161.
[384] Leonardo da Vinci, *Vitruvian man*, c. 1490, Pen and Ink on paper, 35 cm x 26 cm (Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice).
[385] D. Bodart, *Renaissance & Mannerism* (New York, 2008), p. 24.
[386] B. Gamucci, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma* (Venice, 1569), p. 161.
[387] N. Coleman, *Utopias and Architecture* (London, 2005), p. 50.

rhetoric and the buildings of Brunelleschi, Alberti, Bramante or Andrea Palladio with their perfect analogies functioned as panegyrics for the power of the new ideas.[388] Rich patrons, such as the Medici family or the Popes, along with well-read intellectuals, supported this commitment to perfection and they cherished its results. Nevertheless, these ideas saw very little practical application in the larger scale of the city. One idea about how the model city of the Renaissance would look is given to us through a triptych painting dating from the middle of the fifteenth century known as the 'Ideal city' or 'Prospettive Urbinate'.[389] This name was given to them due to their probable origin in Urbino, while the painter's identity is not known with certainty. However, among the most preponderant candidates are Fra Carnevale, Melozzo da Forli, Luciano Laurana and Francesco Martini, all artists who worked in Urbino under the patronage of the Montefeltro family.[390]

From the three paintings, only one remains in Urbino (figure 13).[391] The other two are now in Baltimore (figure 14) and Berlin (figure 15) respectively.[392] Nevertheless, all three share the same theme.[393] They depict city views with buildings in a symmetrical arrangement. In the painting that is in Urbino, we can see two lines of palaces. Some of them have three storeys while others have four -- all of them surround one cyclical building in the centre. The Baltimore picture depicts a square with two rectangular and two cyclical buildings in the background. In the square there is a

[388] P. Dear, *Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and Its Ambitions, 1500-1700* (New York, 2009), p. 29.
[389] C. L. Guest, *The Understanding of Ornament in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 323-5.
[390] H. Saalman, 'The Baltimore and Urbino Panels: Cosimo Rosselli,' *The Burlington Magazine*, 110/784 (1968), pp. 376–383 and F. Kimball, 'Luciano Laurana and the "High Renaissance"', *The Art Bulletin*, 10/2 (1927), pp. 125-51.
[391] Melozzo da Forlì, *Ideal city of Urbino*, 1490s, tempera on panel, 67.7 × 239.4 cm (Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino).
[392] Fra Carnevale, *Ideal City of Baltimore*, 1490s, oil and tempera on panel, 77.4 cm × 220 cm (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore); Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Ideal City of Berlin*, 1477 oil and tempera on panel, 131 cm × 233 cm (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).
[393] A. White, *Plague and Pleasure: The Renaissance World of Pius II* (Washington, 2014), p. 266.

fountain and in its four corners there are Corinthian style pillars with statues placed on them. Finally, in the Berlin painting, we can see through an arcade a broad road which has on each side three-storied palaces and lead onto a harbour. In these three paintings it has been noted that the buildings still have elements from the previous medieval gothic and Romanesque styles and that there is neither homogeneity nor the perfect symmetry that was desired so much by the fifteenth century architects.[394] However, what is important about them is not so much the buildings and their features. The dominant element in these syntheses is the order, the clean lines and the general impression of perfection that these sterilised urban environments, without nature and men, (except in the Baltimore painting, where three figures can be seen in the square), convey. The power of these spatial representations became possible due to linear perspective and it is difficult to not appreciate the artistry of the painter of the 'ideal city' triptych in employing this technique thus allowing us to survey and evaluate the topography of these towns as though we were observing a real place.[395]

The 'ideal city' painting has been identified with an ideal depiction of Florence attributed to Franciabigio (1482-1525) due to a reference in Machiavelli's *Mandragola*.[396] This is not surprising if we remember the special place that Florence had in the new artistic and philosophical ideas of the Renaissance and its strong urban identity and pride that figures such as Leonardo Bruni celebrated in his *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis* (*c.* 1403).[397] However, these ideal cities had little resemblance to the real Florence, a city that had a strong medieval character and a town-plan that could not

[394] Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 264.
[395] J. Snyder, 'Picturing Vision', in W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *The Language of Images* (London, 1980), pp. 219-28.
[396] R. Krautheimer, 'The Tragic and Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 4, no. 33 (1948), pp. 327-346.
[397] A. Moulakis, *Republican Realism in Renaissance Florence: Francesco Guicciardini's Discorso di Logrogno* (Lanham, 1998), p. 75.

be altered to any degree, something which forced the Medici family and their architects to focus on the erection of new buildings that could change the city's facets without extended and expensive alterations to its spatial organisation.

Nevertheless, in his *De re aedificatoria,* Alberti offered a sophisticated theoretical discussion about the principles of town-planning.[398] One of his most significant observations is that the city was the frame for different buildings designed for different functions in order to satisfy the needs of the community. Hence, different buildings were organic parts of one larger body, that is the city. A household, according to him, was a city and conversely a city was a very large household.[399] The unequal power and social relationships in a household are also reflected in Alberti's ideas about the spatial organisation of the city. In particular, he separated the zones where every class would live. The upper class that was destined to govern the city would live separately from the other citizens and in buildings with different designs from theirs. Of course, within these two large classes there were other subtler class divisions that would be reflected in the spatial organisation of the city.[400] Nevertheless, according to Alberti, all the citizens would have to collaborate without antagonism in order to secure that their common household, the city itself, would prosper.

In this model Alberti returns frequently to Platonic themes in order to answer some of the most pressing questions about the establishment of a city.[401] He argued that a city must offer its citizen a calm, comfortable and protected way of life, and he paid considerable attention to practical issues, which as we have seen occupied many utopian writers. Issues such as the salubriousness of the climate, access to drinkable water, the

[398] L. B. Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 98-106.
[399] Ibid., p. 151.
[400] Ibid., p. 121.
[401] J. S. Hendrix, *Platonic Architectonics* (New York, 2004), pp. 99-103.

soil's fertility and the protection that a location offers for the future city were examined in depth. Reminding us even more of Utopia's capital Amaurote, Alberti proposed that the city must be constructed in the middle of the area that it will govern. Regarding the issue of fortification, Alberti supported the view that any walls, even if for him the most desirable scheme was that of the circle, must follow the geographical specifics of the area upon which the city is to be built and that this might make it impossible to create perfectly symmetrical walls. He also adopted the idea of zoning, examining whether buildings with the same purpose (such as workshops) could be concentrated in the same area. The street plan was also another topic where Alberti mitigated his desire for perfection in light of the practical problems that the construction of a city posed. His ideal not surprisingly was that of a grid plan with long broad straight roads containing houses of the same design and height.[402] However, he understood that sometimes the conditions of a city demanded less order and more beauty. As a result, he admitted that for a small town it was better to have crooked and not straight roads in order to seem larger than it actually was, and that the order demonstrated by building identical buildings was surpassed by the aesthetic demand for different styles of buildings. Alberti may have failed to present a definitive design of the ideal city due to his practical considerations, but his ideas reveal his preference for a city that would embody the political identity and the social divisions of its community. In his texts, he was careful to point out the practical purpose of the city and when he put forward his views on an issue, he always presented alternative theories.

The doubts of Alberti about the ideal city's town-plan were not shared by Antonio di Pietro Averlino (1400-1469) the Renaissance architect known as Filarete. In a multi-volume work called *Libro architettonico* (*c.* 1460), he summarised his views

[402] Ibid., pp. 105-7.

about every aspect of architecture and accompanied it with a polemic against the old Gothic style.[403] This work was written in Italian vernacular and was the fruit of his disillusionment during the last year of his life.[404] Many parts of it have dialogic form and like some Platonic dialogues, it began with a symposium where the guests discussed the necessity of rules for town-planning and building design. The result of this discussion was the sketching of an ideal city called Sforzinda, named after the architect's patron, the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza. Based on Vitruvian ideals of analogy and Alberti's architectural dogma, Filarete focused more on the analysis of specific issues like the types of buildings that an ideal city must have and the most suitable location for its founding.[405]

Filarete narrated how he came upon the perfect area for his ideal city when he travelled to a region near the imaginary river Sforzindo, which runs through a valley with fertile soil and plenty of orange and olive trees. Near the valley there was a forest that could provide the necessary timber for the city's construction, while a series of mountains protected the valley from the winds (figure 16).[406] He imagined the plan of a city with an eight-point star design created by two overlapping squares and surrounded by a circular moat (figure 17).[407] The expanse of the city was twice as large as that attributed by More to Amaurote but was equally well-fortified. Eight towers were to be constructed in each tip of the star to protect the gates that would be built on the eight inner angles of the walls.[408] There were starting roads from both the gates and

[403] Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture: The facsimile*, (2 Vols, New Haven, 1965), i, pp. 20-42.
[404] B. Hub, 'Founding an Ideal City in Filarete's Libro Architettonico (C. 1460)', in M. Schraven and M. Delbeke (eds), *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 17-25.
[405] I. K. Mcewen, 'The Architectonic Book', in P. Sanvito (ed), *Vitruvianism: Origins and Transformations* (Berlin, 2015), pp. 101-12.
[406] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Codex Magliabechianus, Lib. II. I. 140, fol. 4r, Filarete, Libro architettonico.
[407] Codex Magliabechianus, Lib. II. I. 140, fol. 23r, Filarete
[408] G. K. Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens Ga, 2012), p. 31.

the tower that lead to the city centre where the main buildings of the settlement are located such as the Cathedral, the ducal palace, the town hall, the justice court, the prison, the brothel and the public baths. Due to the large size of the town, other smaller centres were foreseen in the plan where workshops, parish churches and other facilities could be found. These smaller centres were to be linked by a circular road.

However, the analysis of Sforzinda was not limited to its technical details. Filarete included a semi-prophetic story about the discovery of a golden book, which was written in Greek and which was found during the works for the construction of the city's harbour. It described an ancient rich coastal city established by a King named Zogalia. This story reinforces the idea that Sforzinda was nothing more than a monument of flattery towards the Sforza family by Filarete. The name of the city or even the name of the mythical ancient King Zogalia, an anagram of the name Galiazo, which was the name of the Duke of Milan's heir, makes clear the intention of Filarete to honor his Milanese patrons.[409] Indeed, the whole city seems destined to be a palace and a monument for the Sforza dynasty just like Urbino was for the Montefeltro family. Nevertheless, elements of its plan, such as the desire for harmony and the highly symbolic cosmological shapes of the circle and the star, allow us to identify a utopian element in it. The fact that prevents Sforzinda, despite its dialogic form, from becoming a full-fledged utopia is Filarete's failure to juxtapose his vision onto real-life contemporary problems and his unwillingness to accompany his ideal city with a new social and political paradigm. On the contrary, through his discussion with figures like the Prince, it becomes apparent that he accepted completely the current status quo. He decided instead to limit himself to the invention of a town-plan that celebrated the

[409] A. Pane, 'L' antico e le preesistenze tra Umamnesimo e Rinascimento. Treorie, personalita ed interventi su archtitetture e Città', in Stella Casiello (ed), *Verso una storia del restauro: dall'età classica al primo Ottocento* (Florence, 2008), pp. 107-8.

values of order and Vitruvian beauty. The avoidance of criticizing contemporary society's problems and proposing solutions does not diminish Filarete's contribution to the image of the ideal city. On the contrary, he initiated a quest for the ideal urban form that inspired many Renaissance architects. One of these was Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1501), a painter and sculptor, who was also one of the most important architectural theorists and military engineers of the period.[410]

The Sienna-born Martini worked primarily at Urbino for Duke Federico da Montefeltro (1422-1482), a man who during his reign transformed this small principality into one of the most important cultural centres of the Italian peninsula. For this wealthy patron, who had welcomed into his court men of letters like Pietro Bembo and Castiglione, Martini worked mainly as a military engineer, building numerous fortifications around Urbino but also working on the Ducal Palace as an architect.[411] A result of his experience as an architect and engineer was his *Trattato di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare* that he dedicated to Federico and completed sometime after 1484.[412] This book was immediately recognised as one of the most important and influential architectural treatises of the Renaissance. In this treatise, themes associated with the construction of fortifications and walls were examined by Martini although he also studied wider subjects of architectural theory. For example, he tried to articulate a systematised theory of urban planning. As would have been expected by a major architect of the period, he followed the rules that ancient Greek and Roman urban planners had laid down regarding the form of the city. The most influential street plan was a variation of the grid plan (figure 18) that was attributed to Hippodamus of Miletus

[410] S. E. Rasmussen, *Towns and Buildings: Described in Drawings and Words* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 22-6.
[411] B. Evers and C. Thoenes, *Architectural Theory: From the Renaissance to the Present* (Koln, 2003, p. 38.
[412] Francesco di Gorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura, ingenieria e arte militare*, ed. C. Maltese, (Milan, 1967).

(*c.* 500 BCE).[413] In this scheme, elements such as the broad, straight roads and a central square were dominant, expressing the desire to create an organised, rational and practical spatial organisation. It is significant that Hippodamus, apart from being an urban-planner and an architect, was also, according to Aristotle, the author of an ideal state.[414] This highlights the very old and close link between the grid plan, with its effort to create an ordered space, and utopianism.

The other theory that Martini examined was aesthetic. Based on the *Ten Books on Architecture* by Vitruvius, this theory claimed that beauty was based on symmetry and proportional perfection, which were two things that could be learned only by the study of nature and of the ideal human body. Thus, every human creation if it hoped to have 'venutas' (beauty) had to be modelled on the human body because it was a *piccolo mondo*, a microcosm that contained every celestial and material quality.[415] Hence, the town-plan of his ideal city had to be rational, clean, and arranged according to a grid. Secondly, it had to follow an organic urban topography that copied the analogous and corresponding relationship between the human body and its various parts. The shape of the city for Martini could vary but his preferred ones were those that were similar to the human body, or to geometrical shapes, especially the circle, square and octagon (figures 19 and 20). In the centre of the ideal city there was a plaza with a square or rectangular shape and around it all the main facilities had to be erected.[416] In addition, for Martini, the palace, the cathedral or the market had to be equally accessible for every citizen. If

[413] Piraeus' Hippodamian grid, Museum of the City, http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/hippodamus-and-early-planned-cities/ (14. Jan. 2018).
[414] W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historic Development*, (New York, 1950), p. 214.
[415] I. K. McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 12, 152-4.
[416] Martini, *Trattati di architettura*, p. 360.

this was not possible then a series of smaller plazas had to be built where parish churches, shops and public baths were within easy access.

Martini proposed many designs for his ideal city because, like Alberti, he knew that theoretical ideas could rarely be implemented unchanged in the real world. One of them was quite similar to the star-shaped Sforzinda. Martini's version had an octagonal outline with fortresses and towers on its walls and eight gates, but unlike Filarete he used the octagonal shape for its central plaza and included concentric octagonal roads (figure 19).[417] Nevertheless, Martini did not limit himself to one plan but experimented with variations of his main design. One of these variations had four gates and four towers instead of eight. Another one was an adaptation of his original plan to an elevated terrain where the city took a circular form and its town-plan becomes either more complicated with crossroads or simplified with a clear grid plan (figure 20).[418] Despite these different versions he remained faithful to his Vitruvian principles, claiming that a city must imitate the human body.[419] Therefore, in his original plan, the main plaza is in the very centre of the city like the navel of the human body and in each of his other versions there is always the prince's palace on the very top just like the head was on top of the human body (figure 21).[420]

Factors such as the geography of an area and the access to raw materials could force an architect to change or even abandon his original plan. Well aware of this problem, Martini chose to concentrate more on the principles that his ideal city had to follow rather than to focus on a specific town-plan. Even if, like his predecessors, he did not encroach upon the area of social critique, Martini imagined a utopian city that

[417] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Codex Magliabechiano II.I.141, fol. 22r, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Il Trattato.
[418] Ibid., fol. 21v.
[419] Martini, *Trattati di architettura*, pp. 361-3, 365.
[420] Codex Magliabechiano II.I.141, fol. 36r.

in its everyday function promoted equality. The other interesting fact about Martini's propositions was the care that he showed for the protection of the city, which was not surprising for a man that was the most prominent military engineer of his time. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that he linked fortification to the origin and the mission of the city. Martini believed, like Protagoras in the homonymous Platonic dialogue, that the city was invented in order to protect humanity and its walls and the other fortifications were essential for the accomplishment of this mission. For this reason, in every design of his ideal city there were strong walls. This is not because he wished to sever his city links with a less perfect or corrupt world, as some scholars have claimed about utopia, but because protecting its inhabitants was the purpose of the city. This idea can be found in almost every theoretical work about architecture of the period and it brings into question the traditional view that saw the walls of utopia as a symbol of its isolation.[421]

Martini's insistence upon the examination of practical and technical issues related to the ideal city has been credited by Benevolo as a decisive moment for Renaissance architecture, because he transformed the ideal city from a general, unattainable model to a practical project. In other words, the ideal city stopped existing as a cultural myth and became an achievable ideal.[422] A good example of this new attitude towards the ideal city are two designs of ideal cities that were made by Leonardo, the archetypical *uomo universale* of the Renaissance. Even if his practical experience with architecture was limited, Leonardo occupied himself with many theoretical architectural problems and he produced many designs of buildings and

[421] D. Pinder, *Visions of the City: Utopianism, Power and Politics in Twentieth Century Urbanism* (London, 2011), p. 61.
[422] Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, i, p. 185.

cities.[423] Two of these were created with existing cities in mind and they had to deal with specific problems. The first was created for Florence (figure 22).[424] It was the plan of a town with decagon shaped walls and a rectangular street layout, while in its centre the Arno River was passing through it, cutting the city into two equal, semi-circular parts.[425] In it, the effort by Leonardo to incorporate into the existing medieval city architectural principles of order and analogy is evident. By examining it carefully we can see the difficulty that many early modern architects had to deal with when they hoped to apply their theoretical principles and their ideal town-plans in practice. The absence of suitable empty spaces that could serve for the symmetrical expansion of the city forced the period's architects to deal with spaces heavily embedded with specific political identities and sacred topographies inherited from the medieval or Classical periods. The cost and the social and political importance of such spaces rendered practically impossible any large- scale project that could completely reshape the urban landscape.

Another city design that Leonardo made while he was in Milan working for Ludovico Sforza was more ambitious.[426] The plague outbreak of 1484 in the city is credited as being the stimulus for Leonardo to re-imagine Milan as an ideal city. For example, having witnessed the city abandoned for fear of the plague he focused on the issue of public health. Thus, this city was built near the sea in order to use the water for its street cleaning and for its sewer system. Nevertheless, Leonardo's vision was not limited to the practical issue of public health. He proposed a city built on two levels (figure 23).[427] The lower one was designed for the use of the lower classes. There they

[423] H. Kruft, *History of Architectural Theory* (New York, 1994), p. 58.
[424] Windsor, Royal Collection RLW 12681, Leonardo da Vinci, Florence town-plan.
[425] M. Morini, *Atlante di storia dell' urbanistica* (Milan, 1963), pp. 184-5.
[426] Ibid., pp. 198-199.
[427] Paris, Institut de France, Codex B, Ms. 2184, fol. 36r, Leonardo da Vinci, Sketch of a building in two levels.

would live in the ground floor of multi-storied buildings and work at the markets and workshops that were situated on this level. Moreover, the roads of the lower level were destined to be used by carriages and for the transfer of various goods. On the contrary, the upper level, where the upper classes were to live, was designed for their pleasure. No carriages or transfer of goods were allowed, and any noisy or polluting activity was forbidden. In fact, Leonardo designed two cities co-existing inside the walls, one for the privileged citizens and another for the underprivileged ones. It was a vision of a stratified city for a stratified society that by principle denied Martini's idea of equal access to all facilities and seemed to deny one of the most sacred principles of an ideal society, that of equality. Nevertheless, many ideal society visions such as Plato's were class stratified and separated their citizens according to their abilities, favouring meritocracy instead of complete equality so Leonardo's Milan plan can be seen as part of this tradition.[428]

With Leonardo's exercises on the ideal city, an important chapter in the history of the ideal city vision ends chronologically. The next century's trattatisti, such as Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), Pietro di Giacomo Cataneo (1510-1574), Vicenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616), Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573) and Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), cherished, codified and expanded the quattrocento architectonic tradition and its values of order, analogy, meter and simplicity, avoiding experimentations.[429] The same applies outside the Italian peninsula and especially in France, where architects and theorists like Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (1510-1584) and Philibert de

[428] K. R. Moore, *Plato, Politics and a Practical Utopia: Social Constructivism and Civic Planning in the Laws* (New York, 2012), p. 106.
[429] F. Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 180-2; B. da Vignola, *Trattati* (Milano, 1985), pp. 2-18.

L'Orme (1514-1570) adopted Renaissance's styles in an effort to imitate antiquity's architecture.

However, the interest in the question of the ideal city diminished.[430] Indicative is the fact that Andrea Palladio may have been the most significant architect of the period when he discussed the design of a perfect city in his *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Four Books of Architecture) published in 1570. His answers to questions concerning the most suitable street plan or the overarching design of the city echo the views of Alberti and the design of Sforzinda.[431] The uninspired views of Palladio concerning these questions are in contrast to some of his observations in this text about the importance of the citizens' education in order to create an ideal society and his insistence that the plazas are not just a beautification element for the city but a place where the citizens gather to discuss politics and business similar to the agora of classical towns.[432] Palladio's treatment of the ideal city combined an uninspiring view on its design with insightful observations about the form of a different ideal society. Indeed, these ideas were closer to the genre of the literary utopia than with traditional plans for an ideal city.

The only significant break with the fifteenth-century tradition about the design of the ideal city came from the region of the Holy Roman Empire and the city of Nuremberg. There, Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) published a book with the title *Etliche underricht zu Befestigung der Stett, Schloss und Flecken* (1527) (*Several instructions for fortifying towns, castles and small cities*).[433] In this work, he summarised the contemporary ideas about military engineering but within it two city designs can also

[430] H. Rosenau, *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution in Europe* (London, 1972), pp. 55-60.
[431] A. Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (New York, 1961), p. 60.
[432] Ibid., pp. 70-5.
[433] J. D. G. G. Lepage, *Castles and Fortified Cities of Medieval Europe: An Illustrated History* (North Carolina, 2010), p. 197.

be found.[434] The first (figure 24) depicted a concentric city-plan similar to Sforzinda and the rest of the fifteenth century ideal cities.[435] However, in the second (figure 25) he broke away from this legacy and was proposed a city with a square design and a rectangular grid plan.[436] The inner city was divided into twelve blocks and in its centre there was a large square plaza. The principles of analogy and order were also prominent in Dürer's plan, something that is not surprising for an artist who had travelled to Italy to further his education, who was also aware of and influenced by the Vitruvian theories of beauty. It should be borne in mind that Dürer had extensively researched geometry and measurement, devoting a written work to these topics in a 1525 work entitled *Underweysung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt* (Instructions for Measuring with Compass and Rule).[437]

Dürer's ideal city was probably the last one that drew wider attention during a sixteenth century when the roles of architect, painter and engineer that many major Renaissance figures had adopted simultaneously started to come under attack from people such as the military engineer Giovanni Battista Belici. In his *Nuova inventione di fabricar fortezze di varie forme* (1598) he called upon the architects to stop getting involved with fortresses and walls and instead to concentrate on building palaces, churches and villas.[438] This type of attack came at a moment when the architects abandoned the design of ideal cities..[439] The lack of interest in the ideal city becomes evident if we consider the fact that the final designs for such locales remained unnoticed by their contemporaries. Among the last painters and architects that occupied

[434] M. D. Pollak, *Turin 1564-1680*: *Urban Design, Military Culture, and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital* (Chicago, 1991), p. 25.
[435] A. Dürer, *Etliche underricht zu Befestigung der Stett, Schloss und* Flecken (Nuremberg, 1527), p. 43.
[436] Ibid., p. 39.
[437] Kruft, *History of Architectural Theory*, p. 111.
[438] B. Belici, *Nuova inventione di fabricar fortezze di varie forme* (Venice, 1598), pp. 421-2.
[439] Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, i, p. 542.

themselves with the ideal city at a theoretical level were Giorgio Vasari the Younger (1562-1625), who created a design similar (figure 26) to Sforzinda that remained unpublished,[440] Pietro Cataneo (1510-1569) who included the plan of a six-sided city with fortresses and bastions (figure 27) in his *I Quattro primi libri di architettura* (1554) and Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592) whose theoretical work on the ideal city was never translated into a coherent design.[441]

These ideal cities' town-plans had abandoned the highly cosmological shapes in favour of polygonal ones that had practical value for the protection of the city. However, they remained deeply influenced either by the old quattrocento models or the theories of the military engineers on fortified cities.[442] In addition, these plans showed little interest for the topography of the city or for any other practical urban issue, something that relegated them to simple exercises on design. Therefore, from the end of the sixteenth century, the effort to invent a functioning city design suitable for a perfect society ceased occupying the period's architects and theorists. Instead, this task was undertaken by the early modern utopian writers who assimilated many of the ideas, achievements and principles of Renaissance architecture and its quest for the ideal city in their own search for an ideal society.

Constructing the ideal city: applying the new ideas in Europe and the New World.

[440] G. Vassari the Younger, *Piante di chiese [palazzi e ville] di Toscana e d'Italia*, ed. V. Stefanelli, (Rome, 1970), p. 195.
[441] P. Cataneo, *I quattro libri di architettura* (Venice, 1554), p. 7r.
[442] Kruft, *History of Architectural Theory*, pp. 95-7.

Renaissance humanists, this diverse group of teachers, jurists, philologists, political propagandists, diplomats, bureaucrats, artists and courtiers had an ambivalent relationship with the city.[443] On the one hand, they were the product of a new socio-political environment where the merchant urban elites placed the administration, commercial and cultural life of the medieval Italian city-states under their control creating thus the opportunity for educated laymen to man their bureaucracies and educational institutions.[444] It is no coincidence that leading humanists like Leonardo Bruni (1370-1444)) in his *History of the Florentine People* (1415-29) linked the *rebirth* of the Classical letters, after centuries of decline, to the recovery of the freedom of the Italian city-states that led to the establishment of virtuous and freedom-loving republics, thus linking themselves with civic duty and political engagement.[445] On the other hand, it must be pointed out that not all humanists shared Bruni's republican and civic service ideals while, a significant number of them were not happy with the political and urban environment of the city-states that they had to live and work in. For example, Alamanno Rinuccini (1426-1499) in his dialogue *On Liberty* (1479) presented one of its heroes the republican Eleuthterious to gladly spend time in his countryside villa away from Florence where the Medici ruled,[446] while the unhealthy and cramped conditions of the Renaissance city could not be easily ignored, something that gave rise to many Arcadian fantasies and an appreciation of the garden as space of contemplation.[447]

[443] N. Mann, 'The origins of humanism', in J. Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 5-19.
[444] Ibid., p. 5.
[445] M. Hörnqvist, *Machiavelli and Empire* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 38-40; C. G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 29-35.
[446] *Renaissance Humanism: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. and tr. M. L. King (Indianapolis, 2014), pp. 86-9.
[447] A. Lee, *The Ugly Renaissance* (London, 2013), pp. 131-3; S. Malgorzata, 'Philosophy of Nature and the Grotto in the Renaissance Garden', *Journal of Garden History*, 7 (1989), pp. 76-85.

Nevertheless, even if Renaissance humanism was not a movement with a cohesive program, and the people who adhered to its educational and cultural ideals had conflicted views and diverse interests, their focus on the study of the Classical heritage and literature led them to care profoundly about the appearance of their cities and inspired them to rethink their spatial organisation and aesthetics.[448] Contemplating, thus, the problems of the fragmented by the socio-political antagonisms medieval city and suggesting possible solutions, envisioning a city that was a harmonious well-regulated architectural and political entity following the paradigms set by Greek and Roman writers like Vitruvius.[449] The ideal city quest was inspired by this need to overcome the internal fragmentation of the city and in its symbolic and symmetrical town-plan sought to find the suitable house for a new prosperous and well-ordered political and social order free from the social and political antagonisms that have marked Italian city-states for centuries. This quest for the perfect city, however, saw limited practical application.[450] As we have already seen, the Italian peninsula was an area with well-developed urban centres.[451] Cities such as Milan, Venice, Florence and Rome had already developed their urban landscape from ancient or medieval times, and there was no space for large scale city building experiments.

In addition, the fact that leading Renaissance architects like Alberti rejected any kind of radical intervention in urban spatial organisation meant that even the most powerful patrons and ambitious architects were reluctant to undertake this type of project. On the contrary, they limited their interventions to making small alterations to existing buildings and additions of new ones that could gradually transform the old

[448] A. Grafton, 'Humanism and Political Theory', in Burns (ed), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, pp. 24-5.
[449] D. E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, 1984), pp. 85-94.
[450] L. H. Lees and P. M. Hohenberg, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1994* (Cambridge Mass, 1995), p. 152.
[451] H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, 2014), pp. 66-9.

medieval cities according to the new architecture and aesthetic principles. As a result, the few real examples we have of efforts to construct a city according to these new principles are small scale projects such as Pienza's construction by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, who was later Pope Pius II (1405-1464), and in Urbino by the Duke Federico da Montefeltro (1422-1482).

In Corsignano's case, Piccolomini's birthplace, the small scale of the original medieval village makes it easy to understand the character of the changes. The works started in 1459 when the new Pope decided to transform the small medieval village into a Papal summer retreat. The architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) was selected to design and erect a palace for the Piccolomini family along with a new cathedral, an episcopal palace and a new town hall that could upgrade the status of the old village into a town. All these buildings were constructed on a hill in a central location of the old medieval settlement around a trapezoidal piazza.[452] Piccolomini, who was a distinguished humanist himself, probably had the assistance of Alberti who during this period was in the employment of Saint Peter's throne for the invention of this building program but Rossellino succeed in executing it, thus creating one of the most successful and influential urban renovations of the period.[453] Based on the principles of symmetry and Vitruvian venutas, Rosellino created a harmonic ensemble that transformed the old village into a model town (figure 28).[454] As has been noted, Piccolomini's plan was on a small scale. Five buildings around a new piazza. Nevertheless, this small-scale renovation combined with the decision to make Pienza a summer retreat for the Papal court sparked a much larger transformation of the city, with numerous new palaces and

[452] C. R. Mack, *Pienza: The Creation of a Renaissance City* (Ithaca, 1987), pp. 99-102.
[453] T. Benton, 'Architecture: Theory and Practice', in K. Woods (ed), *Making Renaissance Art* (London, 2007), p. 168.
[454] L. H. Heydenreich, 'Pius II als Bauherr von Pienza', *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, VI (1937), p. 106.

houses being erected by powerful members of the curia and courtiers, usually with Rossellino's design and supervision.

The other effort to apply the new ideas to a real city was in Urbino. In the heart of this project was the Ducal Palace, its construction begun in the middle of the fifteenth century, probably in 1449, under the supervision of Maso di Bartolomeo (1406-1456).[455] Gradually it was extended so much that in Castiglione's words it seemed not to be a palace but a city in the form of palace.[456] In the Ducal Palace's construction the sole direction of one architect like in Pienza was missed, with many architects such as Luciano Laurana (1420-1479) and later Francesco Martini working on it and on smaller projects around the town for different periods. However, the ideas of Alberti and the stern control of the Duke Federico III guaranteed that the final result would be harmonious.[457] Moreover, just like in Pienza, the construction of the new palace was the first step for the gradual renovation of the whole of the city, with new churches, fortifications and houses being erected. Consequently, these two paradigms of small-scale renovations seem to confirm Alberti's view that small scale interventions in the existing cities and town could gradually re-shape their topographies according to the new architectural ideals.

However, despite the beauty and the ingenuity of these small projects, the most famous, ambitious in scale and complicated town renovating program of the period took place in Rome.[458] The original idea for a huge scale renovation of the city is attributed to Pope Nicholas V (1397-1445) who reigned between the years 1447 and 1455. A man

[455] D. E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Wisconsin, 1984), p. 97.
[456] Baldassare Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano (Venice, 1528), p. 18; R. Kirkibride, *Architecture and Memory: The Renaissance studioli of Federico de Montefeltro* (New York, 2008), p. 13.
[457] W. R. Albury, *Castiglione's Allegory: Veiled Policy in The Book of the Courtier (1528)* (London, 2014), pp. 27-35.
[458] Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, i, p. 136.

celebrated for his great erudition and education, Nicholas espoused humanistic education and values but started his building program with practical considerations. Rome in his time was a city that had lost much of its ancient glory and relied on centuries old infrastructures. Hence, his first act was to repair the Aqua Virgo aqueduct and to pave many of the city's roads. Technical advisor for this and later works was Alberti himself until his departure from Rome in 1464. Alberti's influence upon the program is evident in the efforts to utilise the remains of the ancient Rome that had survived through the centuries. Attention was also given to the city's fortifications and the development of the Vatican area, while he commissioned Alberti and Rossellino to repair St Peter's Basilica and even to present plans for its reconstruction.[459] The works, except from their practical value, were also aiming to celebrate and propagandise Papal power, demonstrating the fact that the Papacy's worldly power was equal to its spiritual power. Nicholas himself in his writings justified his building program as an effort to make the city that is considered the most illustrious of all worthy of its name and, through the grandeur of the new buildings, to exhibit the Holy See's power to the uneducated masses.[460]

Among the most interesting of these works was the opening of new straight roads known as 'viae rectae' (figure 29).[461] The opening of these roads continued under Nicholas' successors, especially during the reign of Innocent VIII between the years 1485 and 1490 when the works were taken over by Domenico Fontana (1543-1607). These roads eventually became part of a network that linked the most important ancient and contemporary monuments of the city with crossroads marked by obelisks.[462] The

[459] C. M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 2009), p. 387; C. L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, 1985), pp. 265-270.
[460] Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance*, i, p. 140.
[461] S. Kontaratos, *Πολεοδομία και Ουτοπία* (2 vols, Athens, 2014), i, p. 414.
[462] E. E. Lozano, *Community Design and the Culture of Cities: The Crossroad and the Wall* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 28.

new street plan based on the viae rectae of Rome that has been characterised as the first modern one was almost immediately imitated in other cities. Genoa's 'strada nova' (figure 30),[463] which was a straight road with a width of 7,5 meters and was surrounded by palaces of the same height that were designed by Galeazzo Alessi (1512-72), is the most representative one. Similar projects with varying success were constructed in the following decade in Naples, Palermo and Madrid.[464]

The dissemination of the Renaissance architectural models outside of Italy during the sixteenth century, in areas where strong centralised monarchies could be found, created the proper conditions for the construction of new cities according the new principles. However, the majority of the new cities that were created in Europe had a military character. The case of one of these new fortress cities, which had a plan similar to the ideal cities of Filarete and Martini, called Palmanova (figure 31),[465] is extremely interesting.[466] This city was created by the Venetian government in 1593 in order to protect its north-eastern borders from the Ottoman armies.[467] The designer of its concentric nine-pointed star town plan was probably Vincenzo Scamozzi but similar plans could be found in the *Della Fortificazione libri cinque* (1597) by Buonaiuto Lorini (1540-1611). However, the works were supervised by the military engineer Gulio Savorgnan (1510-1595). The city had monumental gates and a cathedral designed also by Scamozzi in its centre. Palmanova, even if it was not designed to function as an ideal city or as the home of a better society, had retained the architectural principles upon which the ideal cities were conceived. Its concentric plan had retained its cosmological references and its central plaza was the navel of the new city faithful to

[463] L. Vagnetti, *Genova, Strada Nuova* (Genoa, 1967), p. 202.
[464] M. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 216.
[465] Braun and Hogenberg, 'Palmanova', in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, (6 vols, Colongne,1598), v, p. 68.
[466] P. N. Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 2008), p. 304.
[467] D. Costanzo, *What Architecture Means: Connecting Ideas and Design* (London, 2015), p. 103.

Vitruvian principles. Therefore, it was the closest practical application of the town-plan that had become synonymous with the fifteenth century's idea of the perfect city.

Another city that was constructed during this period and had a plan similar with that of an ideal city was Freudenstadt (figure 32).[468] The city was created in 1599 by the Duke Frederick I of Württemberg (1557-1608) in order to serve as the new capital of his dukedom due to its proximity to Montbéliard and its healthy climate,[469] a purpose that was abandoned after his death. Its architect was Heinrich Schickhardt (1558-1635) who created a design quite similar to Dürer's square ideal city.[470] However, in Schickhardt's plan the center of the city is dominated by a fortress, a stark reminder of the monarch's absolute power over the community.[471]

Nevertheless, Jacques Lemercier (1585-1654), one of the fathers of French Baroque, chose a rectangular town-plan for the city of Richelieu (figure 33), in France.[472] The works that took eleven years and employed two thousand workers stopped in 1642 when its founder, the powerful Armand Jean du Plessis (1585-1642) died.[473] The construction of Richelieu is considered as one of the most expensive non-military works in seventeenth century France. Richelieu has large walls surrounded by a moat and three monumental gates, its roads followed the grid plan and were broad, with one central street, wider than the others, that led onto a large central plaza. The main buildings of the community were grouped on this plaza; the town-hall, the church and the market.[474] Special attention was given to the beautification of the town with the

[468] M. J. Lewis, *City of Refuge: Separatists and Utopian Town Planning* (Princeton, 2016), p. 10.
[469] P. G. Hamberg, *Temples for Protestants* (Gothenburg, 2002), p. 51.
[470] Ibid., pp. 68-70.
[471] Lewis, *City of Refuge*, p. 60.
[472] C. Tassin, *Les Plans et Profils de toutes les principals villes et lieux considerable de France*, (Paris, 1634), fol. 67.
[473] R. J. Knecht, *Richelieu* (London, 1991), pp. 198-9.
[474] A. E. Morris, *History of Urban Form: Before the Industrial Revolutions* (London, 2003), pp. 209-10.

creation of gardens, fountains and picturesque walks. The walls that are imposing but lack any useful fortifications, and the moat, had solely aesthetic function. Moreover, the town's plan avoided any complicated shapes and symbolisms, preferring simplicity, elegance and order. The community that the city housed had no real utopian character and the lack of any distinct form of government or social organisation in it meant that these perfect, well-built shells failed to help the creation of a better society.

During the period under examination new towns were constructed, as previously discussed, according to new architecture and aesthetic principles but they were built on a space already embedded with history and human practice. Rome, Pienza, and Richelieu were cities that carried memories, practices, old social and political paradigms that confined them. On the contrary, the great travels of the period had opened new, presumably empty worlds for the Europeans. The most characteristic case was the Americas, where the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and English conquistadors and settlers undertook a huge operation to rewrite the space of the new lands according to their desires and dreams. This project was disastrous for the indigenous people because it meant not only their exploitation and political oppression, but also the systematic erasure of their culture and way of living from these lands.[475] The result was the creation of the much-desired blank space for the European colonisation projects and for the period's spatially expressed utopian desires.

The founding of new cities, which occurred many times upon the ruins of the destroyed Amerindian ones, was a crucial part in the effort to fill and conquer this empty new world. The Spanish Crown devoted much attention to this by encouraging the building of hundreds of cities in Central and South America, which were designed to

[475] W. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, 2003), p. 456.

become political and market centres and seats of a large bureaucracy that represented a central authority, thousands of miles away.[476] The Portuguese, with trade stations around Africa and in India, limited themselves to small cities and showed no real interest in expanding or experimenting with the town plans there. Even in Brazil, an area where they could have established a larger network of cities, they focused more on the exploitation of its natural resources and the creation of large sugarcane plantations which resulted in the establishment of a semi-feudal system based on large landholdings, that effectively controlled the area.[477]

The speed with which they founded new towns was indicative of the different intentions and approach of the Spanish. Santo Domingo, Havana, Santiago and San Miguel de Balboa are a few of the towns that the Spanish founded between 1496 and 1520.[478] This haste sometimes had disastrous results as in the case of Santo Domingo where the original city founded by Bartolome Colombo (1461-1515) in 1496 was destroyed by a hurricane and was rebuilt based on a new town plan in a safer position by its new governor Nicolas de Ovando (1460-1511). All these cities had simple and random town-plans or, in a few cases, like the rebuilt Santo Domingo, imitated the design of existing cities in the Spanish metropolis.[479] A break from this practice came with Hernan Cortés (1485-1547) and his choice of building a new city upon the ruins of Tenochtitlán. The construction of the city of Mexico started in 1523 with the xumetrico (geometer) Alonso García Bravo (1490-1561) marking the layout of the new city. Its previous grid plan was retained but everything that might remind one of the city's past heritage was cleansed and overwritten (figure 34).[480] Where the sacred town

[476] J. Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism* (Austin, 2005), pp. 3-21; Kagan and Mariás, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*, p.
[477] J. Lang, *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation* (New York, 1979), pp. 4-9.
[478] J. Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean: How Piracy Forged an Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 17.
[479] C. O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 148.
[480] Braun and Hogenberg, "Mexico', in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, i, p. 58

center of Tenochtitlan (figure 35) was located, the main piazza of the city was constructed and this was where all the major buildings like the Cathedral were situated.[481] Bravo had followed and put into practice his contemporary architectural theories about town planning and street layout on such a scale that the majority of the architects and engineers working in Europe could only dream about. The city soon became the largest in Charles V (1500-1558) dominions and was elevated into the main administration center in New Spain, the seat of the Spanish viceroy and of the bishopric of Mexico. In one of his letters to Charles V, Cortés promised that this new city in five years would become one of the noblest, most populous and well-build cities in the world.[482] The promise of its founder seems to have been fulfilled near the end of the century when the cartographer and navigator Samuel de Champlain (1574-1635) visited the city and was amazed by its well-ordered street plan and the magnificence of its churches and palaces.[483]

This important administrative, cultural and economic center was founded by a battle-hardened man who also had received an education for a small period at the University of Salamanca. There is no indication that he had read More's *Utopia* or any example of the genre but his vision for the future of the city had clear utopian undertones. Well-acquainted with *Utopia* were other men of letters who came in the following decades to the New World such as Juan de Zumárraga (1468-1548) the first bishop of Mexico city and the judge and later bishop Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565) who were both men of erudition and humanistic education and who reinforced the

[481] Woodcut map and town plan of Tenochtitlan. Library of Congress, Washington, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=rbc3&fileName=rbc0001_2004rosen0654page.db (15. Jan. 2018); B. E. Mundy, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, the Life of Mexico City* (Austin, 2015), pp.72-3; J. Lejeune, 'Dreams of Order: Utopia, Cruelty and Modernity', in J. Lejeune (ed), *Cruelty and Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (Princeton, 2005), p. 37; H. Thomas, *Conquest: Cortes, Montezuma, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (New York, 1993), pp. 560-2.
[482] Rabasa, *Inventing America*, p. 120.
[483] F. Legaré, *Samuel de Champlain* (Montreal, 2004), p. 22.

utopian character of the city and the area.[484] The City of Mexico, with its success, in a few years after its rebuilding had a population of 30,000, and served as the model for other new towns in the New World. Bravo who was its planner designed one more city, the Oaxaca, with a similar town-plan and in other parts of the Americas many new cities were built as the Spanish conquistadores solidified their conquests. Among these we can single out the city of Lima that was established 1535 and which like Mexico City became the seat of a Viceroy, Buenos Aires in 1535, Bogota in 1538, and Caracas in 1567. These are a few of the cities that were founded in the first decades after the discovery of the Americas. In the Archivo General de Indias, found in Seville today, more than a hundred plans of new cities have survived. What is remarkable about them was that they were not built under the close control, founding or the instructions of the central authority like many of the military cities in Europe during this period.[485] On the contrary, they were the result of those new settlers and conquerors' ambition, dreams and needs even when their plan was stemming from the metropolis. The absence of any restriction or control by the Spanish Crown made this task deeply idiosyncratic but it does not diminish the courage, determination and power of these people who undertook this unpreceded project.

This phase ended in 1573 when Phillip II of Spain (1527-1598) established with a law the basic principles that a town-plan of any new city had to follow. The publishing of this decree has been interpreted as the end of an era of experimentation and new ideas with another of bureaucratic control succeeding it. However, this judgment ignores the fact that the first 'heroic' period of city building was already coming to its end when this law was published and that in certain respects this text codified the

[484] B. Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico* (Austin, 2000), p. 130.
[485] M. Restall and K. Lane, *Latin America in Colonial Times* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 211-3.

practices and the ideas of town planning of this period.[486] For example, it specified that the lands around the central plaza of the settlement should remain in public hands because all the major public facilities were to be constructed there, an idea that as we have already seen was supported by every architect and engineer of the period even if it was for different reasons. Another similar example is the declaration of the law that every building was to have a similar appearance and height in order to not disrupt the harmonic view of the city.

This law leads to a crucial question about the existence (or not) of a utopian undercurrent in early modern city-building. Hundreds of cities were constructed during the early modern period in Europe and the colonised New Worlds with varying designs and purposes.[487] This is something that makes any effort somewhat difficult to provide a clear answer, especially due to the fact that there are arguments that support both a positive answer and a negative answer. Among the strongest arguments in favour of a utopian aspect in the city-building of the period is the existence of a common architectural language which became the vehicle of the utopian desire for a better city. The theories of Alberti, Martini and later Palladio about architecture and the form of an ideal city were widely influential among their peers and were disseminated beyond the Italian peninsula through their published theoretical works and by these individuals working in other countries, such as France. This created a milieu that celebrated ideals such as order, where a Spanish xumetrico working in Mexico like Bravo, a French architect like L'Orme, and an Italian like Martini shared the same architectural vocabulary, having studied the same works as, for example, Vitruvius' *Ten Books*

[486] O. L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Oklahoma, 1979), pp. 7-10.
[487] Kagan and Mariás, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*, pp. 28-31.

which saw many publications during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[488] In addition, as we have seen in many cases, the similarities between new cities and the ideal city's designs were a crucial fact that cannot be dismissed as a mere coincidence.

On the antipodes of this argument is the fact that cities like Sforzinda, which were built upon a design that was largely identical to that of the ideal city, primarily had a practical role to fulfil as fortress towns. The military engineers had adapted the concentric star shaped ideal cities for military reasons, ignoring the cosmological elements or the quest for a divine harmony of these town-plans, and focusing instead on the number of bastions that this form of walls could accommodate and how easily an army could gather in its central square. Idealism and reality met in these designs, but it is hard to imagine that the Venetian government decided to construct Palmanova for anything else other than to safeguard its frontiers. However, this practical value of the ideal city, full of symbolism, is not cancelling its role.

Designing and building the utopian city.

Utopian writings took over the quest to articulate the form and function of the ideal city during the sixteenth century, but this time as part of a larger, more systematic effort to present an alternative social and political paradigm. Every utopian city was a product of its age, but it was also the product of its writer's imagination, ideas and beliefs. Unfortunately, utopias were rarely accompanied by a detailed depiction of the city. Nevertheless, the texts that until the end of the seventeenth century were considered

[488] M. Wyatt, 'Technologies', in M. Wyatt (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 104-10.

superior forms of geographical and topographical description than the maps,[489] provide us enough information to reconstruct at least the basic features of their topography

However, as Marin has pointed out, More's descriptions of Amaurote are inconsistent and sometimes self-contradictory.[490] Actually, I believe this incompatibility that Marin correctly identified is the result of Ptolemaic cartography's division of space, that functioned as an ensemble where geos, topos and choros communicated with each other but differed not just quantitively but also qualitatively.[491] Hence, Marin's effort to reconstruct Utopia's space based on the descriptions that More provided about the dimensions of its geography, topography, chorography was destined to fail from the beginning. Marin in his deconstruction of Utopia's space while he gave serious consideration of the intellectual and architectural context of the period, he overlooked this incompatibility between the chorographical descriptions and the geographical, something that led him to criticise Utopia's imperfect spatiality as self-referential and to enclose it in its own discourse. Marin failed to follow Antoine du Pinet's (*c.* 1510-1585) advice in his *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plvsievres villes et forteresses* (1564) a book of descriptions of cities and fortresses where he explains that the representation of spaces like castles does not need to concern itself with proportions and longitudes.[492]

However, despite Marin's criticism Amaurote, the capital of the island of Utopia, is maybe the best described city in early modern utopian fiction.[493] For example, we are informed that Amaurote was built upon a hill and its shape was square. The city starts a little before the top of the hill and on its lower side meets the river

[489] Portuondo, *Secret Science*, p. 75.
[490] Marin, *Utopiques*, pp. 75-88, 149.
[491] Gun, *Overcoming Ptolemy*, p. 139.
[492] A. du Pinet, *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plvsievres villes et forteresses* (Lyon, 1564), p. 14.
[493] Ibid., p. 178.

Anydros. Its shape was square; all four sides of this square extend for two miles and the city is divided vertically by another smaller river which ends at Anydros.[494] Around the city there is a tall and thick wall with towers and other defenses.[495] The square shape of the walls, however, is not perfect because the top part is extended in order to include a fountain with fresh water. The whole island of utopia had apparently been created when a dike was opened so it is not surprising that More equips its capital with another dike of which the three sides are filled with thorny plants, while on the lower side of the Anydros River there is a moat.[496] From these elements it becomes evident that one of the primary concerns of More was to create a safe, well protected city. This was a concern that was shared by his contemporaries who saw, during the sixteenth century, the old medieval defenses being rendered useless in front of artillery and who consequently struggled to invent new, effective city fortifications. Nevertheless, the walls that protected the ideal city have also been interpreted as a reminder of the isolation of utopia. As I have argued, this isolation was not complete but served more as a symbol of the difficulty of reaching utopia.

The description of the interior of the city is less detailed than that of its fortifications, though Hythloday's description (figure 36) gives us an idea about the city's urban landscape and organisation.[497] According to this, inside the city there are urban squares with thirty households accompanied by two large buildings that serve as the seat of the Phylarchus, the leader of the quarter elected for one year, and of the common dining room and nursery. The houses of each quarter surround a garden where fruit, vegetables and flowers are grown. The cultivation of both flowers and vegetables

[494] More, *Utopia*, p. 44.
[495] Ibid., pp. 42-8.
[496] Ibid., p. 46.
[497] Kontaratos, *Πολεοδομια και Ουτοπια*, i, p. 217.

is another indication of More's effort to strike a balance between the ideal and the pragmatic, the quest for beauty and the care to feed his utopia's population.[498] Fifty of these Phylarchies (urban squares) form a quarter, with one thousand five hundred households. Each quarter has a market where every agricultural and manufactured good is gathered. In each of the 54 cities of Utopia there are four quarters with 6000 residents. The divisions of the city into squares and quarters reflect the administrational division of the city.

Nevertheless, other utopian cities' descriptions were even less detailed, such as the *City of the Sun*. Campanella's vision of the perfect city had been influenced from his contact with neo-platonic ideas, something that is evident in its town-plan.[499] The City (figure 37) is also built on a hill but is divided into seven parts, each encircled by a wall, and each wall is named after a planet.[500] The largest has a diameter of two miles and in every circle there are four gates, which look towards the four points of the compass.[501] From each gate a road intersects every circle and the Genoese narrator quickly comments on how useful this plan is in combination with the towers and earthworks for the protection of the city. This is because with every circle that falls into enemy hands the next becomes more difficult for the adversary to advance upon the other.[502] As for the population's accommodation, Campanella has palaces that are linked with each other in a way that they appear as one large palace that extents along the length of the whole circle accompanied by colonnades and promenades. Meanwhile, the final circle on top of the hill is reserved for a circular temple. In addition, around

[498] N. Jacobs, 'Consuming Beauty: The Urban Garden as Ambiguous Utopia', in A. Giesecke and N. Jacobs (eds), *Earth perfect? Nature, utopia and the garden* (London, 2012), pp. 156-8.
[499] A. Maggi, 'Tommaso Campanella's Philosophy and the Birth of Modern Science', *Modern Philology*, 107/3 (2010), pp. 481–486 and M. A. Granada, 'New Visions of the Cosmos, in J. Hankins (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 280-2.
[500] Kontaratos, *Πολεοδομια και Ουτοπια*, i, p. 228.
[501] Bacon, Campanella, *The New Atlantis and The City of the Sun*, pp. 44-7.
[502] Ibid., p. 66.

the city there are many canals and sewers. What is evident in Campanella's plan is again the concern for the safety of the town and also the effort to create a society of equality. Every citizen had a bed in one of the palaces and shared the same facilities for cooking and laundry.

The city's plan bears a striking resemblance to Martini's ideal city and Campanella seems to have assimilated all the major Renaissance architecture ideas, such as Vitruvian beauty and the notion that a perfect city had to imitate the microcosm of the perfect human body. Thus, the large temple at the top of the city imitates the head of the human body, while the circular walls had what the humanists believed to be the most perfect and divine shape. Even the temple at the top of the city reminds one of a building from Raphael's 'Lo Sposalizio' (figure 38),[503] a painting that depicts a domed circular temple at the center of an ideal city.[504] A more simplified version of the *City of the Sun* town-plan was adopted by Doni in his *I Mondi* where a circular wall protected a city with numerous gates and roads leading onto the center of the city, where a circular temple is also built (figure 39).[505] In Doni's utopian town there was only one wall and it was not built on a hill, so its plan was much simpler and clearer.[506] More importantly, its outline was much closer to the standard plan of a fifteenth century's ideal city, using the same shapes heavily embedded with symbolism and integrating into it the same values of symmetry, order, simplicity and Vitruvian beauty.[507]

[503] Raphael, *Lo Sposalizio*, 1504, Oil on roundheaded panel, 174 cm × 121 cm (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan)
[504] R. Goffen, 'Raphael's Designer Labels: From the Virgin Mary to La Fornarina', *Artibus et Historiae*, 24/48 (2003), pp. 125–134.
[505] A. F. Doni, *Les mondes, celestes, terrestres et infernaux* (Lyon, 1578), p. 204.
[506] Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 68; P. F. Grendler, 'Utopia in Renaissance Italy: Doni's "New World"', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26/4 (1965), p. 479.
[507] L. Bolzoni, 'Il Mondo Utopico E Il Mondo Dei Cornuti: Plagio E Paradosso Nelle Traduzioni Di Gabriel Chappuys', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 8 (1999), pp. 171–196.

The similarities between the *City of the Sun* and *Christianopolis* were less obvious than their resemblance to Doni's ideal city. Andreae was, like Campanella and Doni, a humanist and just like these two individuals he struggled to present a coherent plan of social reforms in the form of a utopia.[508] Christianopolis (figure 40) followed a rectangular plan with a fortress in each of its corners, towers along its walls, and had a fifty-foot broad dike full of water around it.[509] The city was divided by two roads orientated in the directions of the compass. Inside its walls there were four rows of buildings and a central piazza with a large tower-like temple at its core. Each row was allocated for a specific activity, and the first was given over to various workshops and warehouses. This row was separated into four sections each housing a different manufacturing activity.[510] The next two rows were designated to housing and were divided into 264 apartments of roughly equal size with the same amenities. The last row housed the main institution of the city, the College, which was surrounded by gardens.[511] The need for a center of learning significantly influenced Andreae's plan for Christianopolis and provides another reason for the attention he gave to the city's defenses, whose design was based on fortification tracts such as his own *Collectaneorum mathematicorum* (1612).[512] Nevertheless, the most striking element of this plan was its similarities to Dürer's ideal city. In particular, its walls' shape and even its interior -with the divisions and the central piazza- are almost identical to Dürer's

[508] J. Spielvogel, 'Reflections on Renaissance Hermeticism and Seventeenth-century Utopias', *Utopian Studies*, 1 (1987), p. 188–191.
[509] Andreae, *Christianopolis*, pp, 130-1.
[510] Ibid., pp. 161-172.
[511] Ibid., 183.
[512] T. Morrison, 'The Architecture of Andreae's Christianopolis and Campanella's City of the Sun', in A. Brown and A. Leach (eds.), *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians* (Gold Coast, 2013), pp. 259-271.

and document not only Andreae's knowledge of it but also its great influence on German architects and thinkers.[513]

It is important to note that at the end of the seventeenth century utopias stopped equipping their cities with walls, and that in the majority of the eighteenth century's utopias we cannot find walls around the utopian cities. That does not mean that the concern for the safety of the city ceased to matter to the period's utopian writers, but rather that in the real world, elaborated walls were increasingly ineffective against artillery. The focus shifted onto issues of public health and onto the problems of pollution and traffic that started to appear in cities such as London and Paris. Thus, Ludovico Agostini was more concerned about the sewer system of his utopia's capital, which had to be cleaned every eight to ten days with fresh water, than he was with the construction of bastions or of moats.[514] In addition, both in *Repubblica Immaginaria* and in Foigny's *The Southern Land, Known* we can witness the abandonment of the earlier elaborate, symbolic town-plans for the ideal city, for simpler, more practical and ordered ones that gave emphasis to utility and order, values exemplified by the grid-plan that became extremely popular during this period.[515] This abandonment of the highly symbolic town-plans for more utilitarian ones found its pinnacle in the late eighteenth century euchronias, such as Mercier's *The Year 2440* (1771) where the protagonist is amazed not by the exotic design of the city but by its broad roads, the absence of any traffic and the clean public areas.[516]

[513] Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p. 68.
[514] D. Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2014), p. 204; Benevolo, *The Architecture of Renaissance*, i, p. 541.
[515] G. de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, ed. D. Fausett (New York, 1993), p. xxxvi.
[516] H. F. Majewski, 'L. S. Mercier: A Pre-Romantic View of Paris', *Studies in Romanticism*, 5/1 (1965), pp. 16–29; J. Popkin, 'Editor's Preface', in J. Popkin (ed), *Panorama of Paris: Selections from Tableau de Paris* (Pennsylvania, 1999), pp. 4-5.

The literary utopias and their topographies provide us with important insights into the utopian urban space but real life utopian communities that were established in the Americas can also give us a valuable view upon their topography, their meaning and purpose, and of course the problems and the realities that these communities met with, how they tried to overcome them and how this was reflected in their spatial organisation. The largest in scale utopian project in the Americas was the *reducciones de indios*. The *reducciones* ('Reductions') were communities created and governed by the Jesuit order. They spread quickly around the area of the Parana River, particularly in Paraguay and Brazil, aiming to Christianize and protect the Guarani people from the raids of the Spanish and Portuguese settlers.[517] Having been extremely successful for a long time, the *reducciones* attacked visitors who left descriptions and sketches of these communities. From these sources, and in particular in a 1793 drawing by Jose Manuel Peramas of the Reduction of Candelaria (figure 41),[518] we can see that the *reducciones* had adopted a grid plan with a central square where the church, Jesuit school and hospital were grouped in a cluster on the one side and the other three sides were occupied by uniform houses built for the Guarani people. On other roads behind the central square other important facilities like the orphanage, workshops and dormitories for the Jesuits, in combination with important landmarks such as the cemetery, could be found.[519]

The buildings of religious purpose, such as the church and the cemetery, dominated the settlement and relics like crosses and a statue of the Virgin Mary could be found in the central square. The topography of a reduction rarely deviated from its

[517] J. E. Groh, 'Antonio Ruíz De Montoya and the Early Reductions in the Jesuit Province of Paraguay', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 56/3 (1970), pp. 501–533.
[518] J. M. Peramas, *De Vita Et Moribus Tredecim virorum Paraguaycorum* (Faenza, 1793), p. 80.
[519] C. J. McNaspy, *Lost Cities of Paraguay: Art and Architecture of the Jesuit Reductions, 1607-1767* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 60-6.

original plan and extent because it was predicted that its population would be stable, varying theoretically between one thousand for the smaller, and five thousand inhabitants for the largest. When this population cap was exceeded just as many utopian writers had foreseen, the surplus population was moved to a new reduction. This rule, of course, was many times abandoned leading to the creation of reductions with much larger population.

Another significant element about the *reducciones* that we can discern from Peramas' sketch was the careful spatial zoning. The northern part of the square where all the important facilities and landmarks of the community were gathered was also the area where the Jesuits and any other non-indigenous visitors lived. This allowed them to supervise all the important functions of the community without excessively mixing or interfering with the everyday life of the Guarani. The Jesuits, even if they had reserved for themselves the role of the good shepherd and for the Guarani the role of the Christian flock, had ultimately maintained a distance from the Guarani similar to that between the custodian and the wards. Nevertheless, we must be careful not to overemphasise this separation. The Jesuits were not oppressive towards the Amerindians, neither did they aim to exploit them like the Spanish and the Portuguese settlers from whom they protected them. This is something that becomes obvious in the fact that the Jesuits had allowed a limited degree of self-government to the Guarani inside the community and they themselves elected elders to represent them.[520]

The organisation and the spreading of the *reducciones de Indios* that could be found in every part of South America, and even in California, had no equal. No other utopian or millenarian community, such as the various European Protestant and other

[520] T. Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit experience in Japan* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 130-44.

dissenter groups, managed to imitate the *reducciones*' longevity and prosperity. The different circumstances that led to the creation of the *reducciones* and to the founding of many North American religious communities are numerous. To a large extent they are explained by the obvious religious differences between them, and the varied aims and social, political and economic conditions that existed in Catholic South America and the Protestant North. From the beginning, people like William Bradford (1590-1657) and his 'Pilgrims' led their groups to the New World in order to escape from persecution in their homeland. When these groups arrived in the New World, they had to build their communities from scratch and to give attention to their safety and basic needs.[521] Instead, the Catholic missionaries in South America undertook an organised operation to Christianise the indigenous population. In this effort they had, if not the support, at least the tolerance of an organised central authority. In addition, the Jesuit communities had to fight against raiders who wished to enslave the Amerindians.

These differences were also obvious in their topography. For example, a sketch (figure 42) that reconstructs the original settlement of New Plymouth colony shows a palisade of a conjectural, diamond-like shape and a main road that linked the fortress to the shore around which the houses of the first settlers were constructed.[522] The hastiness in constructing a fortress and a palisade demonstrated the precarious condition of these communities, at least in their beginning. They were surrounded by a hostile wilderness and by local tribes that, unlike their South American counterparts, were still able to defend themselves against the newcomers. This town-plan, despite its effort to

[521] M. L. Sargent, 'William Bradford's "dialogue" with History', *The New England Quarterly*, 65/3 (1992), pp. 389–421.
[522] Reconstruction Sketch of the "Pilgrim Village" at Plimoth Plantation, The Plymouth Colony Archive Project, Charlottesville, http://www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/images/Plimsketch.html (17 Jan. 2018).

preserve an orderly and austere spatial organisation, is clearly a temporary one.[523] This fact leads us to one of the main differences between this type of community and the *reducciones*. Their aim was to become more populous and to an extent they had no desire to maintain a stable population. Instead, they hoped to become safe havens for their persecuted brethren.

A different case was that of New Haven (figure 43) where in 1638, John Davenport with five hundred Puritans established a community based on an urban design consisting of nine major squares.[524] At the center, reflecting both contemporary town-planning ideas and Davenport's theocratic vision about the ruling of the city, was the church. This church was designed to become the heart of the community. Unlike that of New Plymouth, New Haven's town plan was designed to be permanent. Moreover, it has been suggested that it echoes previous utopian and ideal city plans such as Dürer's and Andreae's.[525] We can discern in it the desire to create a community of equals by allocating to anyone of the original settlers the same amount of land which all had the same distance from the church at the city's heart.[526]

Another city in Pennsylvania that was also constructed in order to house a religious community, Philadelphia (figure 44), had a more organised town-plan.[527] The city was built by William Penn Jr. (1644-1718) on land given to him by Charles II (1630-1685) in exchange for a debt to Penn's father Admiral William Penn (1621-

[523] L. Henneton, 'William Bradford elet la Fondation Des Lettres Américaines: Entre Écriture De L'histoire Et Architecture De La Mémoire', *Revue française d'études américaines*, 112 (2007), pp. 5–15.
[524] E. E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to Its Absorption Into Connecticut* (New Haven, 1881), p. 10.
[525] Lewis, *City of Refuge*, p. 80.
[526] J. Archer, 'Puritan Town Planning in New Haven', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 34/2 (1975), pp. 140–9.
[527] Dutch edition of the first plan for Philadelphia, devised by William Penn and Thomas Holme in 1682, Amsterdam, 1684, Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/2769 (14 Jan. 2018)

1670). From its beginning, the new city's planners had the ambition to render it as a utopia. Penn, influenced by Harrington (1611-1677) and his *Oceana* (1656), gave a charter of liberties to his city where the freedom of worship, the right to a fair trial, and elections were guaranteed for its citizens.[528] Even if the city was created initially to become a new home for the persecuted English Quakers, this resulted, in attracting members of other persecuted religious minorities. The town-plan of Philadelphia was designed by another Quaker, Thomas Holme (1624-1695), who probably was influenced by a plan for the rebuilding of London following the Great Fire that Richard Newcourt had proposed (figure 45).[529] The city was built between two rivers and had a rectangular shape. Philadelphia had a grid street plan with two broad roads that crossed each other and divided the settlement into four districts. In the center of the city there was a large, square plaza and four smaller plazas were predicted for the districts. In this unassuming plan, the absence of walls or of any other fortifications is the most striking element. However, it is tempting to assume that a city with a name meaning brotherly love was demonstrating its political and religious principles in its topography.[530]

These examples make apparent the inability of these communities to maintain their original character for a long time, usually after the death of their founder or after attracting new settlers, and then started to lose their original purpose. Their ultimate failure to function or maintain their initial character as a New Jerusalem or Zion seems to confirm the impossibility of this isolation. These intentional communities also lacked the stable and clearly defined social relations that characterised the *reducciones*. Protestant individualism and the similarity between the leader and his followers in

[528] F. Uhlenbruch, *The Nowhere Bible: Utopia, Dystopia, Science Fiction* (Berlin, 2015), p. 45.
[529] J. Hanson, 'Order and structure in urban design: the plans for the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666', *Ekistics*, 56 (1989), p. 25.
[530] B. Goodwin, *The Philosophy of Utopia* (London, 2001), p. 92.

educational or social standing meant that these communities had no clearly delineated governing elite, like the Jesuits. Finally, their radicalism and their millenarian visions, which expected an imminent collapse of the sinful, corrupt world, meant that their attention to the physical environment at least in their first, more radical periods was limited. They were searching for a free, safe space to settle upon in order to freely worship and to satisfy their basic needs by toiling the land. Of course, these spaces were embedded with symbolic meaning, but this was rarely linked to a pre-conceived city-plan or a model city that was to be imitated and spread among their contemporaries.

The deep connection between early modern utopia's topography and the Renaissance 'ideal city' as Helen Rosenau has demonstrated is forged upon their common architectural language. However, this chapter by tracing the origins of this shared language tried to illuminate its deep concern for the welfare of the society that these ideal topoi were designed to house. The examination of Alberti's, Martini's and Filarete's architectural theories demonstrate the versatility that was in the core of their quest for the ideal town plan. Percival and Paul Goodman in *Communitas* were not kind with utopias that were conceived by architects using a phrase they attribute to Plato that asks for the user of the chariot to be the judged of it and not the engineer.[531] Their objection is valid, many of these town-plans appear to us rather technocratic yet in the case of the early modern ideal city this chapter demonstrated how wider were the interests of its creators and how its decline can be attributed to this technocratic approach of the *trattatisti*. Hence, the dismissal of the early modern utopia's architecture as unimaginative or predominantly symbolic by Jameson and Baczko seems unjustified. In addition, by briefly examining the relationship between geography

[531] P. Goodman and P. Goodman, *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (Chicago, 1947), p. 14.

and chorography in Ptolemaic cartography and the early modern cosmography I made clear how the contradictions in *Utopia's* descriptions that Marin had identified while significant are not enough to dismiss its spatiality because it adhered to the tenets of the Ptolemaic geography.

Chapter 4

Utopia's space of practice: the early modern utopian choros.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the study of utopian geography and topography can help us to better understand the abstract ideas and principles upon which a utopia was founded by translating them into an imaginary physical model.[532] In this chapter, the focus is switched to the examination of the space where the daily life, social practices and experiences unfolded, the choros. I have tried to avoid giving a sterile architectural survey of the early modern utopian choros or a description of the technical details of the utopian domestic environment, choosing instead to deal with the choros as the space that embodies, reproduces, and disseminates the values of its society. Unlike the term 'communicentric' that Kagan and Mariás had adopted to describe certain communal spaces, the chorography as a descriptive category allows me to examine a wider more complex and diverse body of choroi especially in utopias and intentional communities where the division between private/domestic and public space is less clear. Thus, the chapter reveals how a series of utopian writers and community founders employed architecture and design to shape their better societies' ethos.

Utopian domestic spaces: the chorographic order and the hortus.

[532] E. J. Green, 'The Social Functions of Utopian Architecture', *Utopian Studies*, 4/1 (1993), pp. 1-3.

While utopian topography is characterised by visions of complex cities with perfect geometrical grid plans and impenetrable walls, the utopian domestic choroi are rarely so impressive. The utopian domestic architecture usually has only limited aesthetic value, and its character is predominantly utilitarian. Even when attention is paid to the ornamentation and beautification of the buildings, the decorations are justified in terms of their practical functions. In *Utopia,* for instance, the expensive glass windows make the houses more impressive in the eyes of Hythloday, but their primary purpose is to protect the house's inhabitants from the weather.[533] This attitude defines More's stance when he discusses Utopia's houses in general, since he describes houses as primarily safe and comfortable refuges. Of course, as would be expected in a utopia written by someone with practical knowledge of a city's administration, contemporary concerns regarding the urban environment and its hazards are prominent. For instance, More's concern to catalogue the materials that protected Utopia's houses against fire is evidently based on his service as London's undersheriff. The fact that the houses are three-storied is initially presented as evidence of Utopia's prosperity, though it is later downplayed and ignored.[534]

This insistence on the practical aspects of Utopia's architecture can be primarily explained by the principles upon which More established his best possible society. He argued for a classless society founded upon equality, where private property was forbidden and private possession of goods was actively discouraged; not only was there no reason to invest in the aesthetic value of its houses but, on the contrary, there were many reasons to discourage it. Thus, More avoided the transformation of Utopia's houses into projections of private wealth or an expression of local allegiances that could

[533] More, *Utopia*, p. 49.
[534] L. Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 35.

cause differentiations not simply in Amaurote's urban environment but also in his utopian society in general. For the same reasons, the Utopians changed their houses every ten years by lot in order to avoid developing a personal bond with a particular property.[535]

The structure of Utopia's domestic spaces and their regulations reveals one of the founding principles of the utopian choros, namely, that it was to be homogeneous and equal for all. It is a space that is built, managed and regulated by it. The individual needs or aesthetic preferences of the people that occupied houses or used its public buildings were ignored. Paul and Percival Goodman in *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (1947) criticised this dehumanizing tendency of central planning that they found common among many utopian schemes.[536] However, in Utopia central planning aimed predominantly to deal with the contemporary problem of unhygienic, uncomfortable, and dangerous housing. By choosing to have houses that were identical and that could offer the same amount of comfort and protection to all citizens, More hoped to elevate and standardise their quality. Indeed, the need for decent housing was not ignored in utopias and on the contrary, More, Campanella, Andreae, Doni and many other utopian writers described houses that were both large and comfortable. Campanella, for example, had his citizens living in two-storied, well-furnished palazzos, while Andreae's Christianopolis provided larger and cleaner accommodation for its inhabitants than it could be found in any real-world city. The focus in these texts was not upon any luxury that the houses provided but instead upon the practical and rational designs that informed the lives of their inhabitants. However, the solutions that the various utopias proposed were not always the same and neither

[535] More, *Utopia*, p. 46.
[536] Goodman and Goodman, *Communitas*, p. 20.

were their principles unanimous. Therefore, it is useful to analyse some characteristic examples of early modern utopian choroi in this chapter in order to understand the ways that utopian authors embodied ideal values and principles in their spatial environment.

As was underlined in the previous chapter, Renaissance and early modern architectural theories emphasised both the pragmatic character of architecture as an art concerned with providing a safe shelter to humanity against the violence of nature and of human society, and also the need to design domestic spaces suitable and fitting for the occupation and social standing of its inhabitants.[537] Alberti, who was the most influential Renaissance architectural theorist, summarised both of these core principles in his *De Re Aedificatoria* (1452).[538] Firstly, in the work's prologue, he claimed that it was not the search for fire and water that brought humans together, as Vitruvius had thought, but instead the need for shelter, and he pointed out how easily ignored and indispensable was the need for 'a roof and walls'.[539] As for the second point, Alberti was the among the first writers to conceive an urban landscape that was capable of changing, depending upon the society that it housed in order to reflect and serve it better. A characteristic example was the different architectural types, choros, and spatial arrangements that he proposed for the palace of the king and the palace of the princeps (tyrant).[540] For Alberti, the king was the heart of his state, and thus his palace should be at the city center surrounded by the houses of the nobility and the city's cathedral. On the other hand, the tyrant's palace should be as far away as possible from the city center

[537] C. T. Ingraham, *Architecture, Animal, Human: The Asymmetrical Condition* (London, 2006), p. 19; Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, p. 39.
[538] Pearson, *Humanism and the Urban World*, pp. 30, 124.
[539] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Book*, p. 3.
[540] Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 288-292.

and without immediate neighbours for safety reasons, occupying a fringe space at the periphery of the city.[541]

This idea was developed further when he discussed the houses of the private citizens. He proposed a zonal system according to which the nobles and rich citizens of the city could avoid any contact with the dangerous, poor masses. However, when he turned his attention to the domestic setting, Alberti's account of the villa- a complex choros that included a house and a farm - initially had an economic function. [542] Here, Alberti expressed the conflicting attitudes regarding the city and the countryside of his contemporary humanist elites. The humanists' natural environment was the city, in which the majority of them were born. More and his friend John Collet, for whom it seems he originally wrote *Utopia,* were sons of powerful London families. Erasmus was born in Rotterdam and during his life he visited learning centres and his humanist friends from one city to the other. As for the Italian humanists, Florence was the quintessential city that Bruni described in *Laudatio florentinae Urbis* as being clean, full of beauty and freedom. Nevertheless, like the Roman writers that they greatly admired and imitated, they also felt drawn to the pleasures of the countryside away from the crowded, corrupting, and unhealthy urban environment.[543] Thus, from the early fifteenth century, the villa stopped being simply a money-making business and was considered also as a place of pleasure and escape. More importantly, it started to be considered, like its Roman counterpart, as a place of contemplation and solitude and a locale for philosophical discussions such as those described in Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*. It is characteristic that this type of country house replaced the monastery

[541] C. Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.172-3.
[542] Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi*, p. 58.
[543] J. Arnold, *The Great Humanists: European Thought on the Eve of the Reformation* (New York, 2011), pp. 38, 161; M. L. King, *The Renaissance in Europe* (London, 2003), p. 82.

during the fifteenth century as the preferred setting for contemplation.[544] Moreover, Cicero underlined the artificiality of the garden (man-made) by insisting on calling it *altera natura* (second nature).[545] For Naomi Jacobs and Annette Giesecke this artificiality exemplify humanity's effort to build a utopia 'by carving an ideal place in nature'.[546]

Nonetheless, for Alberti, the villa offered endless possibilities architectonically due to the free open space that he could utilise for *otium*, in contrast with the city where space was limited. Following his basic but essential principle that a particular space should be constructed in line with its purpose, he discussed the villa as a farming operation. He cautioned his readers regarding its location and recommended that it should be chosen according to the fertility of the soil, adding remarks about the need for provision of suitable spaces, such as warehouses and stables. In addition, separate buildings should house the farmhands, the overseers and the owners, with their servants transforming the farming villa more into a complex of buildings rather than a single edifice. His criteria for an aesthetically pleasing villa were different; here the beauty of the surrounding environment was the major factor, although its distance from the city should be short. The house should be large enough to have separate wings for the owners and their guests, while loggias, gardens, paved walkways, swimming pools and areas for chariot racing should complement it.[547]

Alberti's work dealt with contemporary architectural forms and problems and despite his effort to provide solutions to these, he did not propose a different social

[544] J. Hill, *Immaterial Architecture* (London, 2006), p. 137; D. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, 1979), p. 14.
[545] A. Giesecke and N. Jacobs, 'Introduction', in Giesecke and Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect?* (London, 2012), p. 9.
[546] Ibid., p. 10.
[547] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, pp. 145-8.

vision. Indeed, he never broke away from the classical tradition arising from Vitruvius' work. Yet despite his insistence on the practical value of his art, Alberti described cities with a strong utopian element. His vision was primarily nostalgic and influenced by his admiration for Roman antiquity as he was able to access it by studying the classical ruins and the architecture treatises that had survived.[548] He wished to recreate a classical city complete with circuses and amphitheatres and it was his obsession with this space that no longer existed that gives him the necessary freedom and distance to critically examine his contemporary urban landscape.

In particular, it was in the ninth book of *De Re Aedificatoria* that Alberti proposed a unique choros with utopian aspirations. This was a building located between the rural and the urban environment, indeed we might say in the suburbia.[549] It was a choros designed to reconcile the different attitudes regarding the city and countryside by combining the positive aspects of a city dwelling and of a country villa. Being close to the city allowed its owners to visit it as frequently they wanted for their affairs without being subjected to tiresome travelling, while it was also sufficiently far away from the city to avoid its polluted and dangerous environment. Alberti's designs for this choros, which he called the 'hortus', seems to have been partially realised in his plan for the Villa Medici (figure 46) in Fiesole that was built between 1451 and 1457.[550]

Built on a hill of the commune of Fiesole, only five miles from Florence, this hortus was situated in a perfect distance from the city, making it easy to access. The villa's location on the summit of a hill not only allowed its inhabitants to observe the whole plain of the Arno river, but also to dominate the whole area, which was a fitting

[548] R. Wittkower, 'Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4/1/2 (1941), pp. 1-18.
[549] Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, pp. 294-5.
[550] D. Mazzini and S. Martini, *Villa Medici a Fiesole: Leon Battista Alberti e il prototipo di villa rinascimentale* (Firenze, 2004), pp. 12-30, 153.

characteristic for a house belonging to the ruling family of Florence. Moreover, taking advantage of the beauty of its surrounding countryside, Alberti created a choros with terraces and loggias where the owners and their guests could enjoy the views. Lemon groves, gardens, service buildings and carriage gates reinforced the composite identity of the choros as a hortus with a domestic environment that was simultaneously urban and rural. Finally, the fact that Lorenzo Medici used this villa for his gatherings with members of the Neo-Platonic academy such as Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) confirms the multiple purposes that a hortus could have, including its utopian qualities as a space suitable for philosophical and political contemplation and not of idle retreat.[551]

The villa at Fiesole was designed to be a comfortable, well-ordered, and hygienic environment and its emphasis on the garden revealed his effort to create a quasi-natural space in imitation of the Roman domus.[552] However, it was Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) who perfected many of Alberti's ideas. Palladio, like his predecessor, drew inspiration from Roman and Classical Greek models in imitating their harmony and symmetry, while he adopted a practical approach to the relationship between landscape and the built environment. His Venetian Palazzos, despite being designed to accommodate their owner's business enterprises, exemplified a core set of values to which the sixteenth-century Venetian merchant class were strongly committed. The same applies for his rural villas, where again the practical character of the buildings as farm enterprises was combined with a design that celebrated harmony

[551] R. F. Giannetto, *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 228; B. Vickers, 'Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/ 2 (1990), pp. 107-54.
[552] A. Giesecke, 'Outside In and Inside Out: Paradise in the ancient Roman house', in Giesecke and Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect?*, pp. 121-5.

and order as was appropriate for a place of contemplation,[553] as the plan of the Villa Saraceno (figure 47) exemplifies.[554]

It is worth noting that the popularity of Palladio's neo-classical style in the first half of the eighteenth century in England led to a revival of it. Architects like Colen Campbell (1676-1729) and Nicolas Dubois (1665-1735) designed Palladian-inspired country houses and parks like Houghton Hall and Stanmer Park. But they also published and translated theoretical architectural treatises associated with the style. Campbell published a three-volume compilation of English architects' designs titled *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715-1725) and Dubois translated into English Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (1721).[555] This time, however, the focus was on the aesthetic ideals of beauty and harmony that the style espoused and not to the practical role of these villas as farming enterprises. This led to cases of extensive remodelling of country-houses' surrounding areas' topography to satisfy the desires of the owners for open, panoramic views of the areas. A feature that Palladio himself considered the main pleasures of living in a villa.[556] The results of these renovations were ambivalent. On the one hand they uprooted centuries-old rural communities from their original topos to create space for the creation of villa gardens such as in the case of Robert Walpole's Houghton Hall (1722-1735) where the nearby village had to be completely moved into a new location.[557] On the other hand, the new settlements like New Houghton that were created for these communities were more spacious and better planned, than the previous

[553] B. Boucher, *Andrea Palladio: The Architect in his time* (New York, 1998), pp. 204-8; T. E. Cooper, *Palladio's Venice: Architecture and Society in a Renaissance Republic* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 63-8, 167-175.
[554] A. Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture* (London, 1738), p. 50.
[555] J. Sambrook, *The Eighteenth Century: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1700-1789* (London, 1986), pp, 158-162; C. Fry, 'Spanning the Political Divide: Neo-Palladianism and the Early Eighteenth-Century Landscape', *Garden History*, 31/2 (2003), pp. 180-92
[556] D. E. Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-century Italy* (Leicester, 1993), p. 105.
[557] N. Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia, 1600-1800* (Farnham, 2006), p. 60.

ones and maintained a symbiotic relationship with the manor house, benefiting from the job opportunities offered by it and the patronage of its owner.[558]

Moreover, the notion of the villa/country house as a utopian choros was by no means separated from wider debates about the value of a life away from the active urban world. In order to function, these choroi demanded not only a different architectural design from the medieval aristocratic castles, but also a different ethos. The villas of the Venetian elites were not simply locations for pleasurable contemplation, and neither were the country houses in England simple retreats from town life. Often, as we have seen, they were also agricultural enterprises. During the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, especially in England, the ownership and occupation of such country residences was seen as an active choice to follow a Horatian country life and to continue being useful for society.[559] For this reason, such as in the case of Alberti's hortus, the villa suburbana with its proximity to the city was still considered to be the most desired dwelling. John Pomfret (1667-1702) in his poem 'The Choice' reminded his readers that such a house offered the best of both worlds.[560]

Finally, it must be recognised that this domestic utopian choros was also a political microcosm that reproduced a patriarchal order, just like the domestic spaces in the early modern literary utopias. Nevertheless, in the villa/country house we can also identify clearly delineated spatial androtopias and gynotopias.[561] Two coexisting worlds, one where men enjoyed the pleasures of the country and participated in

[558] T. Wild, *Village England: A Social History of the Countryside* (London, 2004), pp. 38-40; Kontaratos, *Πολεοδομια και Ουτοπια*, i, p. 461.
[559] K. B. McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England: A Cultural Study of Landscape and Legitimacy* (Farnham, 2001), pp. 8-9.
[560] P. M. Sparks, *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 3-5; J. Martindale, 'The Best master of virtue and wisdom: the Horace of Ben Jonson and his heirs', in C. Martindale and D. Hopkins (eds), *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writing from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 52-85.
[561] Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia*, p. 65-8.

philosophical discussions or in aristocratic leisure activities like hunting, and a female world, rooted inside the villa and concentrated on the management by the mistress of the house of the household's affairs. This offered one of the few available real spaces during the early modern period where women could enjoy power and a break from patriarchal authority.[562]

Returning to a work with a more obvious utopian character, Filarete in his unpublished *Libro architettonico*, offered an ambitious and innovative urban vision, proposing a chorography that embodied a series of social reformations. The Platonic influences in the text underline his concern not to simply improve the appearance of the city but to change its society as well.[563] Filarete chose to concentrate all the major buildings and the seat of the power of the community, the palace of the Prince, at the center of the city. This practice was quite innovative, especially for the Italian city-states of his period, where buildings such as palaces, churches, and guildhalls were scattered around its districts. In Sforzinda's central square, except for the palace, the eleven-story high House of Vice and Virtue (figure 48) dominates the urban landscape. [564] Next to them, the House of the Architect, the Cathedral, schools and prisons could also be found.[565]

Like Alberti, Filarete adopted zoning in his city, a system that reproduced and imprinted the hierarchical divisions among Sforzinda's citizens in the city's chorography. In the same vein, he described districts with their own square and church where people lived according to their status and profession. The same structure applied to the domestic environments designed for each social class, with artisans having

[562] D. Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, 1992) p. 112.
[563] B. Hub, 'Founding and Ideal City in Filarete's Libro Architettonico', p.17.
[564] Codex Magliabechianus, Lib. II. I. 140, fol. f. 104 r
[565] Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*, i, pp. 120-134.

cottages and the city's nobility possessing luxurious palazzos. The social divisions among the citizens were also depicted in the ornaments of the houses they inhabited and, while Filarete provided very little information about them, he used the different architectural orders in the columns to distinguish the social class of the inhabitants of the house. The Ionic columns were the symbol of the lowest class and the Doric of the highest. Sforzinda's society was aristocratic and Filarete's effort to segregate its citizens clearly demonstrated its social system in which the Duke and the nobility were at the very center of society and of the city itself.[566] However, the chorographic organisation of the central square itself revealed the inner differentiations of the city's elite, with the House of Vice and Virtue and the House of Architect both serving as the major educational institutions for producing the society's habitus, including education in virtue.

Fifty years later, when More wrote *Utopia,* the focus was not so much on the architecture of the ideal city but instead on the social principles upon which it was founded. From this fact stems one of the main difficulties that anyone who wants to analyse the utopian choros has to deal with. The majority of early modern utopias, especially those written during the second half of the seventeenth century, have a very basic, almost skeletal, narrative and even those where the narrative is more developed, like in *I Mondi,* presented the utopian space as a whole with an all-encompassing gaze.[567] The absence of a narrative development prevents us from following our hero while he explores these magnificent cities in the same way that we followed medieval and early modern travellers exploring the cities of Asia or the New World. However, we can still access the utopian choros through utopia's oppositional relations.[568] These

[566] Evers and Thoenes, *Architectural Theory*, p. 31.
[567] D. Taylor, *Reading Utopian Narratives in a Dystopian Time* (Ann Arbor, 2009), p. 69.
[568] Marin, *Utopiques*, p. 116.

oppositions are between the real and the utopian, the urban and the rural, and between the utopian lands' pre-history and present condition, but also between the utopian urban space and its surroundings' rural environment.

To return to *Utopia*, a society dominated by its urban environment, we can see how More, when he described its domestic choroi and its public buildings, focused to a greater extent upon their function and their organisation and less upon their ornaments and design. Tracing the oppositions inside the utopian narrative, the first one we can identify is that of the author himself. More, as has already been noted, was a Londoner, a humanist who, during his tenure as undersheriff of the city, must have come into contact with a rich body of literature about town government. He must also have been aware of the legend about the mythical foundation of the city by Brutus as an imitation of Troy, a claim that was recorded by a local officeholder called John Carpenter, in a city custumal entitled *Liber Albus* (1419). Nevertheless, instead of composing a Panegyric to his native city like many medieval London officeholders and early humanists in Italy had done before him, he chose to translate his experiences of his urban environment into a vehicle through which he could contemplate the complex realities and failings of his contemporary society and imagine alternative solutions.[569] Achieving what Michel de Certeau calls a progressive symbiosis between history/reality and utopian possibility, More succeeded in confronting the contradictions of the transitional period in which he lived.[570]

In concentrating all the functions of the state upon the city, More created a totalizing vision of a state that was sustained by a choros heavily embedded with

[569] S. Lidenbaum, 'London Texts and Literate practice', in D. Wallace (ed), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 299.
[570] M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (2 vols, London, 2011), i, p. 94.

practices and meaning. This was not due to his preference for a totalitarian or absolutistic vision of social organisation but instead it was due to his aim of creating solutions to problems that arose from this organisation. He chose to move away from the myth of his city's foundation which, according to Carpenter, served as a shelter that provided liberty and protection to everyone, in order to confront a reality of an urban topos composed of choroi with endless utopian and dystopian possibilities. This was an abandonment of the normalisation of the social reality and the negation of the civic strife that myth offered for a utopia based on antithesis, and finally synthesis.[571]

In More's text, our walk through to the island of Utopia begins in one of these enclosed utopian choroi, the garden. Morus, Hythloday, and Peter Giles, after their initial encounter outside a church, are gathered together in Giles's house in order to learn about and discuss Hythloday's travels. The utopian character of the garden is evident as a miniature of the Garden of Eden. In addition, the Garden, even without the symbolisms that it was invested with by Christianity, was an integral utopian choros. Plato had supplied both Atlantis and primeval Attica with gardens, making Critias locate the ideal Gardens of Adonis there. The utopian character of the Garden in Classical literature came from different and often conflicting traditions. The garden was a part of nature that was totally conquered by man and was reshaped according to his tastes. It was an artificial reconstruction of the tamed nature that humanity enjoyed during the Golden Age, but it was also a tranquil environment ideal for philosophical discussions. Moreover, the garden from the antiquity until our modern age it a space that was frequently shaped in such a way as to exemplify certain values and to act as a 'theatre of virtues'.[572] This tradition was easily adopted and modified in the Christian

[571] Jameson, 'Of Islands and Trenches', pp. 2-21.
[572] D. E. Cooper, 'Gardens and the Way of Things', in Giesecke and Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect?*, p. 20.

dogma of the Fall of Man.[573] Another tradition saw the utopian choros of the Garden as a refuge from the crowded and corrupt world, a walled garden equipped with ditches and towers, ready to shelter and defend its inhabitants.[574]

More gave a similar garden to every utopian house (figure 47), protected from each side by a wall and cultivated by the members of the household.[575] This enclosed, well-protected choros was organically attached to the domestic space, offering a peaceful place for recreation and contemplation for its inhabitants. Even in the crowded urban environment with limited space, it thus created, a composite that combined the benefits of the countryside with those of the city. However, as we have noted, a garden was a piece of nature constantly dominated by people and removed from the rest of nature by walls.[576] The practical character of utopia could not tolerate any space left unutilised for the benefit of the community. Hence, within it, the utopians cultivated not only flowers but also vines and fruits that supplemented the food that the state freely gave them. Furthermore, the gardens were sources of antagonism and pride among the households, especially in a society like Utopia, where antagonism was discouraged and cooperation was encouraged, with the households of every district competing for their garden's beauty and yield.[577]

Although we never learn the name of any Amaurotians, we are able to take a glimpse of their houses and their daily life through Hythloday's participation and observation of their practices and activities. Thus, we learn that utopians lived in

[573] Giesecke and Jacobs, 'Introduction', in Giesecke and Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect?*, pp. 5-18.
[574] A. Giesecke, *The Epic City: Urbanism, Utopia, and the Garden in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Washington, 2007), pp. 85-6; M. R. Castillo, 'Agi Morato's Garden as Heterotopian Place in Cervantes's Los Banos de Argel', in D. R. Castillo and B. J. Nelson (eds), *Spectacle and Topophilia: Reading Early Modern and Postmodern Hispanic Cultures* (Nashville, 2012), p. 44.
[575] Kontaratos, *Πολεοδομια και Ουτοπια*, i, p. 217.
[576] Giesecke and Jacobs, 'Introduction', in Giesecke and Jacobs (eds), *Earth Perfect?*, p. 10.
[577] More, *Utopia*, p. 46.

households under the leadership of an elder and that many of their daily activities (such as having lunch) were situated outside their domestic choros. Following Hythloday, the reader visits the farms that were dispersed throughout Utopia's countryside and which were responsible for the cultivation of the land. These were simple buildings that accommodated forty citizens working the land with the help of two slaves. Hythloday noted that every year twenty Utopians from each household had to move from the cities to these farms and spend at least two years there.[578] However, he added that many chose to stay for longer. Agriculture was essential for the sustenance of Utopia, and every citizen who was also trained in a trade also learned about agriculture from his or her school years. This fact illustrates the educational purpose that the gardens had for the citizenry.

However, the social and professional zoning became a key component of many sixteenth and seventeenth century utopias. In Patrizzi's *La Città Felice* (1553), for instance, the governing elites of the city and their comfortable but not luxurious palazzos were separated from the laborers, the artisans and merchants who sustained them, following Alberti's advice that they should protect themselves from their corruption. This is an unsurprising choice if we consider the aristocratic character of Patrizzi's utopia, where only the leisured classes of magistrates, soldiers and priests were considered worthy to participate in the city's administration.[579] A similar strategy was used by Doni, who situated his citizens' dwellings on the same streets depending on their profession.[580] Meanwhile, Agostini used a different way to segregate the classes in his society by including multi-storied palazzos with the lower classes of laborers and artisans occupying the lower levels and his *República imaginaria's* (1588)

[578] Ibid., p. 43.
[579] F. II Patrizi, *La Città felice, dialogo dell'honore, il Barignano* (Venetia, 1553), p. 17.
[580] A. F. Doni, *I Mondi del Doni, libro primo* (Venetia, 1552), pp. 97-100.

nobility occupying the upper levels. Moreover, in Agostini's ideal city, while the houses belonged to the state, members of the nobility had the right to erect at their own expense private palazzos with only one restriction, namely that they were not exceed the height of the rest of the city's buildings.[581]

Apart from Alberti's zoning system and More's quarters, there were other forms of organisation of the utopian domestic spaces. In Campanella's *City of the Sun*, for example, where we are provided with a much more detailed picture of its domestic spaces, the citizens were housed in two-storied palaces, each equipped at its lower level with a kitchen. All these small palaces were linked to the city's concentric walls in such a way that the collective building appeared as one large palace. In addition, the second floor of the palaces could be reached by marble stairs and its rooms were adorned with 'excellent pictures'. Campanella's emphasis on the luxury of these dwellings echoed Veiras's descriptions of the various luxurious palaces where his Sevarambians (1675) lived.[582]

Andreae housed the citizens of his *Christianopolis* (1619) in two long, three-storied, buildings reminiscent of Campanella's large palaces, but he employed a system similar to that of Filarete, with every class possessing dwellings appropriate to (and near to) their occupation. Andreae commented that all the houses belonged to the state and all followed the same model, having a basic layout consisting of a bathroom, a kitchen, and a sleeping apartment. The houses also had a balcony and, more importantly, a rear garden, and they were constructed from materials that prevented them from catching fire. The dwellers were expected to attend to their gardens but in

[581] J. C. Davis, 'Utopianism: Holy experiments in a fallen world', in Burns (ed), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, p. 339.
[582] D. Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians: A Utopian Novel*, ed. and intr. C. Laursen and J. C. Masroori (Albany, 2006), p. 104.

contrast to Utopia's gardens they do not cultivate fruit or vines there, focusing instead on their aesthetic value. Finally, Christianopolis' authorities placed great emphasis upon the health benefits of their buildings, and there was a body of inspectors who visited the houses and ensured that nothing was damaged or unclean.[583]

The analysis of the domestic choroi in the early modern utopias reveals a dichotomy between those who described aristocratic regimes like the Italian ideal city of Filarete and more radical utopian visions that abolished any type of class distinction among their citizens, such as More's and Campanella's visions of a classless society. The first group of texts drew on social values ideas that could be traced back to the fourteenth and fifteenth century accounts of the model city. As a result, they shaped their chorography to accommodate their views of a virtuous elite that would live at the center of the community, and the less virtuous, and potentially dangerous lower classes who existed at the periphery. Likewise, Leonardo's design for Milan and Agostini's vision placed the lower classes in dwellings at a level beneath the upper classes. Of course, the zoning by profession or social class was not a utopian innovation. During the Middle Ages, and much later, artisans tended to live around their guilds. However, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century utopias this zoning system was not simply perfected but also transformed into a mirror of the social and political system of the ideal state.

On the other hand, More and other utopian writers, who rejected such class distinctions, had no reason to introduce a zoning system into their states. Instead they proposed a type of communal living, where many of the daily activities that took place inside the privacy of the house were transferred to public buildings. These included the

[583] J. V. Andreae, *Christianopolis: An Ideal of the 17th Century* (New York, 2007), p. 66.

symposia, and the nursing of the children that took place in Utopia's Halls. Another issue that occupied the early modern literary utopia was the balance between a comfortable living and a luxurious one. It is interesting that even the aristocratic utopias termed their domestic spaces 'palaces', to emphasise their high standards, even when they condemned luxury. The condemnation of luxury had a moral and spiritual dimension. Luxury was seen by the classical moralists and by the Renaissance and early modern commentators as being as equally dangerous for an individual's well-being and the social body as extreme poverty. Hence, most of the utopias advocated a model of domestic space that was comfortable but not luxurious, rejecting ornaments and unnecessary decorations, but accepting the need for a safe, clean, and calm environment.[584]

Finally, the most interesting common element among the descriptions of the utopian urban domestic spaces was their relationship with nature. The garden featured in most of them as an essential part of the house; More, Patrizzi, Agostini, Andreae and others emphasised the crucial function of the garden within the utopian domestic space, reminding us of Alberti's effort to create a space that combined the benefits of both the rural and the urban world. The persistent appearance of the garden in a genre that was focused on the urban environment reveals an effort by the utopian writers to overcome the dichotomy between a rural and urban environment and they homogenised their imaginary states' physical environment, appropriating the positive elements of each one into a new world. This struggle was quite clear in More's *Utopia* where every single citizen had to experience both life in a farm and in the city.

[584] A. V. Scott, *Literature and the Idea of Luxury in Early Modern England* (London, 2016), pp. 178-181; E. Manuel and F. P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge Mass, 1979, p. 173.

Heterotopian choroi: temples, hospitals, and colleges.

While I examined medieval utopian myths such as *The Land of Cockaigne* or 'St Brendan's Isle' in previous chapters, I avoided analysing specific spaces that housed utopian communities that existed within the framework of European medieval society. Though medieval utopianism lies outside the chronological limits of this thesis, in order to better understand the choros of early modern utopia it is necessary to briefly examine two medieval institutions and their spaces that were embedded with utopian traits and which appeared with some modifications in later utopias. These spaces were the monastery and the school, whose utopian qualities William Langland (*c.* 1325- *c.* 1390) summarised with the phrase, 'if heaven be on this earth, it is in cloister, or in school'.[585]

The cloister and the school, or the monastery and the university, were spatially rooted institutions that housed smaller communities whose organisation, rules and aims varied from those of their surrounding communities. However, they remained a part of and in constant communication with the outside world. The fact that these institutions were not found in a utopian narrative, but were real, calls into question their role as utopian choroi. Hence, I prefer to describe them as heterotopias. Foucault had distinguished utopias as sites with no real place to heterotopias that have concrete space and function as 'effectively enacted utopias'.[586]

These heterotopias just like utopias serve or wish to serve as alternatives to dominant orthodoxies, therefore they maintain a relationship with the spaces outside of

[585] D. Pearsall, ''If Heaven be on this earth, it is in the cloister or in school': The Monastic Ideal in later English literature', in R. Horrox and S. R. Jones (eds), *Pragmatic Utopias: Ideals and Communities, 1200–1630* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 11.
[586] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', p. 49.

them representing, contesting and inverting them.[587] Foucault separated heterotopias into two major kinds; heterotopias of crisis and those of deviation. The first kind is associated with privileged or forbidden spaces that marked out liminal stages in life.[588] For example, elderly people or menstruating women who are perceived by society as being in a stage of crisis inhabit these spaces. As deviation heterotopias, Foucault describes places such as the hospital or the prison where those entering them had assumed behaviours that deviated from the societal norms and had to be isolated. Foucault himself recognised how vague these categories are, and he described six additional principles that could help us identify a heterotopia. The first is its universality; all cultures of the world have some form of heterotopia. The second is its mutability as space over time, Foucault uses the cemetery as an example of their transformation over time by noting how from their initial location at the center of the cities were later relocated at the outskirts. The third principle emphasises the fact that utopias synthesise incompatible elements into a new harmonious totality. The fourth principle concerns heterotopias' relation to time or what he calls 'heterochronies'. Foucault claims that heterotopias are either concerned with one particular 'slice' of time or with the concentration of multiple times in one space. The fairy festival with its temporality and the museum with its accumulation of artefacts from different periods are used by Foucault as representative examples of this characteristic of heterotopia. The fifth principle states that heterotopias are both isolated and permeable, they allow access to them under specific conditions. Finally, the sixth principle underlines that heterotopias are real spaces that in relation to other spaces function either as illusion or as compensation.[589]

[587] Ibid., 49.
[588] M. Kohn, *Radical Space: Building the House of the People* (London, 2003), p. 91.
[589] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', pp. 50-4.

Other than Foucault, scholars such as Soja and Certeau have occupied themselves with this concept in the hope of further developing and clarifying it. However, the vague heterotopian typology of Foucault that emphasised the kinship of utopia with heterotopia and the way the latter functioned 'as effectively enacted utopias' allows me to examine a wide selection of choroi that have many of the characteristics he had described.

A classic example of heteropia is the monastery. The first Christian monasteries were established during the fourth century in Egypt to provide a sanctuary for the desert hermits. Pachomius (*c*. 292–348) the founder of the first monasteries cited the Roman barracks as his inspiration for their organisation, aiming to supply a shelter for monks who lacked the strength to survive in the desert as solitary hermits and to establish a community that adhered to specific laws and practices. Originally, monasteries occupied marginal spaces such as deserts, forests, islands, or mountains but in medieval western Europe monasteries were also founded in cities. In both urban and rural environments, the monastery, while integrated into the social, political, and economic network of the medieval city or countryside, was simultaneously outside its limits and orders. This is apparent in the chorography of the medieval monastery which was designed to safeguard and isolate it from its surroundings, thus providing its community of monks and nuns who had chosen to sever their links with the rest of the world and assume new identities, with the peace of mind necessary to concentrate on a life of prayer and contemplation.[590]

[590] P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-century Egypt* (London, 1999), pp. 57-70.

Despite this aim, monasteries remained porous spaces that could be accessed by outsiders and were linked with communities that relied on them for liturgical services and spiritual guidance, and even in some instances for their economic survival. This imperfect isolation of the monastery is emphasised by the fact that among its choroi, buildings were included that were designed to serve worldly functions such as cellars, warehouses, hostels, and water mills. Of course, all these would have had no meaning without the symbolic power which choroi such as the Christian monastery and temple were embedded with. These were typified by their architectural design and layout. The spatial organisation of the monastery and of the temple obeyed an austere chorographical order that imitated and reflected the structure of the heavens. For example, the garth (the cloister garden of a medieval monastery) in the center of the monastic complex symbolised the Garden of Eden, while its surrounding area symbolised the celestial mountain. Meanwhile, the church was perceived both as a microcosm of the architecture of the cosmos and as a replica of Solomon's Temple.[591]

As for Langland's school, while we can identify similar heterotopian characteristics there, it was the medieval university that exemplified them more emphatically. The school was a local institution drawing students from its surrounding areas and was founded by the community, thus maintaining a close relationship with it. On the other hand, the university was, like the monastery, a classic heterotopia which was in constant communication but also constant conflict with society at large. Like the monastery, its members were defined by the form of their affiliation to it. This ambiguous relationship between heterotopia and society is evident in the university's relationship with the medieval towns. Universities in Paris, Bologna or Oxford

[591] M. W. Helms, 'Sacred Landscape and the Early Medieval European Cloister. Unity, Paradise, and the Cosmic Mountain', *Anthropos*, 97/2 (2002), pp. 440-453.

flourished and functioned within medieval cities, benefiting from their amenities and repaying them with prestige and wealth. However, the frequent conflicts between town and gown also reveal their problematic relationship, with scholars and students always ready to migrate to other cities that could guarantee them more privileges.[592] This point, combined with the lack of a clearly defined space inside the patchwork of the city, and the fact that the majority of the scholars and students were usually foreigners, reveals how the medieval universities understood themselves as being communities of scholars situated in a place, but not rooted in it. This attitude was in accordance with the medieval legal definition of a university as being a self-governing guild or group engaged in a common activity which exercises control over its members.

While the monastery and the school safeguarded their independence from the rest of the society, they still interacted with it and contributed to it. With monasteries this took the form of good works, such as relief for the poor. In the case of the universities interaction with the larger community consisted of having their scholars participate in debates on social, political, and religious reform. In summary the characteristics that led the rest of society to sometimes attach utopian qualities to the monastery and university, were their independent communitarian organisation and their unstable porous relationship with their surrounding communities.

The manner in which early modern utopian writers modified and appropriated these medieval heterotopias is demonstrated in Rabelais's 'Abbey of Theleme', whose description is found in the first book of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1534). This was a satirical, topsy-turvy utopia where the strict monastic routine was completely abolished

[592] S. C. Ferruolo, 'Parisius-Paradisus: The City its Schools and the Origins of the University of Paris', in T. Bender (ed), *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 22-45.

and the austere, symbolic, chorographical order of the monastic complex was rejected for a six-storied hexagonal building with a tower at each of its angles, richly decorated with statues, spiral marble stairs and a pool where its monks and nuns could take a swim (figure 49).[593] Thus a choros of contemplation and order was transformed into its complete opposite. Though Rabelais's Abbey served primarily as a satire on utopian hope, it nevertheless included a powerful attack on the isolated and rule-bound monastic life. This compensatory utopia, featuring monks and nuns who enjoyed life to the full, offered a detailed description of the building that housed the monastic community.[594] Its construction bore more resemblance to the luxurious chateaux of the French kings than to a sixteenth century monastery.[595]

Veering away from satirical takes on utopian choros, buildings that resemble monasteries and temples can be found in many utopias. For example, in More's work, Hythloday described the Temples of the Utopians, adding that in every town there were only thirteen temples with only one priest serving in each one. However, we learn very little about their design except that they were spacious and nobly built. Additionally, Hythloday offers a peek into the interior of these buildings. The dark, austere atmosphere inside them was designed to create a suitable environment for the faithful to concentrate and pray. Distractions, such as religious images, were forbidden. The absence of any image of deities conformed to the needs of the community, because, while the Utopians were pious and believed in the existence of a divine power, they actually practiced different religions privately, preferring instead to concentrate on the common elements that united them in the public spaces of the temples.[596]

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[593] C. Lenormant, *Rabelais et l' architecture de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1840), pp. 34-5.
[594] F. Rabelais, *The Heroic deeds of Gargantua and Pantagruel* (5 vols, London, 1933), i, pp. 327- 331.
[595] L. Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais* (London, 1982), p. 159.
[596] More, *Utopia*, p. 105.

How the temples' design served the community's needs and reproduced and disseminated the desired utopian habitus becomes evident when we examine the rituals and ceremonies that the utopians attended. Hythloday describes a religious festival he attended that occurs at the beginning and end of every month. On these holy days the utopians meet at their temples in the evening to praise the 'Divine Essence' for the 'happy progress' of their affairs. What is interesting regarding these ceremonies is how the congregation is located within this space. Men and women inside the temple were segregated, with the men occupying the right-hand side of the temple and the women the left. In some ways this is not surprising, as the existence of separated, gendered spaces in churches was a common practice in medieval and early modern churches.[597] However, these spatialisations within the temple that separated the two genders created distinct androtopias and gynotopias. These spaces were not Foucauldian heterotopias, which embody a form of displacement and transgress social norms, but instead they remained socially regulated due to the supervision of both groups by the patriarch and the matriarch of every family. More importantly, the ceremony provided an opportunity for the patriarchal institutions of Utopia to reiterate their power by forcing the women and children to kneel in front of their husbands and fathers, confess their sins—which included failing to fulfil their spousal or filial duties—and beg for pardon. Thus, the temple's space was used to articulate and reinforce the principles and values of Utopia.[598]

However, the Utopian temples were hardly the most important choroi of the society. This position is reserved for the Halls, which were situated at the center of the district, unifying its opposite streets (figure 50). It is interesting to note that in the

[597] Ibid., p. 107; R. Schofield. 'Carlo Borromeo and the Dangers of Laywomen in Church', in M. B. Hall and T. Cooper (eds), *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 187-191.
[598] More, *Utopia*, pp. 108-9.

homogenised urban space of Utopia, the Hall was the only type of its buildings that had the privilege of a distinct name (even if Hythloday does not tell us any of these names). These large, square choroi were the centres of the community in every district. They were also the home of the Syphogrants, a group who had authority over thirty households. Following his usual indifference regarding ornament and design, More did not provide any clues about the appearance of these buildings, other than noting their large size. Their functions, however, were better illustrated. The Hall was the place where food supplies for the district were transferred and where district members shared communal lunches and dinners. Additionally, the Halls contained communal nurseries, equipped with clean water and cradles, where all children under the age of five could sit with their nurses. However, the most important daily activity that they hosted was the symposium. This communal lunch and dinner followed a specific protocol that served to reinforce the values of the community. The tables were ordered, and the food was cooked by the women of the community. The table of the syphogrant had a preeminent position in the room, located at the upper end of the Hall. The syphogrant himself was seated in the middle of the table next to his wife. If a temple was attached to the Hall, the priest and his wife would be seated next to syphogrant, otherwise he would be joined by the two oldest members of the district.[599] The other tables featured a mixture of young individuals and elders, with the idea that the gravity and seriousness of the elders would restrain the youths from making any indecent gestures or jokes. Marin has identified an inconsistency in this description and in particular on More's provision that among the young members of the district in regular intervals the Elders

[599] Ibid., pp. 58-60.

should be seated to restrain with their presence and gravitas the behaviour of the youths.[600]

The prominence of the district Hall was not unique to More. Patrizzi, in his *Città Felice* (1552), also placed a 'stanze pubbliche', a community center, at the center of every district. However, his vision of a society of beauty and harmony governed by an aristocratic elite meant that these community centres were used more as meeting places for people of the same class that, due to his zoning system, occupied the same district, and less as disseminators of a holistic, new, utopian habitus or new hierarchical order through specific activities and rituals.[601]

Though the Hall or community center was critical for More and other writers, for many early modern utopias, the center of their topography and the navel of utopian chorography was the Temple. A round temple could be found at the center of Doni's utopian society. The enormous size of the temple can be deduced by its one hundred gates, despite the absence of any detailed description of its dimensions. These gates also demarcated the city's districts and every street of the city starting from its gates led to them. Hence, the temple was not only the religious but also the political center of the community, which was controlled by a congregation of a hundred priests, one for every utopian district. Fifty years later, Campanella also placed a temple at the center of his city. The similarities of his temples to those of Doni were apparent—both were cyclical form and had columns supporting a large dome. However, Campanella's provides a more detailed description of his buildings. At the center of the temple Campanella placed a small vault and an altar surrounded by columns. The temple's pavements were bright, made with precious stones, and were illuminated at all times by

[600] Marin, *Utopiques*, pp. 166-9.
[601] Morrison, *Unbuilt Utopian Cities 1460 to 1900*, p. 63.

seven golden lamps. On the altar, sat a large globe painted with celestial bodies along with small texts noting their names and influence on earthly affairs. The Genoese captain listed the dimensions of the temple as 350 paces, or 268 square meters, adding that it fit many seats. The priests and the religious officers of the temple lived in forty-nine cells located around the dome.[602]

A round temple was also at the center of Christianopolis, but in contrast to the previous examples, it was not domed. Instead it was a tower-like building, seventy-feet high with a circumference at its base of three hundred and sixteen feet. As our narrator informs us, it was both the religious and the political center of the community. The temple housed the city's religious ceremonies within its lower levels, and the city's ruling council within its top story. The importance these choroi had within their utopias is made clear by the locations that they occupied in their respective societies. For More and Filarete, who placed their cathedrals in the central square of Sforzinda, the temple occupied a place of honor next to the real seats of power—the community hall or the Prince' palace. For them, the temples symbolised the piety of their societies and the important role religion played in the dissemination of their utopian values and the maintenance of social harmony and order. Though this strain of utopian urban planning effectively demonstrates the parallel between the geographic centrality of the temple within the utopian community and the centrality of religion in the maintenance of the utopian ethos, the temple was also the political center of the community. Indeed, the temples, such as the one found in Christianopolis, were not merely theocratic symbols. but represented the harmonious union between the political and ecclesiastical institutions of the community. They served as its spiritual and physical center, even crowning it as in the case of The City of the Sun, while policing it from the highest

[602] Doni, *I Mondi*, p. 104; Bacon and Campanella, *The New Atlantis and The City of the Sun*, p. 42.

level of their towers, as in the case of Christianopolis. The lack of spatial separation between the church and the state indicates a cessation of any conflict between these two traditional sources of power. The temple, in this instance, stands as both a monument to, and instantiation of the utopian vision of perfect social harmony and cohesion.[603]

Another choros frequently encountered in early modern utopias is the hospital. In *Utopia*, we are informed by Hythloday that every town contains no less than four public hospitals, though More provided relatively little information on their size and design. We are only told that they have no walls and that they are an enlarged version of the square utopian house, so large in fact that they resembled small towns. However, he was slightly more descriptive when it comes to their interior and function. The hospitals were designed to provide clean, comfortable accommodation for their patients, with enough distance between each patient to prevent against any possible contagion. In addition, More underlined how well furnished and equipped they are, and took pains to describe the high quality of care that patients received from physicians.

It is not difficult to discern in this description an effort by More to distance Utopia's public hospitals from his contemporary ones. Separate lay hospitals, independent from the infirmaries attached to canonical houses, started to come into existence during the middle ages, a trend which continued during the early modern period. Founded initially by rich and powerful patrons as acts of charity, these institutions treated diseases as spiritual maladies. Moreover, they were designed to care mainly for the sick, poor and infirm, and in some cases to provide more general poor relief. Though well-intentioned, their record of improving public health was questionable at best. In fact, some of them were known solely for the high mortality

[603] C. S. Ferns, *Narrating Utopia: Ideology, Gender, Form in Utopian Literature* (Liverpool, 1999), p. 63.

rate of their patients. More indirectly contrasted the conditions of his contemporary hospitals to the ones in Utopia. According to Hythloday, every sick citizen preferred to have his/her illness treated in the utopian hospital rather than in his/ her own home—a fact that is indicative of the value of the services these hospitals provided. In reality the reverse preference held sway. Only the poor and the infirm were voluntarily admitted, while the rich and powerful preferred to stay at home and to be treated by their personal physicians.[604]

Nevertheless, it must be noted that during the Renaissance and the early modern period there was a general effort to improve these spaces and to make them more effective in facilitating patient recovery. This trend is demonstrated in the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan. Ospedale Maggiore was designed by Filarete and its construction was also initially supervised by him, but it would not be completed until more than a century after his death in 1624.[605] As discussed in previous chapters, Filarete had equipped his ideal city with hospitals, and the Ospedale Maggiore offers us a rare opportunity to witness the realisation of an imaginary utopian choros. There were, predictably, differences between the design of Sforzinda's hospital, as it was described in the *Trattato,* and the finished Ospedale Maggiore.[606] The extravagant decorations and the high towers that adorned the utopian hospital (figure 51) were abandoned for technical and financial reasons.[607] Instead, the location that was chosen for the construction of the Ospedale shaped its rectangular layout (figure 52).[608] However, the

[604] L. T. Courtenay, 'The Hospital of Norte-Dame de Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as Missericordia', in B. S. Bower (ed), *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice* (London, 2007) p. 77-85.
[605] P. Pierotti, *Imparare l'ecostoria* (Milano, 1999), pp. 134-5
[606] Ibid., p. 138.
[607] Codex Magliabechianus, Lib. II. I 140, f. 58v.
[608] D. Watkin, *A History of Western Architecture* (London, 1992), p. 222.

effort to construct a space that could help the recovery of the patients, by integrating the medical theories of the period into its design, remained the same.

Filarete was inspired to create a sewer system that could protect the rest of the city from the miasmatic air of the hospital and which would hasten the recovery of the patients. This belief was central to the medical theories of the period. The sewer system fulfilled another need of the hospital, the need for easily accessible, fresh water. It achieved this through a system of dams and conduits, which managed to keep it clean and avoid making it an extra source of contamination. The water produced by the pipe network could be used by the patients and hospital staff for drinking as well as for keeping the building clean and sanitary. This unique sewer so much amazed its contemporary visitors that Vasari called it 'a building without equal throughout Europe'.[609] What made the Ospedale Maggiore truly unique was Filarete's effort to make his hospital more effective by tailoring its layout to accommodate the latest medical theories regarding contagious diseases. As for the technical differences between the choroi of his real and ideal hospital, we can only note once more the practical aims that permeated even the most extravagant early modern utopias. This manifested itself in Filarete's flexibility. Despite his detailed utopian vision, he was ready to modify his perfect model in order to fulfil his aim: designing a better, more effective hospital.[610]

A variant of the hospital as a choros is also present in Bacon's *New Atlantis.* The building that serves as the hospital analogue is the one that the Spanish crew is transferred to four days after their initial arrival on the island of Bensalem. Our narrator

[609] R. Baldasso, 'Function and Epidemiology in Filarete's Ospedale Maggiore', in Bower (ed.), *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, p. 107.
[610] Ibid., pp. 116-120.

informs us that it is called the House of Strangers and it was designed to accommodate any foreigner who reached the shores of the island. The priest who was the head of the House of Strangers described it as a very rich institution because it had not received any visitors for the past thirty-seven years. Like Utopia's hospitals, it was a well-furnished and comfortable building. In addition, Bacon supplies us with a description of the building's exterior, writing that it was 'a fair and spacious house', built with light blue bricks. It also had windows covered with glass and, again like in Utopia, with some sort of oiled fabric. However, the similarities end here. The public hospitals of Utopia were designed to accommodate the locals, providing effective and decent care for the ill and as a result, they were quite large. On the other hand, Bensalem's House of Strangers was designed to accommodate only foreigners.[611]

The interior of Bacon's hospital was divided. One section contained seventeen cells with moving cedar walls where the ill were placed in order to receive treatment; cedar was believed to be able to stop contagious, noxious odours. Meanwhile, any foreigner who was in good health was lodged in the gallery of the building, where there were twenty-three chambers, all of which were furnished 'civilly, cheerful and handsome'. The chambers were not all the same; the four largest and best furnished were given to officers, while the rest of the crew were placed in the other chambers in groups of two and four.[612] These hierarchical divisions were reproduced in their spatial placement, revealing the Bensalemites' indifference towards assimilating their unexpected visitors to their own values, and revealing in contrast their concern for avoiding any contamination from them. This constitutes a major difference between Utopia's public hospitals and Bensalem's House of Strangers. The first was a staple

[611] Bacon and Campanella, *The New Atlantis and The City of the Sun*, p. 4.
[612] Ibid., p. 5-8.

feature of every utopian town, while the second was a unique choros, the only one on the island. More was inspired by his contemporary hospitals, charitable institutions for the caring of the poor and ill. Conversely, Bacon seems to have been inspired by the plague hospital, an institution that was designed not for the caring of the poor but for the protection of the community from newly arrived foreigners. The influence of the plague hospital on Bacon's utopia is clear from the forced quarantine of the crew upon their arrival to the island. Such a practice was not unfounded as epidemics ravaged Europe and especially, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many governments were forced to act to develop plans for the protection of public health.[613]

The most famous early modern plague hospital was the Venetian Lazzaretto (figure 53).[614] The term Lazzaretto is probably a corruption of the name 'Nazaretho', due to the location of the first leper hospital on the island of Santa Maria di Nazareth. There, in 1423, the Venetian Senate decided to remove a monastic community living on the island in order to convert it into a plague hospital. The lazzarettis' establishment was an effort to respond to public concerns about the importation of disease and plague through maritime trade. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, plague hospitals were founded in almost every major Italian city and around the Venetian dominions. This concern, however, regarding the importation of infection through trade was by no means limited to the Italian city-states.[615]

These plague hospitals were recognised as constituting effective proactive measures against miasmatic diseases and, almost immediately, similar plague hospitals

[613]J. L. S. Crawshaw, *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice* (New York, 2012), pp. 6-8.
[614] Ground plan of lazaretto at Venice, Wellcome Collection, London, https://wellcomecollection.org/works/c94d2m2s (19 Jan. 2018).
[615] J. T. Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2011), p. 118.

were established around Europe; in Madrid in 1423, in Lyon in 1474, in Nuremberg in 1498 and in Augsburg in 1521. England was excluded from this trend, with no permanent plague hospital being established in any English city. However, when it was deemed necessary, temporary pest-houses were established in different areas during the sixteenth century. Their wide distribution across Europe, and the immediate character that their founding had, forbids us from discerning any specific model or layout that was followed for the construction of these buildings.[616] However, the similarities between the House of the Strangers and the Lazzaretto become obvious when we compare their inner order and aims, revealing Bacon's inspiration from these continental institutions. In particular, when the Venetian Lazzaretto was built, it initially had a dual purpose, both to protect the city from any plague carried by visiting foreigners, thus justifying their confinement in terms of the common good, and also to protect trade. However, during the seventeenth century, these institutions were influenced by a new concern for public healthcare and were transformed from mere spaces of confinement into facilities for the treatment of the plague victims. One practice that resulted from this change during the seventeenth century was to quarantine healthy newcomers in separate buildings, away from the plague hospital. Bensalem's institution faithfully followed these changes.

The link between the utopian choros of the hospital and its real-world counterparts also demonstrates the close relationship between utopian literature of the period and early modern discourses and practices about social welfare and improvement. From a chorographical point of view, it is interesting that the Lazzaretto and other similar institutions were situated either outside the city's walls or in marginal

[616] J. Henderson, 'Coping with the Epidemics in Renaissance Italy: Plague and the Great Pox', in L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (eds), *The Fifteenth Century XII: Society in an Age of Plague* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 161-4.

spaces such as islands. Nevertheless, the House of Strangers was part of the city's web and after a few days when the healthy crewmen had proved not to be threat to the public's health or the moral wellbeing of Bensalem they were given the freedom to roam freely around Renfousa. Unfortunately, as is typical in the early modern utopias, our narrator provides us with limited information about the city and its buildings. The only utopian choros that we can gain a glimpse of is the location where a ceremony, called the Feast of the Tirsan, takes place.[617] The space of the ceremony was left unspecified, but we learn that it could occur in a public building or in a large estate, although there is no description of either one. In any case, a large space was needed because it was a ceremony dedicated to every man who had fathered thirty children. The Feast of the Tirsan was designed to honor patriarchal authority, having the household's males serve their father, or 'tirsan', at a dinner ritual that followed a similar pattern to those in the temples and symposiums of Utopia.[618]

The most famous institution of Bensalem was Salomon's House or the College of the Six Days Works. This was an institution that the Father of the House of Strangers described as being 'dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God'. Its mission was to unlock 'the secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible'.[619] The Spanish crewman who serves as our narrator is forbidden from straying far away from Renfusa's walls, and thus is unable to visit it. What we learn about it, then, comes from one of the college's Fathers who happens to visit the city and converse with our narrator. This was a rare honor and opportunity because the members of Salomon's House lived away from the

[617] Bacon and Campanella, *The New Atlantis and The City of the Sun*, p. 10.
[618] H. B. White, *Peace Among the Willows: The Political Philosophy of Francis Bacon* (Hague, 1968), pp. 167-171.
[619] Bacon and Campanella, *The New Atlantis and The City of the Sun*, p. 16.

city and avoided visiting it. In this meeting, we are provided with a catalogue of the various spaces occupied by this college; artificial mines, hills, caves, pools, and wells that were used for their experiments. Meanwhile, members of Salomon's house had erected facilities to house their mathematical organs, high towers for the study and recreation of meteorological phenomena, and chambers suitable for experiments with new cures for diseases. In addition, the institution had two 'very long and fair galleries', with one of them housing statues of famous inventors and the other containing designs, miniatures and examples of 'the most rare and excellent inventions'. These buildings were accompanied by a park and some orchards. However, the Father hastily underlines that even these had practical purposes. The galleries dedicated to inventors and inventions aimed to inspire the members of the college to emulate the individuals honoured by them, while even the park and the enclosures were loci of experiments where they studied and dissected the rare flora and fauna of the island.[620] We learn next to nothing about the architecture of these spaces, the only thing that we can deduce is their decentralised chorography. Its buildings and facilities were dispersed around Bensalem's countryside, a choice justified by the need for suitable spaces for experiments.[621] This distinguishes it from similar utopian institutions that had a compact, centralised chorography.

Nevertheless, the chorography of the House of Salomon, despite some similarities with its contemporary higher education institutions, was mainly designed to serve and reflect Bacon's scientific methodology and program. The existence of unique spaces, suitable for the study of different aspects of the natural world, was an innovative approach, as was his insistence that every facility of the institution, even its

[620] Ibid., pp. 38-46.
[621] A. F. C. Wallace, *The Social Context of Innovation: bureaucrats, families and heroes in the early industrial revolution, as foreseen in Bacon's New Atlantis* (Lincoln, 2003), pp. 11-20.

garden, be used for scientific research. This pragmatic approach characterised all the period's utopias, but in Bacon's case we witness it in its extreme form, where anything with no practical value is expelled from the curriculum. The dispersion of the facilities around the island also reveals Bacon's preference for specialists, who focused on specific tasks and areas of knowledge. However, the House of Salomon was organised to ensure that these isolated groups of specialists would work on projects benefiting the aims of the institution, having 'meetings and consults of our whole numbers', where the findings of the different experiments were discussed, and new ones were approved by all.[622]

Despite its novel chorography, and its innovations on the spatial organisation of scientific research, the House of Salomon also had two buildings that echoed contemporary ones. The galleries containing miniatures of inventions and statues of inventors resembled the practices of this period's aristocratic and elite merchant collectors. They are reminiscent of the cabinets of curiosities, diverse collections of 'natural wonders', and antiquities that aimed to demonstrate the 'curiositas' and 'sapientia' of their owners, and to serve as a microcosm and memory theatre.[623] However, even these choroi in Bacon's vision are purged of all unnecessary, in terms of scientific advancement, elements and their theatricality is meant to provoke scientific achievement by providing an inspirational model.

Nevertheless, Bacon's choice of name echoed one of the most influential early modern utopian choros, the Temple of Solomon. It is interesting to note how the Temple, with its immense importance to Jewish and Christian tradition, influenced the

[622] B. Gower, *Scientific Method: A Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London, 1997), pp. 54-58; G. H. Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory*, (Vols 90, Abington, 1980), i, p. 174.
[623] A. Turpin, 'The New World Collections of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici', in R. J. W. Evans and A. Marr (eds), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 79-86.

design of many imaginary and real, utopian choroi. This can be attributed to a flourishing of Biblical studies after the Reformation of 1517, when a renewed interest in the life of Jesus and his apostles led many scholars to focus on the Old Testament in order to understand the world in which He lived and acted. In addition, the printing industry made cheaper versions of the Bible easily available. Additionally, it adopted new techniques of pictorial depiction, such as copper plate engraving, that allowed images of towns and architectural designs to enjoy wider dissemination, renewing interest in Biblical architecture. Interest in the temple's exact size and its replication was also reinforced during the seventeenth century by the popularity of architectural models. The models and etchings of the temple created by The Amsterdam Rabbi, Jacob Judah Leon (1603-1675), further popularised the symbolic and aesthetic value of the temple, helping it to become an emblem of piety, harmony, and perfection.[624]

The original temple of Solomon is believed to have been built sometime between 965 and 925 BCE and was destroyed around 500 BCE. During the middle ages, little effort was made to understand the temple's architecture. For the majority of Jewish Synagogues in Spain and Central Europe the temple embodied a messianic promise, and it was destined to be rebuilt when their exile from the holy land ended. Meanwhile, Christian commentators also focused on the symbolic interpretation of the building and its value as a microcosm. The first systematic effort to imitate the chorographical order of Solomon's temple occurred in Venice. Venice was touted as a model city during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to its harmonious political and social order and the chorography of its center. Spaces that were of

[624] G. McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma and the Trinitarian Debate* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 9; E. Jorink, Noah's Ark Restored (and Wrecked): Dutch Collectors, Natural History and the Problem of Biblical Exigesis', in S. Dupré and C. Lüthy (eds), *Silent Messengers: The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the early modern Low Countries* (Berlin, 2011), p. 156.

particular chorographical importance were the central square of the city, the Piazza San Marco (figure 54),[625] which also served as the political heart of the community; the Palazzo Ducale, the devotional center of San Marco; and the Procuratorie Nuove that housed the offices of the church's procurators. Until the seventeenth century the Piazza and its buildings were understood by their contemporaries to be re-constructions of the Temple Mountain in Jerusalem where, according to tradition, the Templum Domini of political power was situated next to the seat of God's power, the Templum Salomonis.[626]

The association between the Piazza San Marco and the Temple of Solomon had nothing to do with its actual layout or architectural design. Rather it was the symbolic order and the message it evoked of an alliance between God's power and that of the community. However, it was during the early modern period, and especially the sixteenth century, that many scholars began using Biblical sources to examine the Temple as an actual building and to attempt to recreate its design. The symbolic and millenarian dimension of the study and reconstruction of Solomon's temple remained popular during the seventeenth century. One example of this is Isaac Newton's effort to produce an accurate floor plan of the Temple (figure 55) in his *Chronology* (1728).[627] This was the result of a fifty-year long effort that involved the study of chronology and architecture, and Newton's reconstruction emphasised the buildings duality as being at once a symbol of the cosmos and a real physical building.[628]

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[625] Jacopo dei Barbari, *Veduta di Venezia*, 1500 woodcut, 132.72 × 277.5 cm (Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis).
[626] R. S. Nelson, 'The History of Legends and the Legends of History: The Pilastri Acritani in Venice', in H. Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (eds), *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice* (Washington, 2010), p. 52.
[627] I. Newton, *The chronology of ancient kingdoms, amended* (London, 1728), p. 346.
[628] T. Morrison, *Isaac Newton's Temple of Solomon and his Reconstruction of Sacred Architecture* (Basel, 2011), p. 93.

The first depictions of the Temple by Christian commentators present it as a rectangular, classical temple. The Jesuit mathematician and architect Bautista Villalpando (1552-1608) interpreted it as being a Vitruvian in principle, three-storied building, a continuous structure reinforced by additional stories on each of its sides.[629] However, Villalpando's design, and those like it, seem to have had little influence on the most famous early modern reconstruction of the Temple, the Escorial. The Escorial was a Spanish palace constructed during the reign of Phillip II. It was designed by Juan Battista de Toledo (1515-1567). The Escorial's design was based on Vitruvian architectural principles and its building took place between 1563 and 1588. Initially, neither the architects nor the king appears to have intended to recreate the Temple. Their primary objective was to construct a monument of piety and regal authority. However, from 1576, the analogy between El Escorial and the Temple of Solomon began to be drawn quite frequently. This was probably linked to the arrival of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) to the Escorial. Montano was a polymath who took great interest in Biblical studies. He was famous for his involvement in the publication of the polyglot edition of the Bible in Antwerp under the patronage of Phillip II.[630]

Montano was called back from Antwerp to take charge of the Escorial's library, but it seems his arrival influenced the palace's filigree, inspiring the statues of the Biblical Jewish kings on the Palace façade (figure 56).[631] The two most prominent of these statues were those of David and Solomon. This is selection is not arbitrary. They

[629] S. R. Kravtsov, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando and Sacred Architecture in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64/3 (2005), pp. 312–339.
[630] M. Goldish, 'Some Trends in the Temple Studies from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment', in S. Fine (ed), *The Temple of Jerusalem: From Moses to the Messiah: in Honor of Professor Louis H. Feldman* (Leiden, 2011), p. 310.
[631] Juan Bautista Monegro, *Statues of King David and Solomon*, façade of the Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain, Photo by Jebulon, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1f/Statue_king_David_San Lorenzo_del_Escorial_Spain.jpg, (11 Jan. 2018).

were intended to evoke an analogy between King Charles V as David, a warrior king, and Phillip II as the pious pacifier who built the Temple. A similar choice was also made for the iconographical decoration inside the palace. The chapel's tabernacle, behind the high altar, features scenes from the Bible painted by Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527-1596). In the library, Montano's workplace, Hebrew Biblical scenes and figures were also used to symbolise the seven liberal arts.[632] The acceptance of this iconography and the constant allusions by Philip II to his similarities with Solomon demonstrate how a choros like a palace, invested with certain paradisiacal and millenarian qualities, could offer inspiration for a new political vision and could be used as propaganda by the Spanish monarchy. If Phillip was a new Solomon, then his Palace was a new Temple of Solomon, and his kingdom was a new Israel invincible and protected by God. A similar effort to use the figure of the wise King Solomon and his construction of the temple for propagandistic purposes, can be seen in King James I's extension of Whitehall Palace in 1622.[633]

Returning to utopian literature, we can see that more traditional and chorographically centralised educational institutions were present in utopias such as *Christianopolis* and Sforzinda. In Andreae's vision, the college was situated next to the temple right at the heart of the city. He described a four-storied, elongated, rectangular building surrounded by gardens. The College housed students, who entered at age six, faculty members and the chancellor. The largest part of the building was divided into a series of specialised areas such as lecture rooms, laboratories for experiments, an anatomy theatre, a library, and a printing press. Obviously, Andreae had equipped his

[632] K. Ingram, 'Phillip II as the New Solomon: The convert promotion of Religious Tolerance and Synergism in Post-Tridentine Spain', in K. Ingram and J. I. P. Serrano (eds), *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond* (3 vols, Leiden, 2016), iii, pp. 130-140.
[633] M. K. Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden, 2002), p. 369.

college with everything an institution of higher education would have needed in order to fulfil its mission, which, according to its founder, was to decipher the mysteries of the natural world. However, contrary to the scientific program of Bacon, Andreae, a Protestant pastor, had a more traditional conception of the study of nature. He viewed it as a way of further understanding and celebrating God. Nevertheless, what makes the College of Christianopolis interesting is not its educational program but rather its role in educating the society's children. Through the College the state was given sole control over the education of its future citizens. All children from age of six onwards lived within the College walls. The students were divided by sex, and spent years participating in activities such as common dinners and group studies. They were closely observed by their teachers, who educated and trained them in socially useful trades. Because this process started at such a young age and enjoyed close state supervision, it is evident that its aim was to instil desired qualities and principles in future citizens, optimizing their role in Christianopolis. In other words, it was a process of habitus indoctrination.[634]

As for Sforzinda, here we find some of the most unique and imaginative utopian educational institutions; the House of Vice and Virtue, the school, and the House of the Architect. The school where young boys were trained in a wide range of subjects from arithmetic to canon law was described in detail. Yet it was surrounded by workshops where the students were encouraged to observe the work of various artisans in order to select a trade. Opposite to the school was a rectangular compound containing a hippodrome, a canal, a forest, a temple, workshops, the House of Architect, and the House of Vice and Virtue. The House of the Architect was a triple-square building where the future architects of the city were trained and examined. Filarete describes it

[634] Andreae, *Christianopolis*, p.173; Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia*, p. 80.

as being the most richly decorated building aside from the Prince's Palace. This description offers us a glimpse of how proud he was of his profession. The House of Vice and Virtue was a cylindrical, multi-storied tower. It had a square base and was crowned by a statue of Virtue. Its front gate led to two doors—one for the vices, the other for the virtues. Anyone who chose the vices would be led through a series of corridors to the building's lower levels and the basements where the brothel and the prisons of the city were located. Those who chose the door of virtues passed through thirty-one rooms dedicated to scientific study of sciences. They then had to pass through the seven floors of the building, each of them dedicated to the teaching of one liberal art. Finally, he could progress to the eighth and final floor where a ceremony would commemorate his achievement.[635]

The House of Vice and Virtue represented the culmination of a citizen's education. Of course, a building like this was more of a symbol of the struggle to achieve virtue than a building that could be constructed or an institution that could function effectively. Nevertheless, the school and the House of Architect, where the citizens were equipped with practical skills, and the House of Vice and Virtue were part of the same, unified utopian educational program that aimed to create a new type of citizen, one that was both highly skilled and morally incorruptible. Hence, this program was able to sustain 'a perfect' society. The austerity and rigor of Filarete's educational program is perhaps best exemplified by the fate of those who failed to complete it—imprisonment in the two lowest levels of the House of Vice.[636]

[635] Filarete, *Treatise on Architecture*, pp. 260-6.
[636] Rosenau, *The Ideal City*, p. 46.

Constructing the choros of the intentional community.

As underlined in a previous chapter, the ideal city plans of the Renaissance influenced the design of Hispano-American cities. A similar influence can also be found in their chorographical order. Hence, a brief examination of the topography and the urban design on which these cities were modelled is necessary in order to better understand how the choroi of these cities functioned inside the network of their topos. The origins of their plan can be traced back to the work of the Catalan monk Francesc Eiximenis (1327-1409). Eiximenis' ideal city contained a gridded network of streets, a large central square, and a few smaller, symmetrical plazas in each of its districts. However, crucial for the development of this plan was the influence of the Italian Renaissance architectural theorists, whose works became available to Spanish architects through their contact with the political and intellectual centres of Naples, Rome, and Florence.[637]

These influences are easily identified in Santo Domingo, the first Spanish city in the New World. Initially founded and governed by Bartholomew Colombus in 1496, the construction of Santo Domingo was completed under the governorship of Nicholas di Ovando in 1502 (figure 57).[638] Following the Castilian model that at its core was based on Eiximenis' model, the city was organised around a large plaza mayor and a geometrical grid pattern.[639] The choros of the city can be gleaned from the travel writing of the era. Oviedo (1478 – 1557), the chronicler and first-hand witness of the Spanish

[637] J. Lejeune, 'The Ideal and the Real: Urban codes in the Spanish-American Lettered City', in S. Marshall (ed), *Urban Coding and Planning* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 68.
[638] J. Ogilby, *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the new world* (London, 1672), p. 205.
[639] L. A. Vigneras, 'Diego Méndez, Secretary of Christopher Columbus and Alguacil Mayor of Santo Domingo: A Biographical Sketch', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 58/4 (1978), pp. 676-696; C. O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 147-8.

colonisation of the Caribbean, had also served as commander of the Fortaleza Ozama, the city's fortress. He was impressed by Santo Domingo's well-made stone houses, which he thought equal only to those in Barcelona, and by the wide, straight streets which opened up to the sea, providing better ventilation for the city.[640] All this combined to make a city that for Oviedo was superior to all the other places he had visited.

The Umbrian Alessandro Geraldini (1455-1524), who served as Bishop of Santo Domingo, was equally impressed by the road network of the city and the quality of its houses. He remarked on how they were superior even to those of Florence. Both these eye-witnesses' accounts emphasised the benefits the layout of the streets had for the health of the city's population. Santo Domingo's chorography, which was imitated by many future cities, was dominated by the Cathedral and the Viceregal residence in its center, and by the Fortaleza Ozama at its port. These were choroi that exhibited the prestige and power of the political and religious authorities of the city and, in the case of Fortaleza, the military might that protected it.[641]

The city of Santo Domingo, while it lacked an impressive or exceptionally interesting chorography, represents the first effort to realise an architectural ideal based on the Renaissance cultural concepts of order and harmony. This ideal came up against difficulties posed by the natural environment. Ultimately these difficulties could not be surmounted, given the building technology of the period, and account for the city's asymmetrical walls and imperfect grid plan. There was also an opposing urban planning effort that was rooted in settlers' nostalgia for the familiar chorographical model of

[640] G. F. de Oviedo, *Writing from the Edge of the World: The Memoirs of Darién, 1514-1527*, ed. and tr. G. F. Dille (Tuscaloosa, 2006), p. 36.
[641] R. M. Lemoine, 'The Classic Model of the Spanish-American colonial city', in. J. Madge and A. Peckhamp (eds), *Narrating Architecture: A Retrospective Anthology* (London, 2006), p. 444.

Iberian motherland and its traditional medieval cities, with narrow streets and irregular grid plans that were more responsive to the environmental realities of the spaces selected for the founding of the colonies.

However, as we have already mentioned, the choros was the space of everyday experience and activity. For Spanish colonists, this everyday experience could not be rent from the process of building a new society in a new world. Hence, a series of Instructions of Population were issued between 1513 and 1546 until being replaced by the publication of the Laws of Indies of 1573. Both the Instruction of Population and the set of laws that replaced them contained guidelines regarding the layout and chorography of the city. It placed the plaza mayor at the center of the city and established a zoning system through the allocation of lots to citizens, depending on their social status, in order to build their houses.[642]

While Santo Domingo was the first Spanish city that was built in the New World according to the Renaissance architectural ideals, it was the City of Mexico that perfected the urban layout, becoming the model for all Spanish cities that came after it in the Americas. Moreover, the City of Mexico soon found its way to the center of sixteenth century utopian aspirations, playing a major role in many of the period's utopian schemes. This utopian phase in the history of the city of Mexico and its surrounding area began with Antonio de Mendoza (1492-1552) appointment as Viceroy of New Spain. A well-educated man, Mendoza initiated a program of city ornamentation and improvement inspired by the ideas of Alberti's *De re Aedificatoria*; a copy of the book belonging to him has survived with his own handwritten notes. Under Mendoza's rule, the roads were enlarged and straightened, and the central square,

[642] J. O. McKee, *Ethnicity in Contemporary America: A Geographical Appraisal* (Oxford, 2013), p. 113.

the heart of the city, was surrounded by arcaded palaces. In addition, he founded the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, the first university of the New World. During the same period, and in the same area, two churchmen, Vasco de Quiroga (C. 1470- 1565) and Juan Zumarraga (1468-1548) attempted to establish social and religious institutions with communitarian and utopian aspirations.[643]

Quiroga, who was an auditor of the Spanish crown during the 1530s, witnessed the collapse of order in New Spain where the mistreated, conquered Amerindians were ready to rise up in revolt against their Spanish masters.[644] In an effort to improve the lives of the Amerindians and to contend with this explosive situation he turned to More's work. Like a new Utopus, he tried to create a new society for both the conquered and the conquerors. The first effort made by Quiroga to improve the life of the Amerindians and to establish a utopian choros, based on More's vision, occurred in 1532 when he started to build a hospital on land, he purchased on the outskirts of Mexico City.[645]

This first pueblo-hospital in Santa Fe, despite the resistance from the authorities and *encomenderos*, was a great success and in twenty years had population of 30,000 people.[646] The hospital was home to one hundred and twenty indigenous families found refuge working the land and learning the Christian dogma. This success encouraged Quiroga to extend his plans, an opportunity that was given to him in 1536 when he was appointed bishop of the newly conquered region of Michoacán. This was a mountainous area where many Amerindians had made their home after the conquest of New Spain.[647]

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[643] Lejeune, 'Dreams of Order: Utopia, Cruelty and Modernity', p. 37.
[644] Green, *Thomas More's magician*, pp. 79-82.
[645] Ibid., p. 164.
[646] Ibid., p. 168.
[647] E. B. Soule, *The Bishop's Utopia: Envisioning Improvement in Colonial Peru* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 225.

There, the newly appointed bishop tried to concentrate the local population into two large towns, after the transfer of his bishopric seat to Pátzcuaro. However, this plan was met with resistance by both the Viceroyalty and by the local *encomenderos*. Spanish settlers and conquistadores, who were granted the right to use the Amerindians for labour by the crown and sought to take their lands, forced Quiroga to scale down his plan.[648] Hence, in 1538, in an area called Santa Fe de la Laguna, Quiroga established a new pueblo-hospital community on land proposed by the local population. This was quickly followed by the establishment of two more pueblo-hospitals, Santa Fe de Mexico and Chichimec. The population in these communities never exceeded two-hundred households. Their layout was similar to the other settlements established by the Spanish authorities and, except from the distinct choros of their hospital, they had a church, workshops, storehouses, and schools. The pueblo-hospitals became the main instruments in Quiroga's plan to create a 'respublica de indios'. His goals, and his strategy, were clearly described in his writings. He hoped that by isolating the indigenous population from the Spanish settlers he would be able not only to protect them but also to reshape their beliefs and practices, educating them in Spanish and proselytizing them. For this purpose, the daily routine enacted in these communities was designed to acculturate the inhabitants to the European ethos and to shape them into good Christians.[649]

The central institution of Quiroga's communities was the hospital, a choros that in his ordinances was described as being a large, square building similar in design to the houses of the community. In addition, he noted that, in its interior, this building should have separate spaces for the care of the sick and for help to the poor. He also

[648] Green, *Thomas More's magician*, pp. 208-10.
[649] B. Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico* (Austin, 2000), p. 167.

created rooms for the doctors, and a dispensary. From surviving descriptions, we know that the central sections of these hospitals were dedicated to the sick and divided into five rooms. One room was for reserved for those with a contagious disease and one was for those with a non-contagious illness. Two other rooms were used by the administrator and the steward of the hospital. The final room, and the one at the center of this square building, was used as a chapel. The design of this building echoes More's description of Utopia's institutional choroi.[650] However, Quiroga did not create a slavishly similar copy of his source material's building. Instead he borrowed select elements from it that were conducive to his hospital's purpose. The similarities between the pueblo-hospitals and More's utopian cities were not limited to the design of one building. On the contrary, Quiroga due to his fervent, apostolic zeal and admiration for *Utopia,* organised life in his communities in a monastic pattern with an austere dress code, focus on hard work and strict devotional conformity.[651] Quiroga's debt to More is evident also in the way that he chose to organise and house his communities' population. The Amerindians were housed in square dwellings surrounded by gardens, where groups called 'familias', consisting of eight couples with their children, lived together and shared a common kitchen.[652] This was an exact copy of both More's patriarchal household and his domestic space with the garden.

In order to support his endeavour, Quiroga constructed two more buildings, the Colegio de San Nicholas Obispo and the Basilica of Nuestra Señora de la Salud in Patzcuaro.[653] The first was a seminary that was used to train secular clergy for administrative positions within the pueblo-hospitals. The second was a building that he

[650] Green, *Thomas More's magician*, pp. 324-5.
[651] Gómez, *Good Places and Non-places in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 71-80.
[652] Green, *Thomas More's magician*, p. 173.

[653] Ibid., p. 271

hoped would constitute the devotional epicentre for both the indigenous population and for the Spanish settlers. Thus, the cathedral was the most elaborate building in his diocese, following a strategy delineated by many missionaries before him, who recommended impressing the locals with elaborate rituals and religious ornaments in order to convert them. Another part of this strategy followed by Quiroga was the erection of churches upon indigenous sacred spaces; in this case the cathedral rested on four stones that the local Purépecha tribe believed to be its forefathers.[654] The original cathedral aimed to segregate the various tribes of Michoacán from the Spanish population by having a semicircle design divided into five naves and the altar at its center.[655] This was probably aimed at minimizing any contact between the still innocent, newly converted Amerindians and the corrupted Spanish Christians, but also in order to be able to offer separate catechism and preaching to different parts of his flock.

Juan de Zumarraga, the Bishop of Mexico City, is credited as having given his own copy of More's *Utopia* to Quiroga, thus inspiring him to organise his utopian schemes. Zumarraga, like his friend Quiroga had witnessed the collapse of order in New Spain and the agitation of the recently conquered indigenous population.[656] Devoted to the evangelisation and protection of the Amerindians, Zumarraga believed that their acculturation and Christianisation would be the solution to their problems. To this end, Zumarraga established the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco in 1533, with the support of New Spain's political authorities. The purpose of this institution was to provide higher education to the sons of the Aztec nobility, so they could become local administration or priests. Despite the support and patronage that the institution initially

[654] Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden*, p. 94.
[655] Green, *Thomas More's magician*, p. 263.
[656] Pohl, 'Utopianism after More: The Renaissance and the Enlightenment', p. 53.

received from many sources, construction of the college stalled. Finally, a small stone building with separates sections for teaching, a dining area, and a dorm for the pupils was erected. Unfortunately, the poverty of the institution was so great that a few years later, due to the lack of necessary repairs, it stopped providing accommodation for its students. This fact, combined with its poor attendance and the 1555 prohibition on ordaining Amerindians into the priesthood, led to its complete decline and ultimate closure.[657]

The hospitals in New Spain answered a very real and pressing need for protection of indigenous populations ravaged by diseases, mistreatment, and poverty. It is no coincidence that in 1554 Zumarraga's successor, the Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar (1489-1572), described the hospitals as being the most important thing in Mexico, calling for the erection of a hospital in every village in his bishopric the following year.[658] Aside from Quiroga's utopian-inspired communities, the hospital heterotopias were the only form of social protection available for the conquered population. These institutions maintained a close link with the Amerindian populations due to the fact that they were supported by their alms and tribe elders participated in their administration. As could be expected, their size varied according to the needs and wealth of each area, but we know that the largest one could accommodate four hundred patients during its zenith in the 1580s. Their choros also varied. Some of them, like Tiripitio hospital, were famous for their luxury. Tiripitio in particular was greatly admired for the quality of the medical services it provided and for its well-supplied

[657] R. E. Greenleaf, *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543* (Washington, 1961), p.36; J. Mallea-Olaetxe, 'The Private Basque World of Juan Zumarraga, First Bishop of Mexico', *Revista de Historia de América*, 114 (1992), pp. 41-60.
[658] J. Early, *The Colonial Architecture of Mexico* (Dallas, 2001), p. 45.

dispensary. As a choros, it was surrounded by gardens, a fountain and a patio garden filled with medicinal herbs, flowers and orange trees.[659]

Nevertheless, these religiously-inspired social experiments and heterotopias quickly declined after the death of their founders, while the changing political, social, intellectual, and economic climate in the Viceroyalty of New Spain forbade further attempts to create choroi with utopian aspirations. However, fertile ground for experimentation could still be found further south in America where the colonisation of new lands opened up opportunities for more radical approaches. Now it was the Jesuits' turn to take up the official mantle of protectors of the Amerindians. Their missions constituted an ambitious effort to Christianize local inhabitants and to establish and operate a large network of communities called '*reducciones de indios'*. These communities bore many similarities with Quiroga's pueblo-hospitals. Reductions began to be established in New Spain in 1540s by both Franciscans and Jesuits. However, during the 1570s and 1580s a major opportunity to further develop and convert them into a large network of communities under Jesuit leadership arose in the areas of present-day Paraguay, Brazil, Bolivia, and Argentina. There, under the supervision and support of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515-1582), a vast project to relocate more than a million and a half Amerindians into Jesuit *reducciones* took place.[660]

Initially, the reductions were supported by both the local Spanish and Portuguese authorities in the hope that through them the Amerindians would be Christianised and, more crucially, become more obedient to colonial rule. These

[659] G. W. Graff, *Hospitals in Sixteenth Century Mexico* (Madison, 1969), p. 56.
[660] A. Hager, 'The Map of New Paraguay: A Crisis in Jesuitism', *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, 17 (1993), pp. 90-8.

objectives were similar to Quiroga's, and the practices and every-day life within the reductions was designed to meet this dual purpose. In the previous chapter, where I examined the topography of the reductions, I noted the central space occupied by the church. Its function in this operation of Christianisation and acculturation was critical. This choros was the very heart of the community not only because the Christian rituals and sacraments took place there, but also because it was the place where catechism was taught. It was through the Amerindians' obligatory participation in these catechisms that the Jesuit Fathers policed the population's conformity. Next to the church was the 'cabildo', the town-hall, where authorities appointed by the Spanish governor were located. Another important building, in reality a complex of choroi, found in some of the largest reductions was the 'colegio': a school designed to teach reading and writing to the sons of Amerindian nobles. Sometimes in smaller reductions it included a storage area, workshops and dorms. The population of the reductions lived in large, elongated dwellings organised into households, Other choroi such as gardens, a cemetery, a traveller's inn, and a prison could also be found within the reduction's boundaries. Whatever was freely available in nature, usually stone and local wood, was used as building materials and Amerindians residents frequently offered their labour for the benefit of the community.

These communities, even if initially established to address the pressing concern of protecting Amerindians, came to be understood as Arcadias or even utopias by their contemporaries. To the early modern European mind these parallelisms were justified by the peaceful and ordered existence that these communities seemed to offer to their population of 'noble savages' living in a pristine and untamed natural environment.[661] It was this image of order that they projected, combined with their success in protecting

[661] S. Cro, *The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom* (Waterloo, 1990), p. 7.

their population and their self-sufficiency, that led men from different backgrounds and with ideological vantage points—like Montesquieu (1689-1755) and the Jesuit José Manuel Peramás (1732-1793)—to liken the reductions to Plato's ideal city of Magnesia, claiming that in these communities the platonic ideas were realised.[662]

In the Spanish-ruled Americas, these intentional communities, with their heterotopian choroi like the hospitals and the colleges, were established by clergymen and religious orders with the support of the political authorities in order to realise a specific program designed to protect, acculturate, and Christianise indigenous populations. They functioned primarily as heterotopias for this reason. I am reluctant to call them utopias, seeing as they separated the Amerindians not simply from the dangerous Spanish colonisers for their physical and moral safety but also from their own culture and way of life. Aiming to isolate them from their roots, relocating them sometimes hundreds of miles away from their original habitat, forcing them to abandon their old customs, and to adopt a new religion and a new Christian name, Quiroga and the Jesuits created a network that resembled labour camps more than harmonious communities. The strict order imposed on the segrecationes and the *reducciones*, the policing of the Amerindian's religious conformity, the existence of the prison as an integral part of their chorographical order, can easily attest to the dystopian potentialities of these spaces. However, the communitarian Christian ideals of the missionaries, their care for the indigenous people and the positive influence that the period's utopian literature and ideas had on them ensured that these communities maintained some positive utopian characteristics.

[662] J. M. Peramás, *La República de Platón y los guaraníes*, (Buenos Aires, 1946).

In North America, far from Spanish jurisdiction, a series of intentional New World communities with different aims, ideals, and origins from those in Mexico and South America were established. The groups that migrated there and established communities did so not as conquerors, but as religious exiles who had been persecuted for their beliefs. Groups like the Pilgrims, the Mennonites, the Anabaptists and the Pietists found the 'empty lands' of North America ideal for the practice and execution of their respective faiths.[663]

The first effort to establish such a refuge community in the New World's wilderness was made by the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Sometimes the communitarian character of their effort is denied by scholars, Perry Miller due to their aim to form a profit-making plantation.[664] However, the fact that they were a persecuted religious minority, and that they stayed together even when they were forced to leave England initially for the Netherlands, meant that they adhered to a strict code of behaviour based on communitarian living. Moreover, their decision to form their own separate community when they arrived at Plymouth justifies their inclusion among the early modern North American intentional communities.[665] The original community at Plymouth, however, was meagre in size. Their small number of settlers and the harsh conditions that they met with during their first winter reduced the community to only fifty people. This minimised their ability to shape their settlement's chorographic order. Thus, visitors to the colony during the 1630s could only see a few, small, one-room houses and a fortress made of wood built upon a hill near the coast.[666]

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[663] Pitzer, 'Introduction', p. 6.
[664] P. Miller, *Errant into the Wilderness* (Cambridge Mass, 1954), pp. 3-4.
[665] R. Appelbaum, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 77.
[666] E. Mann, 'To build and fortify: Defensive architecture in the early Atlantic colonies', in D. Maudlin and B. L. Herman (eds), *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600-1850* (Chapel Hill, 2016), p. 59.

The Bohemia Manor, established 1683 in Maryland, fared better than Plymouth. It was founded by a radical Pietist group called the Labadists. This was a small group of a hundred people. The Labadists of Bohemia Manor maintained close contact with their parent community in the Netherlands, following an austere way of life designed by their founder Jean de Labadie (1610–1674). Its members had no private property, prayed in silence, and lived in common, while men and women had dinner separately. Families shared one main dwelling, but the members of each family slept in the same room. In addition, their ascetic values demanded they use as little space as possible for their dwellings and they were forbidden from making their personal spaces more comfortable or hospitable. The community, like its model in the Netherlands, sustained itself financially by communal labour, in this case by cultivating various cash crops like tobacco and herding animals on its four-hundred acres of land. To this end, they also utilised slave labour.[667]

The small size and the limited resources of the communities that were established in North America, as well as their short life, meant that these groups never had the opportunity to fully realise their vision of a city upon a hill. In the cases we examined, their choroi were shaped significantly by necessity, even if they tried hard to make them suitable for their practices and principles. Moreover, in contrast to the systematic and well-supported visions of Quiroga and the Jesuits, these North American communities lacked a detailed plan for their spaces and especially for their domestic choros. This is apparent when we look at the architecture of houses in the North American colonies, such as Plymouth. They do not reveal an adoption of indigenous traditional practical techniques that could help them utilise the abundant local materials

[667] T. J. Saxby, *The Quest for the New Jerusalem, Jean de Labadie and the Labadists, 1610–1744* (Dordrecht, 1987), pp. 300-2, 313-325.

around them, nor any effort to innovate with new architectural types but instead a nostalgia for their homeland's architecture. Thus, small wooden framed houses and log houses were quite popular among the settlers. The small wooden framed houses were reproductions of the usual domestic architecture of the English yeoman and the log houses, which were initially found in the colonies of New Sweden, again reproduced traditional architectural styles from the settlers' country of origin.[668] In addition, the limited support by the state and the limited resources of the community members could explain the small size and the poor, almost primitive, quality of these dwellings. However, a careful juxtaposition between the settler's initial dwelling huts made with branches, mud, clay, turf and rushes and their contemporary English domestic architecture reveal the settlers' familiarity with these materials that were used extensively by poor English agricultural laborers. It also can be linked to their social origins, which continued to define their dwellings and environment even in the New World. This is better illustrated if we contrast it with the much more prosperous New Haven colony that was founded in 1638, where wealthy members soon erected stone mansions and laid out the city following a familiar chorography. Examining a map of New Haven, we can easily discern that the better lots and houses were allocated to the community's minister and its wealthy elite.[669]

Mark Goldie has claimed that to attribute to More's Utopia any desire to indoctrinate its population would be an ahistorical approach. As he correctly notes the idea of human nature's plasticity is not part of the early modern intellectual milieu but a basic tenet of Enlightenment's sociology.[670] However, this chapter's examination of

[668] H. Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National period* (New York, 1987), pp. 15-7; S. Hornsby and M. Hermann, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (London, 2005), p. 143.
[669] Morrison, *Early American Architecture*, p. 71.
[670] M. Goldie, 'Obligations, Utopias, and Their Historical Context', *The Historical Journal*, 26/3 (1983), p. 739.

utopian and heterotopian choroi demonstrates how these spaces as loci of specific practices acted as indoctrination apparatuses instilling to their citizens and members their values and behaviours, thus even if the concept of indoctrination was not available to More and the other authors and creators of utopias the practice existed and was essential for their function and perpetuation. The additional analysis of the chorography of intentional communities that were established in the Americas both successful like Quiroga's pueblos and failed like Plymouth made clearer the importance of choros in instilling the beliefs and the practices of a community to its members.

Chapter 5

The southland heterotopia: colonialism, anti-utopianism and the Other.

In Chapter 1, when the differences between the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires were examined, it became apparent that this had to do not only with their distinctive character and aims, but also with the area of their expansion. In America, except for the Aztec empire in Mexico or the Incas in Peru, Spain had no rival able to withstand its superior military technology and its *conquistadores'* greed, except the hostile natural environment. By contrast, the Portuguese expansion to India had to deal not only with the treacherous and long rounding of the southern tip of Africa, but also the resistance of strong and (at least at the beginning of the sixteenth century) equally technologically advanced opponents. At the time when Cortés was finishing the conquest of Mexico in 1521, a Portuguese fleet was defeated by the Chinese imperial fleet in Tunmen near Hong Kong.[671] Asia, the land whose riches and miracles Europeans had dreamed of and tried to reach from the eleventh century, was proven not to be an easy target for their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century expansion. It was not an empty land and the resistance that the Portuguese encountered showed that it was not as easy as the Americas to empty.[672]

This different geopolitical reality influenced the secondary role of Asia in early modern utopianism and utopian literature. By emphasising the gradual improvement of the geographical knowledge of the area and the commercial and colonial expansion of

[671] D. R. Headrick, *Power over Peoples: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present* (Princeton, 2010), pp. 84-7.
[672] S. W. Miller, *An Environmental History of Latin America* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 9.

the European powers, I hope to illuminate the close link between early modern European utopianism and colonialism, and to show how real events relating to the European intrusion into new areas were not only reflected in but shaped the utopian literature of the period. For this reason, this chapter focuses mainly on the real space of Madagascar, which became the focus of many utopian and colonial schemes during the seventeenth century and the *Terra Australis Incognita*, which became the last refuges of geographical utopia in an age of expanding geographical knowledge. At least, this was the case until the eighteenth century and the return of utopias to the Americas.

The Antipodes: between satire and anti-utopia.

The Antipodes is an interesting case that demonstrates how early modern utopianism took advantage of, and inspiration from the geographical imagination and knowledge of the period. In particular, Antipodean theory was based on the Classical idea that in the southern half of the globe there should be a landmass of equal weight to that of the north hemisphere's land to counterbalance it.[673] As we already have seen, maybe the most influential articulation of this idea was found in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and later, in Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* and in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, where the question of the habitation of these lands was connected to the Christian idea of human monogenesis and the question of humanity's salvation.[674] These works expressed opposite views about the habitation of the Antipodes, with Augustine unable to accept that this area could be inhabited or reached by humans due to the torrid zone,

[673] C. Clough, 'The New World and the Italian Renaissance', in D. B. Quinn, C. Clough and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *The European Outthrust and Encounter: The First Phase C.1400-c.1700* (Liverpool, 1994), p. 293.
[674] A. Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', in A. M. Scott, A. Hiatt and C. McIlroy (eds), *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* (London, 2016), p. 22.

and Macrobius supporting the idea that in the Antipodes there could be found a similar temperate zone to the Mediterranean, with similar topography and climate and, as a result, a place that was inhabited.[675]

Surprisingly, the views of Macrobius proved quite popular in medieval Western Europe, with 150 maps still surviving from the period between the tenth and fifteenth century that depict a world with a large temperate inhabited zone in the Antipodes.[676] Indicative of this is a sixteenth-century edition of Macrobius's work, where a map depicts the already-obsolete zonal cartographical model (figure 58).[677] The northern hemisphere is covered by Europe, Asia and the northern part of Africa, but instead of the inaccessible torrid zone there is a vast ocean that separates the northern from the southern hemisphere, where a large, uncharted continent can be found. It is interesting that the idea of a vast Southern *Terra Incognita* remained attractive to so many cartographers. The belief that a southern landmass was necessary for the balance of the world and its usefulness as a cartographic convention were probably the reasons for Antipodes' survival on the early modern maps. Without any information about it, this hypothetical land was also a malleable synonym for the void. This was a useful malleability, as we can see in seventeenth and eighteenth-century maps, when the influx of information about the Southern hemisphere coming from European sailors and merchants who scoured the area for gold, spices and colonial expansion gave the cartographers a more accurate idea about the geography of the area and forced them to continually relocate this hypothetical continent further south.[678]

[675] T. Whittaker, *Macrobius* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 75.
[676] N. W. Gómez, *Tropics of Empire* (Cambridge Mass, 2008), p. 188.
[677] Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis, Lib II, Saturnaliorum, Lib. VII* (Venice, 1560), p. 144.
[678] A. Hiatt, *Terra Incognita*, pp. 175-76.

However, for the early modern utopian literature, the Lucianic, satirical view of the land was also extremely influential. Lucian, in his *True History* (2nd c. CE), made fun of both Greek and Roman travel literature; his heroes visited various places outside the Pillars of Hercules, like the Isle of the Blessed or Cockaigne-like islands, and among them were the Antipodes where the journey ended. Lucian based on Seneca's views, saw this land not just as the geographical opposite of the Mediterranean world but as the home of a morally reversed society,[679] where idleness and excess were virtues, and frugality and moderation were mortal sins. Obviously, this conception of the Antipodes was placing them outside the Ptolemaic normalised model of the world, allowing them to become hospitable terrain for utopian fictions that had no desire to construct plausible societies suitable to serve as anti-paradigms.

Instead by combining this literary tradition with the hypothetical geographical spaces of the Antipodes and the *Terra Australis Incognita*, seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers created an ideal canvas for numerous satirical and utopian works. Their eclectic use of classical and medieval sources also resulted in numerous imaginative versions of these 'opposite footed' lands. Some, like Veiras, saw it as similar to Europe and populated by men, while others, like Foigny, imagined it as populated by monstrous races, based on the classical climate theory. Both saw the Antipodes as outside the normalised proto-globalised world and as the archetype and last home of Otherness. The Antipodes became popular utopian and social satirical settings. just when the European colonial powers started to shift their attention there. Of course, the same can be argued for the Americas during the sixteenth century, but the Antipodes offers

[679] S. D. Smith, 'Lucian's True Story and the Ethics of Empire', in A. Bartley (ed.), *A Lucian for Our Time* (Newcastle, 2009), pp. 83-86; Gabriella Moretti, 'The Other World and the Antipodes', in W. Haase and M. Reinhold (eds.), *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition* (3 vols, Berlin, 1994), i, pp. 246-48.

historians the opportunity to observe how the complex relationship between utopianism and colonialism was developed and how the association of exotic far-away lands with classical and Christian paradisiacal elements paved the way for giving a realistic description of the natural landscape in such areas. Thus, the Antipodes embodied an antinomy: they were the last great gap on the maps of the early modern period about which utopian writers could speculate and imagine different political and social paradigms, and a land that was steadily becoming known, appropriated and colonised.

The antinomies and ambiguities that were inherent in the early modern utopianism and from its very beginning in More's *Utopia* were revealed in their full extent in the Antipodes, a space which was synonymous with antithesis and whose marginal status between real and imagined gave writers a liminal space that was equally difficult to categorise due to the polarity between utopian and anti-utopian visions and dreams.[680] The first work that used the Antipodes as its setting was Bishop Joseph Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem* published in 1605. Hall was a man greatly admired by his peers for his learning and wit, and he had travelled extensively around Europe. His interest in satire can be traced to his early years in Cambridge when he published a book of satirical poems inspired by Juvenal. *Mundus Alter et Idem,* published in Frankfurt without Hall's consent, also seems to be a product of his early years. Hall, possibly inspired by classical Menippean satires and *Utopia,* used a journey to the unknown southern land to criticise his own contemporary Europe and its moral failings.[681]

The work's hero, Mercurius Britannicus, is an avid reader of tales of exploration of far-away exotic lands.[682] Yet he has no interest to travel there, preferring the security

[680] J. Dutton, 'Expiation in the Antipodes', in J. West-Sooby (ed), *Nowhere is Perfect: French and Francophone Utopias/dystopias* (Newark, 2008), pp. 27-43.
[681] C. Burrow, 'Roman Satire in the Sixteenth century', in K. Freudenburg (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 246-250.
[682] D. Fausett, *Writing the New World* (New York, 1993), p. 46.

of his homeland, which is not limited merely by a concern about the dangers of the perilous journey to the New World, but also by the dangers these new lands pose for his morality.[683] Hall's hero and his companions boarded a ship fittingly named *Phantasia* and began a series of adventures that recall the ones in Lucian's *True History*. After some typical adventures they reached the coast of a large continent that occupied all the southern part of the Earth (figure 59).[684] Hall has his hero travel in the ship of fantasy but gave a realistic description of the possible route to the Antipodes. The *Phantasia* travelled south along the western coast of Monomotapa (Africa) then rounded the cape of Good Hope, following the period's usual route to reach the Indies.[685] However, instead of turning north for Madagascar to replenish its supplies, *Phantasia* kept going south until it reached the much-desired continent and the region of Crapulia.[686]

In *Mundus*, Hall navigated the thin line between the real and the fictional world of the period, emphasising his view that these two worlds in their core are the same. All the vices and sins that inhabit his anti-utopian land, just like their opposite virtues, could be found everywhere. In a world that according to Hall, was gradually becoming more interlinked than fragmented, the belief that there was any possibility of discovering a better society was meaningless. Thus, comparisons of the fictional reversed geography of the Antipodes with Europe and the rest of the known world are more than abundant in *Mundus*. For example, a region in Moronia is compared with China due to its population while Moronia Pia was compared with the heartland of Catholicism, Rome.[687] Nevertheless, Hall's primary objective was not to create accurate portraits of

[683] J. Hall, *Mundus Alter et Idem sive Terra Australis* (Hannover, 1607), pp. 4-5, 12.
[684] Ibid., pp. 18-9.
[685] Fausett, *Writing the New World*, p. 46.
[686] J. Hall, *Another world and yet the same: Bishop Joseph Hall's Mundus alter et idem*, ed. and tr. J. M. Wands (New Haven, 1981), pp. 122-134, 193-198.
[687] Ibid., p. 112, 181-3.

moral decadence, but to transform these lands into exaggerated paradigms demonstrating where vice, excess and intolerance could lead. He hoped to warn his contemporaries, even though his critique is less austere than we could expect and in general Hall appeared lenient, looking kindly on human failings and recognising the imperfection of human nature and of this terrestrial world.[688] As a result, his aim appeared to be to criticise utopia itself and any notion that we could found or create a better society in this world, by emphasising the corruption of human nature. Instead, for Hall the only chance of humanity to achieve perfection was in the afterlife. This view proves that his work's title 'a world different but the same' was not just a witticism but was rather an accurate description of how he understood, not only his imaginary world, but all the newly discovered worlds as being different in appearance only, and in essence the same as his own imperfect one.

In Hall's anti-utopian stance and especially in the initial reluctance of his hero Mercurius to travel, we can see also an anti-travel stance that emphasised the moral dangers of visiting foreign lands. Mercurius' last words, in which he stated that he spent thirty years admiring and laughing about this land before he became weary and returned home, confirm contemporary views concerning the limited educational value of this kind of excursion, such as those noted in Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (1570).[689] Hall's critique was also directed against his contemporaries' obsession with rich far-away lands and risky but potentially profitable commercial endeavours, which in his eyes had started not only to sever their connection with reality itself (the choice to name the ship *Phantasia* is a clear allusion to it) but to morally corrupt them.

[688] S. Irving, 'Rethinking Corruption: Natural Knowledge and the New World in Joseph Hall's Mundus Alter et Idem', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 2 (2013), pp. 150-3.
[689] Hall, *Mundus*, p. 214.

The same criticism of his contemporaries' obsession with faraway lands can be seen in Richard Brome's play *The Antipodes* (1638), a play that used the antipodean trope to criticise and satirise its contemporary gender roles and social hierarchies as well as the growing influence of the Puritans in London life, pointing out the hypocrisy and cruelty that reigned in the capital.[690] Even if the comedic and satirical elements outweigh the utopian, Brome's play offers us a unique opportunity to understand how the imaginary geography of the Antipodes could be used to articulate critiques of society. Brome, in particular, used the madness of his hero Peregrine as a plot device to examine the problematic beliefs of contemporary society.[691] The symbolic journey that his family and his doctor, (appropriately named Joyless) stage in order to cure him, taking him to the most distant land from England, the Antipodes, was not a random choice. It allowed both Peregrine and the play's audience to encounter an upside-down land associated with moral inversion and monstrous races. It is no coincidence that Peregrine, obsessed with tales of exotic lands and the period's travel literature, immediately on waking asks about the whereabouts of the mythic monstrous races without heads that Mandeville had described, and is at least initially enthused by the inversion of social roles on this society.[692] The comedic element, based on Peregrine's obsession with distant lands and the farcical theatrical trick that he has never actually left London, works both ways, also criticising the audience's moral rigidity and social certainties. Peregrine is merely transferred to a different house where a whole play is staged around him, but even this contact with a fake exotic land is enough for him to understand his own problems and to cure his madness by observing how the

[690] D. Fausset, *Images of the Antipodes in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Stereotyping* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 8.
[691] D. McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp.128-9.
[692] Richard Brome, *The antipodes: a comedie. Acted in the yeare 1638. by the Queenes Majesties Servants, at Salisbury Court in Fleet-street* (London, 1640), p. 74.

shortcomings of this exaggerated antithetical image of his own society's morals and customs are related to this exotic land. An antipodean wife who beats her husband is no different from a husband who beats his wife in Peregrine's England. This confrontation with a reversed world forces him to assume the role of king in a hopeless effort to correct it, and as a result he is cured and reconnects with reality, thus giving his journey therapeutic value.[693]

Brome's play, despite its re-affirmation of the contemporary status quo, was potentially dangerous due to its association with the contemporary political situation in London. By concentrating on a satire of morals, Hall was able to avoid this but some satires like the *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites* by Thomas Artus were eager to emphasise this connection. *L'Isle* was published in 1605 and was much more blatant and politically charged than any of the English counterparts that used an Antipodean setting. Instead of the failing morals of his age or the dangerous obsession with exotic travels, Artus focused on the immorality and ineffectiveness of Henry III (1551-1589) and his court. To avoid any misconception about the focus of his critique, Artus called his work 'a supplement to Henry III's diary'.[694] The inclusion of a work with a clear contemporary political character that is concerned with satirising one figure may initially appear problematic. It is a work that is rarely included or examined in the surveys of the early modern utopias, and my decision to include it is based not only on my broad definition of early modern utopianism, which transcends the traditional generic boundaries, but primarily on Artus's use of an Antipodean spatial setting of reversed morals.[695] Despite its polemical character, Artus' satire of the hermaphrodite king overcame its overtly

[693] D. McInnis, 'Therapeutic Travel in Richard Brome's The Antipodes', *Studies in English Literature, 1500 – 1900*, 52/2 (2012), pp. 447-469.
[694] T. Artus, *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites* (Cologne, 1682), front piece.
[695] Fausset, *Images of the Antipodes*, p. 10

local concerns to constitute a serious comment on the state of the world in general. Indirectly, it was also intended, like Hall's work, to advise against travel and its grievous consequences for people's morality and safety. Unlike Hall, he focused on the dichotomies that Columbus's travels had established by emphasising the binary relationship between the old world and the new. In his view, the promised treasure of the New World that led many of his compatriots to seek their fortune in places far from home was a lie that led them to ignore the material and spiritual riches of their homeland until their nostalgia led them to appreciate it and come back.[696]

One of the brave Frenchmen who grew tired of the promised exotic lands was Artus' hero/narrator, a man who was equally as unenthusiastic about travelling as Mercurius and who was shipwrecked on an 'errant' island. The book's opening lines promised to deliver a description of a recently discovered island and a true account of its inhabitants' laws and manners, echoing both the utopias and the travel narratives of the period. In imitation of these works, Artus supplies his island with a paradisiacal environment dominated by lascivious activities, and full of impressive buildings. In this setting, the anonymous French castaway meets a society of hermaphrodites with inverted morals. The very word hermaphrodite in the politically charged climate of the French religious wars was a synonym for moral corruption, libertinism and Epicureanism.[697] Still, the locus of these reversed morals was the chorus of the palace where the local king, a thinly disguised Henry III, and his courtiers lived. The courtiers, like their king, were hermaphrodites, an allusion to *'les mignons'*: the effeminate, richly dressed and insolent favourites of Henry who scandalised Parisian society and the

[696] Artus, *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites*, pp. 1-2.
[697] C. Dubois, Introduction in *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites* (Geneva, 1996), pp. 7-12.

aristocracy with their appearance and the influence they exerted over the King.[698] Artus underlined the fact that the courtiers spent all their time taking care of their appearance and curling their hair, just like Henry, who was notorious for the amount of time he spent attending to his looks.[699] The palace where they lived was isolated from the rest of the society, and was a place where irreligiosity, immorality and promiscuity were celebrated, a view that again, was designed to remind readers of Henry's court. The unnamed narrator was able to read a golden book of the laws of the country that was kept in the palace, and he informed the reader that murder, theft, rape and incest were encouraged in this reversed, impious society. Of course, this decadent society could not be a Christian one, so they worshipped Roman deities like Venus and Bacchus, by organising orgies in their honour where musicians, actors and poets had the role of priests.[700]

This world of impious carnality was unfortunately not limited to the palace, and here we see Artus moving away from his referential attacks on Henry and his court and venturing into a much wider satire and critique of the French state and society of his period. The constantly moving island, just like its hermaphroditic inhabitants, served as a metaphor for a society that had lost its focus and its moral compass and is condemned to float around, aimless and self-absorbed.[701]

The only Antipodean imaginary society that could be compared with the otherness of *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites* was *The Southern Land, Known* (1676) by Gabriel de Foigny (1630-1692). Unlike Artus, whose life is almost unknown to us,

[698] K. Crawford, 'Love, Sodomy, and Scandal: Controlling the Sexual Reputation of Henry III', *Journal of History of Sexuality*, 12/4 (2003), pp. 513-42.
[699] K. D. Read, *Birthing Bodies in Early Modern France: Stories of Gender and Reproduction* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 123-8.
[700] Artus, *L'Isle des hermaphrodites*, pp. 31-2.
[701] I. de Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters, 1581-1655* (Geneva, 1996), p. 131.

Foigny's is well documented. Initially a Franciscan monk, he was expelled from his order in 1666 due to his sinful way of life and heretical ideas, only to become a Protestant and to relocate to Geneva in search of refuge. However, Calvinism and Geneva were not destined to be the last stages of his life, and soon he came into conflict with the authorities and the churchmen of his new home and was forced again to abandon it due to the strict moral environment and to return to the Catholic church. [702]

The comical and, in many cases, blasphemous character of Foigny's work has led many scholars of utopia to ignore it. Yet, in *The Southern Land, Known* Foigny channels an important intellectual tradition about the Antipodes and the *Terra Incognita Australis,* which presumed that due to their extreme climate only monstrous races could be found there. In Foigny's case, the inhabitants of Australia are not just hermaphrodites, but are creatures eight feet tall, strong and handsome with bug eyes, reddish complexions and appear generally closer to animal than human.[703] Foigny's emphasis on their appearance betrays the crucial part that homogenisation had on his utopia. Sadeur, his hero and narrator, is a tall Portuguese hermaphrodite who reaches the land after his ship is wrecked. The Australian coastguards think, due to his strange appearance, that he is one of them and rejoice in his rescue. Sadeur, a pariah in his native land, is delighted to have found a society where he fits and his narration makes apparent that not only do the Australians look the same, but they also have the same abilities due to their rigorous homogenised education.

Rationality and homogeneity seem to be the dominant principles of this ideal society, something that is also reflected in the geography of its land. Foigny, in his description, uses the limited information available at his time about Australia's interior

[702] C. Betts, *Early Deism in France* (Hague, 1984), p. 59.
[703] G. de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known* (New York, 1993), p. 47.

and describes a land that has on its southern frontier a mountain range from which long steep slopes descend towards the northern coast of the land. Thus, Foigny creates a land where every part has the same climate and constantly faces the sun, establishing a direct link between the geography and the dominant values of his ideal society. [704] The everyday existence of Australians in this environment, according to Sadeur, is characterised by repetition and useful activities. Their days are divided between the worship of Haab, their deity whose name is translated as incomprehensible, training and taking care of their gardens where they grow balf, their sole source of sustenance and a type of fruit.[705] This monotonous routine is alleviated through communal games and demonstrations of alchemical experiments. As in many utopias, the population has to remain stable, and in Australia's case their population is 144 million and they maintain this number through the exercise of euthanasia. Through the description of these principles, it is not difficult to understand why Foigny parodies the utopian obsession of his time with the logical organisation of society which was believed to be the solution for all the social and political ills of the period. His knowledge of basic utopian tenets that were found in many examples of the genre, like the problem of a stable population or of the utopian citizen's individuality, also reveals his knowledge of the period's utopian literature.

The parody of the utopian obsession with rationality gives Foigny the opportunity to unveil the perils of a society obsessed with perfection like Australia.[706] For example, when Foigny examines the flora and fauna of the land, it quickly becomes apparent how their efforts to create a rationalised environment have led to ecocide and a disastrous unbalancing of the natural order, with animals that were considered useless

[704] Fausset, *Writing the New World*, p. 134.
[705] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 64.
[706] R. Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: Geographies of Adventure* (London, 1997), p. 123.

or polluting hunted to extinction and only useful animals allowed to remain in this rational, sterilised environment. Hence, there are no insects or venomous animals on their lands, something that has greatly contributed to their fruit's robustness.

Sadeur's critique of the Australians and their ideal society is intensified when he examines their intolerance. We learn that the wise Australians are constantly at war with their neighbours the Fundians. Our hero Sadeur takes part in a few battles and in a war against a colony that the Fundians have established on an island a few miles off the coast. Sadeur comments how the half-man Fundians fought valiantly against the Australians, but their opponents' valour and instinctive rationality was too much for them. The Australians massacre the whole population of the colony, in an allusion to the indigenous tribes that many times defeated and destroyed European colonies on their land.[707] In the end Sadeur becomes disillusioned about his adopted society during the wars, an echo of Foigny's real-life experience in Geneva, and escapes hoping to reach Europe upon a flying beast. But before he is able to return to Europe, he is forced to stay for a couple of months in Madagascar to a society that looks like the polar opposite of Australia.[708] The island as Sadeur discovers is inhabited by violent, primitive and idle natives who refuse to cultivate the land. Nevertheless, he manages to find passage to a ship for Europe but in a final satirical take on the utopian genre's conventions, he has an accident while disembarking from the ship and dies a few day later in Livorno.[709]

[707] N. Keene, 'Hermaphrodites in the New World: Gabriel de Foigny and Terra Incognita Australis' in L. Bailey, L. Diggelmann and K. Phillips (eds), *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c. 1000 - c. 1750* (Turnhut, 2009), p. 171; Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, pp. 110-123; Fausset, *Writing the New World*, p. 136.
[708] Ibid., p. 126-129.
[709] Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, p. 139.

Even if in the metaphorical and satirical heterotopian world of Foigny no one expected Sadeur to become the messenger of a new social and political paradigm, his untimely death embodies the pessimistic futility of the seventeenth century's anti-utopian antipodean narratives, a pessimism that stemmed from a deep crisis of belief on the utopian trope and a questioning of humanity's capacity to improve itself and overcome its inherent vice. Still, it is worth noting that the desire of to describe a plausible world was present even in works that followed the satirical and metaphorical utopian tradition associated with the Antipodes like *Southern Land, Unknown*. The preface that was systematically employed by utopian writers to give credibility to their texts and ideas was also used by Foigny and was surprisingly free of any satirical or comical elements. In it we learn that the unlucky Sadeur died in the care of the author, but not before he was able to leave him a manuscript that he wrote during his stay in Australia and Madagascar. The two loci of utopian desire in the South East, which in Foigny's case were transformed into metaphors of a sterile perfection and of a morally corrupting climate of plenty, are described not through a memoir that could transform the empirical observation of these societies into a mediated moralised narrative, but in a first-hand account.[710] Hence, we are presented with the ultimate empiricist document, like the questionnaires that the Spanish Crown in the sixteenth century and the Royal Society in the seventeenth required explorers and visitors to foreign lands to collect and bring back with them. To enhance its credibility, Foigny also used references to real travels of exploration in his work, like Quiros' expedition that had led to the discovery of Espiritu Santo, even if his route description was probably based on French sources.[711]

[710] J. Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 2-4.
[711] Arthur, *Virtual Voyages*, p. 39.

Foigny, Hall, Brome and Artus described a society unworthy of imitation, not due to the primitivism or the barbarous habits of the Others but due to its affinity with their contemporary European society and its obsessions. In this idea, we can trace the value of the Antipodean heterotopia: it constructs in an alternative paradigm based on an imaginary land of inversion but focused on its inhabitants' otherness illuminating not the differences but the similarities that these alternative societies shared with the writers' contemporary ones and their shortcomings. Hence, the early modern utopianism used the Antipodean paradigm in a unique way by emphasising the act of displacement of the utopian hero and his nostalgia to return to his homeland. It underlined the fact that the Antipodes was a space constantly linked with Europe, existing in a constant oppositional and dialectical relationship with it, not as a reversed caricature of Europe and its societies as it was initially understood but as an exaggerated one. It was a mirror that enlarged a society's errors and forced it to acknowledge them.

Colonial Heterotopia and Austral Utopia: commercial expansion and cast-away paradises.

Utopianism's shift of focus from the Americas to the little-explored Indian and Pacific Oceans in the early seventeenth century exemplifies the parallel routes between utopian writings and European commercial and colonial expansion. At the moment when the Americas seemed to have exhausted their utopian potential or the opportunities for easy gains and plunder, the focus shifted initially to the western Indian Ocean and then to the *Terra Australis Incognita*. The new places that were chosen to serve as the focus of this new endeavour were promoted as quasi-paradisiacal utopian lands in a similar way as the Americas had been promoted a century earlier. In particular, Madagascar, 'the

most famous island in the world', became the focus of English colonial promotional literature in the middle of the seventeenth century, a promised fertile land with vast resources, exotic flora and – most importantly – inhabited by idle, peaceful and easy to conquer natives.[712]

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the coasts of *Terra Australis* started to appear on maps and globes.[713] For example, the French cartographer Oronce Fine (1494-1555) included the hypothetical *Terra Australis* in his 1531 *Nova Universi Orbis Descriptio* (figure 60).[714] However, the incomplete knowledge of the area and the sporadic information that the cartographers received due to the secrecy that colonial powers like the Spanish, the Portuguese and the later the Dutch had instigated, meant that the shape of the coasts of the supposed continent was contested.[715] Some maps had *Terra Australis* as a separate continent, while others presented it as the south-eastern part of an enlarged Africa. A major step towards a more accurate depiction of the continent was taken by cartographers like Johannes Schoner (1477-1547), Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) and others belonging to the Dieppe school of cartography (16th c.), who started to include either an independent Antarctic continent or the outline of its northern coasts. This was the result of their access to information gathered by Portuguese and possibly French travels in the area.[716] Yet the inaccuracies and vagueness about the state of these lands meant that educated guesses kept being based

[712] E. Smith,''Canaanising Madagascar': Africa in English imperial imagination, 1635–1650', *Itinerario*, 39/2 (2015), pp. 279-288; K. P. MacDonald, 'The Dream of Madagascar: English Disasters and Pirate Utopias of the Early Modern Indo-Atlantic World', in C. Houston (ed), *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham, 2010), p. 97.
[713] Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, pp. 158-169.
[714] Fine, Oronce, Noua, Et Integra Uniuersi Orbis Descriptio Paris, 1531, Map. Library of Congress, Washington https://www.loc.gov/item/2005630228 (12 Jan. 2018)
[715] M. Sankey, 'Mapping Terra Australis in the French seventeenth century: The Memoires of the Abbe Jean Paulmier' in A. M. Scott, A. Hiatt and C. McIlroy (eds), *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* (London, 2016), p. 112.
[716] Hiatt, 'Terra Australis and the Idea of the Antipodes', pp. 30-4.

on classical and medieval legends, something that continued to influence the utopian writers and travellers to these areas until the seventeenth century, when the Dutch surveyed the northern coastline of Australia more systematically.

Still, the way that the Old World was reflected in the New World and especially in *Terra Australis* did not remain unnoticed by the period's intellectual elites. In particular, some colonial commentators started to criticise the dominant perception that embedded them with unrealistic paradisiacal elements. The first work to do this even indirectly was Jose de Acosta*'s Historia Natural y Moral*, which was published in 1590 after his return to Spain from South America. The Jesuit had taught theology in Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru.[717] He was also interested in the study of the flora and fauna, as well as the ethnography of the New World, devoting time to the problem that the *Terra Australis Incognita* posited for the cosmographers of the period. Based on his contemporary geographical knowledge and his observations of South and Central American nature, Acosta claimed that there was an undiscovered land in the south, although he distanced himself from the classical and medieval idea that it was peopled by monstrous races or from Lactantius's suggestion that it should be uninhabited because they would have been upside-down, pointing out again that Peru itself was the antipodes of Asia but those living there were not hanging in the air as Lactantius and Augustine assumed.[718]

Acosta, who had been called the Herodotus and Pliny of the Americas,[719] tried to downplay the paradisiacal or utopian view that the Europeans had about these newly contacted far-away lands, choosing instead to emphasise (like many cosmographers

[717] K. Butzer, 'From Columbus to Acosta: Science, Geography, and the New World', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 82/3 (1992), pp. 557-65.
[718] J. de Acosta, *The natural and moral history of the Indies, The natural history* (3 vols, Farnham, 2010), i, pp. 19-23.
[719] A. Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 151.

before him) the common features of both the new and the old worlds.[720] By denying these artificial dichotomies, Acosta unwittingly laid the foundation for an early modern world that was not composed of interconnected yet separate spaces, but which was conceived as a homogenised global space. His multiple roles and identities, as a man who had links to the old world of the Spanish mainland and as a member of the newly formed colonial elite which strived to differentiate itself from the influence of the metropolis, led Acosta to see spaces like the Antipodes not as reversed idols and mirrors of Europe or as possible model for imitation, but as an open space of possibilities away from the fast forming binaries.

Utopianism during the early modern period was obliged to walk a narrow path between a memory of a mythical past, an allegory and a quest for a better world. The utopias and social critiques that were written during the seventeenth century and which used the Pacific and the *Terra Australis Incognita* as their geographical locations, are unique for their innovative way of incorporating real events and the growing geographical knowledge in their narratives, reflecting an emerging perception of the world as a global domain where the interlinked porous worlds of utopia and satire had no place. More's ambivalence or Campanella's unyielding idealism seemed incompatible with the austral utopias that demanded rationality, objective accounts and profitable lands. The explored terrain whose maps were free of blank areas or dragons was a world where the insular utopia had neither space nor place. Utopia's insularity was abolished, travel to it stopped being a quest, and became an accident, then a trade route and in the end a colonial conquest. The island of Utopia itself stopped being an alternative paradigm and was relegated to a distorted mirror image. The decision to

[720] J. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World* (Stanford, 2001), pp. 70-5.

examine the Austral utopias separately results from their place in the ongoing commercial, colonial and political rivalries between the European powers. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, attention shifted from the Americas to the Pacific South East, with the English and the Dutch clashing over who would succeed in replacing Portuguese trade dominance in Asia or displace the Spanish who showed increasing interest in the Far East and Japan.[721]

The focus of the Portuguese and Dutch on trade and the existence of strong and populous kingdoms in the area meant that both empires were more interested in the creation of trade stations and the establishment of trade monopolies than the financially risky strategy of conquering the lands. The absence of easily conquerable 'empty lands' was probably the reason for the secondary role that Asia had as a background for the early modern utopias. English and French efforts to establish a presence in these areas initially followed the same strategy of founding trade stations. Instrumental for the English case was, of course, the East India Company; but from the 1640s, this changed with the involvement of English figures like Robert Hunt, a former governor associated with the establishment of successful colonies in the West Indies, who proposed a similar strategy of colonial conquest to the one the English had already applied there.[722] The new attitude was exemplified by charters to trade in Goa, Japan, Malabar and China and any other area where the EIC had no presence, granted by Charles I to a rival trading consortium led by Sir William Courten (1572-1636), a successful merchant with a presence in Atlantic trade. Batavia, the successful Dutch conquest and plantation on the island of Java, was promoted as a model for the British to follow in the colonisation of

[721] D. Irwin, 'Mercantilism as Strategic Trade Policy: The Anglo-Dutch Rivalry for the East India Trade', *Journal of Political Economy*, 99/6 (1991), pp. 1299–1304.
[722] A. Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2008), p. 181.

Madagascar. The flourishing of Batavia in the short time from its conquest in 1618 into a metropolitan city able to serve as the base of the Dutch trade activities in the area convinced the English of the need to have a similar base on the area.

Perhaps the most quixotic plan for the island was that of Prince Rupert (1619-1682) and Thomas Howard (1586-1646), Earl of Arundel, who dreamed of the establishment of a kingdom populated by the English. According to this plan, Prince Rupert was supposed to invade the island with a large force that would amaze the natives, who as 'natural slaves would prefer to surrender than resist the invaders. Despite the logistical problems of organising a large enough fleet and army, the prospect of an extra source of income for the Crown, the courtiers and merchants who were ready to invest in it, and the prestige of the king's nephew meant that the plan, while considered a folly by many, received considerable attention and support from King Charles.[723] The hopes for this scheme are summarised in William Davenant's collection of poems titled *Madagascar*, where the first poem addresses the pauper Prince of Bohemia, predicting the success of his plans and describing the unheard-of riches that the English would find on the island: precious stones, gold and pearls.[724] The practical problems and real dangers associated with the plan led to its abandonment, but two years later, Arundel unsuccessfully tried to revive it. Seeing his political fortunes waning, he chose to heavily promote the establishment of a colony in Madagascar, claiming that he would lead the expedition himself. Arundel tried to win the support of both the King and the gentry; a product of this promotional campaign is the portrait commissioned from Antony Van Dyke of Arundel and his wife standing behind a globe with the Earl pointing at Madagascar. The inaccurate shape and

[723] Ibid., pp. 183-190.
[724] K. P. McDonald, *Pirates, Merchants, Settlers, and Slaves* (Ontario, 2015), p. 74.

geographical position of Madagascar serve as indicators of the power that this semi-fictional heterotopia had assumed in the minds of the colonial promoters. The painting, known as the *Madagascar Portrait* (figure 61),[725] has been characterised as 'the most utopian of all things Anglo-Madagascan', encapsulating all the utopian and colonial endeavours of the period.[726]

After the failure of Prince Rupert's and Howard's plans, the colonial promoters limited themselves to more practical schemes. However, Richard Boothby in 1646 tried to revive the dream of Madagascar's colonisation in a scheme that is worth mentioning, not so much for its proposed plan of action or its vision of an ideal community, but for its belief that Madagascar could serve as the salvation for all the problems of the kingdom. Boothby thought that the financial difficulties of the King could be solved if Rupert's plan was realised, and that even the civil strife caused by the bishops' disenchantment could be avoided by sending them to preach in Madagascar. Furthermore, he claimed that the conquered island could be a base for the King to conquer India.[727]

These views of the island as an earthly paradise, a profitable plantation, a personal refuge or even as the solution for the political and social crisis that led to the Civil War, boosted the island's position in the utopian literature of the period. Two mid-seventeenth-century utopias were connected with the wider geographical area of Madagascar, *The Isle of Pines* (1668) and the *Paradox: Proving the Inhabitants of Madagascar the Happiest People in the World* (1643). In the first, Neville described an

[725] Antony Van Dyck, *The Madagascar Portrait of Thomas Howard and His Wife Aletheia Talbot*, (1635-40), Oil on canvas, 135 cm × 206,8 cm (Kunsthistorisches Museum).
[726] E. B. Gilman, 'Madagascar on my Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of colonisation', in P. Erickson and C. Hulse (eds), *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 284, 297-312.
[727] R. Boothby, *A brief discovery or description of the most famous island of Madagascar: or St. Laurence in Asia neare unto East-India* (London, 1646), pp. 3, 24.

island near Madagascar, while the second, written by Walter Hammond who had served as a surgeon in East Indian Company's ships, was concerned with the island itself, its utopian character and its colonial potential. The EIC had long associations with the island, using it as a stop for repairs on their way to and from India and they enjoyed a trade monopoly on the island.[728] Both texts were written almost four decades after the first English plans to colonise the island were laid out in 1636 and 1639, and after the complete failures of the short-lived English colonies in the south west part of the island and the neighbouring island of Nosy Be. The realities that the settlers had to deal with, such as the surprisingly warlike Malagasy and the hostile exotic environment and diseases, are all absent from the promotional and utopian literature about the island.[729] It is interesting that in this literature we find almost nothing about the indigenous people's social organisation, culture or even the recent history of their attacks on European ships that had stopped to anchor in the island's safe havens. Indeed, they systematically avoid giving the island's people any form of history that could disrupt the view of Madagascar as a void and wasted space ideal for colonisation.

Foucault, in the description of the various kinds and features of heterotopia in his essay 'Of Other Spaces', theorised whether a colony functions as some kind of compensatory heterotopia. He used, for example; the Jesuit reductions and the Puritan settlements in North America which he characterised 'as absolutely perfect places' and 'as absolutely regulated colonies' where human perfection was achieved. These two types of communities and their utopian characteristics have been examined in a previous chapter of this thesis, thus I do not wish to return to them in this chapter.

[728] M. Lincoln, *British Pirates and Society, 1680-1730* (London, 2014), pp. 156-7.
[729] Games, *The Web of Empire*, pp. 208-213.

However, Foucault's view of the colony as a compensatory heterotopia is intriguing when it is juxtaposed to cases like that of Madagascar.

Howard saw in the colonisation of Madagascar a solution for his failing political career and financial problems. In 1615 Thomas Howard despite, being a member of the most prominent recusant noble family of the kingdom, had joined the Church of England in order to become a member of the Privy Council and to further his career as courtier and diplomat. Nevertheless, in 1639 when his interest for the colonisation of Madagascar was revived and his 'Madagascar portrait' was created, his political career reached a dead end. Howard returned bankrupt from a disastrous military campaign against the Covenanters in the First Bishop's War (1639). At this point Madagascar was transformed into a compensatory heterotopia for the disappointed Earl of Arundel. He and his fellow recusants could not just find a safe haven in this far-away island but to rebuild their power and reputation away from England. In other words, he could create a new England for himself away from the old one. In this plan, he could draw from the precedent of another Catholic privy councillor, George Calvert (1580-1632). Calvert may not have had Arundel's illustrious lineage, his family were members of the gentry, but he led a successful political career reaching the position of secretary of state under James I. However, when his political career met it end in 1625, Calvert like Howard returned to Catholicism. Calvert was loyal to the King, something that was recognised by James with the bestowing of the title of baron of Baltimore to him after his resignation, but he also knew quite well the difficulties and persecutions that the English Catholics faced due to their unwillingness to conform to the Church of England. As a result, he sought to create a refuge for them in North America by founding a colony named Avalon in Newfoundland. The settlement was established in 1621 but Calvert, who had been recognised by a royal decree as its proprietor governor, migrated there in

1627. Avalon's story is no different from that of other early English settlements in North America who had difficulties surviving due to the harsh climate and poor soil. The harsh conditions in Avalon forced Calvert to search for better, more suitable lands to relocate his colony, something that was posthumously achieved by his son who founded a new settlement, the Maryland colony, in 1632.[730]

Howard never managed to go as far as establishing or even personally visiting Madagascar like Calvert did but in theory the island would have functioned as a similar refugee for the Catholic minority. However, there was a crucial difference between Calvert's and Howard's visions, in Howard's imagination Madagascar embodied the dream for a perfect England. On how Arundel intended to realise his plan to establish a colony in a land that had been proven to be hostile to European incursions Van Dyck's portrait offers us some clues. The painter depicts, in the upper right corner of the painting next to Arundel and his wife, two of the most famous parts of the Earl's antiquities collection; a bronze head of a Hellenistic king and a marble one of Homer. The parallels are easy to draw; Arundel wished to see himself as conqueror and absolute king of Madagascar. The inclusion of an epic poet, that exalted heroic battles under the walls of Troy, seems to confirm the image of conqueror but we must not forget that, for Plato, Homer was the 'the first teacher of Greeks'.[731] Thus, the colonising foreign conqueror adopts another role, that of educator and civiliser of the uncouth and idle indigenous population. It is not difficult to see the similarity of this dual role with the way More describes Utopus. The fertile land and its position along the sea trade routes connecting Europe and Asia could ensure Madagascar's prosperity only under the guidance of a benevolent civilising prince such as Utopus. Howard saw himself as such.

[730] J. D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 81, 91-102.
[731] L. Goldman, 'Homer, Literacy, and Education', *Education Theory*, 39/4 (1989), p. 391.

Hence, the imagery of the portrait with its Classical echoes recalls the civilizing influence of the Romans to the British Isles and the idea of *translatio imperii*, the transfer of imperial power and civilisation from East to West beginning with the Persians, moving to Greeks, then to Romans and finally to Franks. The idea was quite popular during the medieval period and the scheme of *translatio* varied from author to author. However, Peter Martyr in his *De Orbe novo* described Columbus as the hero who, by discovering Americas, gave to the Spanish monarchy the chance to forge its empire and become the latest home of the imperial power.[732] Howard may have seen himself in a similar light, as the hero who will forge a colonial empire for the English crown, making it an imperial power. Yet, from the time of the Romans the 'civilizing' function of colonies had long been established by their practice of creating Roman settlements for army veterans in conquered areas that could help ensure the stability of the new rule and would spread Roman culture among a hostile foreign population.[733] Nevertheless, it remains interesting that plans like Calvert's and Arundel's did not find many imitators among the English Catholics. A repressed group such as this one, similar to the various puritan groups, could have tried to find a safe haven in the Americas, creating colonies with the compensatory function that Foucault ascribed to heterotopia. Instead, as Calvert quickly realised, the Catholics despite the restrictions they faced by a state that considered them to be potential traitors, were reluctant to leave their fatherland, This reluctance of the potential settlers to leave their homeland was a quite common obstacle in many colonial schemes.[734]

[732] E. Bartosik-Vélez, '*TRANSLATIO IMPERII*: Virgil and Peter Martyr's Columbus', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 46/4 (2009), pp. 560-3.
[733] N. Roymans, 'Ethnic recruitment, returning veterans and the diffusion of Roman culture among rural populations in the Rhineland frontier zone', in N. Roymans and T. Derks (eds), *Villa Landscapes in the Roman North: Economy, Culture and Lifestyles* (Amsterdam, 2011), pp. 139-160.
[734] *Intestine Enemies Catholics in Protestant America, 1605-1791: A Documentary History*, ed. R. E. Curran (Washington, 2017), pp. 2-8.

The colonial heterotopia, as the case of Madagascar proves, could accommodate parallel and juxtaposing narratives, simultaneously utopian and dystopian. Foucault described colonies as compensatory heterotopias, but he also identified other kinds of heterotopia like that of deviance where the societal norms and rules are violated. Such heterotopian space was the presumably short-lived and much fictionalised pirate republic of Libertatia that Charles Johnson, a nom de plume for Daniel Defoe or the publisher Nathaniel Mist, in his *History and lives of all the most notorious pirates, and their crews* (1728) claimed was created on the north side of the island by a French pirate called James Misson. This imaginary commonwealth, according to the author's description, had its own political and economic organisation, language and flag, and was based on utopian egalitarian characteristics. In particular, Libertatia's utopian founder was a man who had lost his faith in Catholicism due to the corruption of the clergy, and was encouraged by a Dominican priest named Caraccioli to reject all the values of the Old World.[735] Misson, seeking a fresh start away from a corrupt Europe, tried to establish a new utopian commonwealth with equality among its citizens, a democratic political system where every member of the commonwealth had a vote, and, in a radical departure from the period's utopianism and colonialism, rejected slavery on moral grounds. He forbade it in his pirate commonwealth and chose instead to have his ships crewed by both white and black sailors.[736] Among the most striking characteristics given to Misson was an anti-capitalist attitude that made him look more like a social robber. Misson, as was expected of a pirate, was attacking both European and local trading vessels for plunder, but he also set about slaver ships to free the slaves and add them to his commonwealth population. Yet, thanks to its pirate activities and the anti-

[735] C. Johnson, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* (London, 1927), p. 341.
[736] Ibid., p. 405

authoritarian character it exhibited towards the EIC and the other European powers in the area, it constituted the very definition of a dystopia or in Foucault's classification of a heterotopia of deviance. This egalitarian democracy by rejecting the values of the Old World was violating all its rules and taboos especially in relation with the colonial schemes of the period. A republic of armed slaves who rejected racial hierarchies and resisted the imperial and trade policies of the European states for the island of Madagascar could only be described as a hellish place where immorality, lawlessness, anarchy and violence reigned, the very opposite of the Arundel's dream for civilised state in imitation of the European kingdoms of the period.

Hence, it is no surprise that the story of this heterotopian fantasy ends with the restoration of the dominant order and values, when the pirates chose to exchange their life of violence for that of the farmer. The role of the tiller of the ground, who strove to improve the land and to correct the damage of original sin, was the final destiny for the citizens of this atheist, immoral, democratic tolerant society. A role that all the pioneers who colonised the wilderness identified with. Hence, the utopian founder of Libertatia, unlike Utopus, failed to create a new and lasting alternative paradigm succumbing to the transformation of his commonwealth into a state in the vein of contemporary ones.[737]

This fictional figure often followed in Utopus's steps as the exemplary utopian founder/legislator, such as in the inclusion of many different people into the new state and his effort to shape a new identity for them without any concern about them being of English, French, Malagasy, Spanish, Dutch or Portuguese origin. When they were accepted into this society, they were transformed into Liberi. Characteristic of this was

[737] C. Rees, *Utopian Imagination and Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (London, 1996), pp. 102-5.

the fact that their new language combined elements from all the languages of the region and of the pirates' homelands. The heterotopia of Madagascar was able to tolerate the fictional Libertatia, with its paradigm deviating from both the ordered, happy and protected life of utopia and from the terrors and profits of the colonies, for only twenty-five years before it reverted to standardised paradigms. This failure can be attributed to its lack of fixed space; a commonwealth created on ships and anchored on the coasts of Madagascar was easily pushed aside and invaded by the reality of a plantation and factory colony. Hence, the fictional anarchic pirate commonwealth was substituted by the very real invasion of European settlers and cash-crop cultivation, becoming a suitable *terra nullius* before its full integration into the global trading networks through its formal colonisation at the end of the nineteenth century by the French. The late seventeenth-century 'pirate republics' probably never achieved the sophistication and organisation that Johnson described, being inspired by the short-lived refuges for the pirates and privateers established on uninhabited islands near Madagascar, where they could hide from the pursuing Royal Navy.[738]

As the example of Madagascar with its complicated heritage demonstrates, these south-eastern lands that traditionally were viewed by European as full of miracles, could inspire not only the desire for colonial and commercial expansion, but also for utopian dreaming. Nevertheless, utopia needed an empty space, which it was difficult to find or create on the Asian mainland. The solution was given by the *Terra Incognita Australis,* a continent that should not be confused with the hypothetical Antipodes and whose existence various European expeditions had started to confirm from the early seventeenth century. Thus, it must be noted that the Australian utopias, unlike the

[738] J. E. Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 47-54.

Antipodal, represent a different strand of utopianism based on the European aspirations for the area and its geopolitical facts. Unlike the Antipodean satirical utopia, the *Terra Australis Incognita* was viewed as a land with the potential to support an ideal society.

Unlike the works that I examined earlier in this chapter, *The Kingdom of Antagil* (1616) is not only an earlier classical geographical utopia with a clear association with the *Terra Australis* but also the one closest to More's utopian vision.[739] Yet, being written a century after its model meant that many of the ideas expressed in it had lost their boldness and edginess. The anonymous author, following More's model, describes Antagil's society as having abolished private property and as basing their social organisation on the patriarchal family. However, being a product of its age and place, *Antagil* tried to tackle the numerous problems and inner antithesis that the French kingdom after 1610 had to deal with and offer viable solutions. Thus, the unknown author, probably an exiled French Huguenot, imagined a peaceful kingdom unlike his homeland which was slowly recuperating from the religious wars of the previous decades. With the Americas having lost some of their prestige as a utopian canvas, he placed his utopia south of Java with its north coast starting at six degrees north of the Tropic of Capricorn and its southern coast at fifty degrees, imagining a continent with a length of one thousand miles.[740] Hence, in defiance of the period's "insulomania", he imagined his ideal community not as occupying a well-protected island, but, like the real French kingdom, sharing a continent.

Antagil, like a contemporary state, was obliged to protect its southern frontier, which was under threat from barbarous hordes. The barren country of these barbarians

[739] N. Minerva, 'So Close, So Far: The Puzzle of Antangil', in J.C. Davis and M. R. Aviles (eds), *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts* (London, 2012), p. 21.
[740] Anon, *Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d'Antagil* (Saumur, 1616), pp. 3-4, 11.

was separated from Antagil by a mountain range called the Salice, yet the author gave much more attention to the description of the northern coast of the kingdom called Pachinquir, a sixty-mile-wide gulf and estuary into which four rivers flowed. In the middle of this gulf there was an island and, in its middle, an active volcano that served as a lighthouse.[741] All the information we are given about this country is second-hand since the hero/narrator, unlike previous ones, does not visit his ideal society. Still, following the utopian tradition, he was presented as realistically as possible, so the reader learns that he sailed on one of Admiral Jacques Corneill Necq's ships that left Texel in 1598. The author's choice to put his hero on this expedition also seems to be a nod to the Edict of Nantes, which had brought religious peace to France in the same year. Hence, he was member of a real expedition, something that reminds us of Hythloday's participation in Vespucci's voyages. According to our narrative, Corneill's fleet was hit by a storm when it was passing the Cape of Good Hope and some of its ships were forced to find refuge on Mauritius while the admiral with three other ships arrived on the port of Banten in Java. It was there that our narrator met an Italian named Renuchio, who brought him into contact with an emissary from Antagil.[742]

The author seems to have incorporated into the imaginary geography of Antagil any available evidence that he could find about the geography of *Terra Australis*, making use of sources such as Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, who discovered various islands in today's New Hebrides' archipelago and unsuccessfully tried to colonise the island of Espiritu Santo, or the account of Willem Janszoon's 1605 voyage to Australia, which led to the discovery and charting of the gulf of Carpentaria, along with more than two hundred miles of coastline. Janszoon probably served as the inspiration for *Antagil*,

[741] Ibid., pp. 2-3, 6.
[742] Ibid., pp. v-ix.

especially if we consider both that Banten was also Janszoon's point of departure and the place where our narrator met the foreign emissary, and the similarities between the Gulfs of Panchiquir and Carpentaria.[743] Still, the realistic elements that were drawn from these expeditions and were used on the imaginary geography of the land were limited. This land that Janszoon had prematurely named New Zealand and described as inhospitable, lacking natural harbours and peopled by dangerous black barbarians, the author of Antangil chose to describe in a typical utopian fashion as a land with numerous rivers and a fertile soil suitable for farming, rich in minerals and other sources that could sustain a prosperous society.[744]

Having solved the issue of scarcity, the author gave special consideration to the political system of the island, opting for a system of elected monarchy where the power was not in the hands of the king, who was merely a symbolic figure, but in the hands both of an elected council where nobles, burghers and peasants were equally represented, and a senate. The effort of imagining and proposing a system so radically different from the powerful French monarchy is obvious, as are the author's aristocratic tendencies when he discusses the educational system of the kingdom where nobles and commoners are segregated, with the nobles receiving better education. Interestingly, segregation seems to be the main feature of the education system of Antangil, where the formative years of study extend to the age of eighteen and the students have to stay in self-contained communities that provide everything they need.[745]

These peculiar suggestions are not separated from contemporary debates about education in France, especially the quality of the education that academies and colleges

[743] Fausset, *Writing the New World*, p. 64.
[744] Anon, *Histoire du grand et admirable Royaume d'Antagil*, pp. 5-8.
[745] Ibid., pp. 119- 130.

offered the young nobles, with their strong focus both on academic subjects and the cultivation of practical skills like horse-riding, dancing and fencing that were interlinked with their class identity. These were thought to produce students who were intellectually inferior to the university educated ones. Instead, the author proposed a strict and rigorous curriculum with innovative ideas such as abolishing the teaching of Latin, which seemed to the author without value, and a move that underlines the emergence of the national languages during the seventeenth century.[746]

The use of the information from Janszoon and Queiros by the anonymous author of Antangil shows how knowledge of the area forced the Austal utopias to follow the real-world exploration of the area and to occupy lands that were closer to the *Terra Australis.* Thus, it is not surprising that maybe the most popular seventeenth century utopia associated with the *Terra Australis* was *The Isle of Pines* (1668), even if its author situated it on an island near Madagascar and not Australia itself. In a previous chapter, I examined the basic premises of this utopia and some of its unique characteristics, but now it is necessary to revisit it from a different angle and to try to see how it fitted in both the travel literature of the period and the European colonial and commercial expansion in this area.

Firstly, all the scholars who have studied *The Isle of Pines* have attributed its popularity to the audience's thirst for news from this area, which made it a typical narrative about an exotic land in 1668 popular in England and Europe, with translations appearing in the same year of its publication in Dutch, French, Italian and German.[747] This success led Neville to present an extended version of it less than a month after its initial publication. The initial version was only nine pages long, and was closer to a

[746] N. Minerva, 'So Close, So Far: The Puzzle of Antangil', p. 24.
[747] J. Scheckter*, The Isle of Pines, 1668: Henry Neville's Uncertain Utopia* (London, 2011), pp. 45-8.

simple travel narrative leaving many elements of the story vague and unanswered.[748] Neville's new version was set to correct these problems and to flesh out the narrative with more information about the ideal English-speaking society that the Dutchman found, the geographical position of the island, its nature and the route of the ship that discovered it. The previously unnamed narrator was substituted by Captain Cornelius Van Sloetten, whose information about the island is extended and more systematic and empirically grounded. Sloetten and his crew spent days with the Pines, helping the island's king against a rebellion, observing at first hand this indigenised society's customs and undertaking a hunting expedition in its interior. Here they observed the flora and fauna of the island and surveyed its rocky coasts, calculating its size at roughly two hundred by a hundred miles.[749]

Neville gave equal attention to the origins and prehistory of his society by naming its founders and describing in greater detail the initial stages of its development and the actions of the founder/patriarch George Pine who established the pillars of his descendant's society: their name, their effort to maintain the ancestral language and religion, and their division into tribes based on matrilineality. The ambivalence of the writer about the ability of this society to survive after its contact with the Dutchmen or to maintain its social harmony are slowly revealed in the narrative where the regression of this European-in-origin society in this exotic environment becomes apparent. What really made the *Isle of Pines* stand out was Neville's effort to create a convincing tale, by adding, for example, two letters supposedly written by a Dutch merchant named Abrahaam Keek that confirmed that the Isle of Pines was seen by other ships as well

[748] Fausset, *Writing the New World*, p. 84.
[749] A. Boesky, 'Nation, Miscegenation: Membering Utopia in Henry Neville's The Isle of Pines,' *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 37, no. 2 (1995), pp. 165–170; Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines* (London, 1668), pp. 21-6.

Neville's effort to create a realistic narrative conforms to a similar effort by earlier writers of utopian works. The focus was on presenting the utopian travel as a real account of exploration and this trend characterised early modern literary utopia from More's work, but from the middle of seventeenth century utopian fiction was increasingly influenced by a more rigorous empiricist tradition that valued factual documentation. This was not unprecedented, as the Spanish imperial administration used to send questionnaires to the colonial authorities from the early phases of the conquest in the sixteenth century, and from the middle of the seventeenth century the Royal Society started to issue instructions to sailors and explorers to collect information and data about far-away lands.[750] To the influence of the travel narratives was added the then-popular autobiographical accounts and the emergence of the novel as a literary genre focused on an empiricist mimesis.

This striving for realism in the period's utopias was also connected with the colonial and commercial aspiration of the European powers. It is no coincidence that the popularity of Neville's work was bound up with the initial belief that it was a real account about a newly discovered island near Madagascar, though the second extended version enjoyed similar success. Both were linked to English hopes of expansion in the area and the need for accurate information about it due to VOC's policy of secrecy. The geopolitical reality of the southeast increasingly informed the utopias set in this area, and authors like Neville were consciously incorporating real events and themes into their works. For example, he described a castaway society that was the result of shipwreck and presented its rediscovery as the result of a storm that damaged the Dutch ship during its passage from Madagascar. This, combined with the character of the

[750] D. Carey, 'Inquires. 'Heads and Directions': Orienting Early Modern Travel', in J. A. Haden (ed), *Travel Narratives, The New Science and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750* (London, 2012), pp. 25-51.

society that sprang from one man and four women, makes it easy to see how it was inspired by the *Batavia* shipwreck in 1629 in the Houtman Abrolhos Archipelago a few miles off the west coast of Australia. This event was crucial for the utopian perception of the *Terra Australis*, forging a very different dystopian image of the new land.

The *Batavia* was a VOC ship under the command of Francisco Palsaert (1595-1630) with 341 crewmembers and passengers on its maiden voyage to the Dutch East Indies. Among the passengers were many officials of the company and women, and a man suspected of being a heretic named Jeronimus Cornelisz (1598-1629) who, according to later rumours, conspired with Ariaen Jacobsz, the ship's skipper, and a group of men to take control of the ship and become pirates. However, before they set their plan in motion, the *Batavia* struck a reef and sank a few miles from the Australian coast. Most of the passengers and Palsaert survived and were transferred to nearby islands in the ship's longboat, but their failure to find fresh water forced Palsaert to take the longboat with Jacobsz in a desperate effort to reach Batavia and get help, leaving the survivors under the command of Cornelisz.

When Palsaert returned after three months he found that Cornelisz and his followers had murdered the majority of the survivors, keeping the women and children as sex slaves and planning to limit the number of survivors to 45 to prolong the time that they could live on their supplies According to later rumours, Cornelisz was hoping to establish a kingdom there or to hijack any rescue ship and search for a better place. Whether this is true, or a later exaggeration is of no significance; what matters is how the contemporary Dutch and European societies saw this incident, in which a small group of Europeans established a community where violence, disorder and sexual licentiousness reigned in an inhospitable environment. When news of the shipwreck reached the Dutch Republic, the shocked audience read detailed accounts about the

murders in pamphlets, and in 1647 a work based on Palsaert's journal was published that gave emphasis to the signs of mutiny during the *Batavia*'s voyage, the harmful influence that the presence of so many women on board had for the discipline of the crew, and the subsequent punishment of Cornelisz and his group. In the same year the VOC introduced a law that limited the number of female passengers on its ships. The *Isle of Pines* was in many respects an opposite tale to that of the *Batavia*, and one wonders whether George Pine, the utopian founder, avoided the fate of heretic libertine Cornelisz simply because he was lucky enough to be shipwrecked on an island where everything was in abundance, unlike the Abrolhos Islands. [751]

Echoes of the *Batavia*'s shipwreck are also evident in Denis Veiras's *History of Sevarambians,* published in three volumes between 1675 and 1679. Veiras, like his predecessors, used the limited available information that existed about the *Terra Australis Incognita* to pass off his work as a real travel account. He placed his imaginary land in the same geographical area where in November 1642 Abel Tasman (1603-1659) had seen the west coast of an island that he named Van Diemen's Land and that was later to be named after him as Tasmania.[752] Veiras's description of the coast also evokes the Dutch maps of the period that incorporated the observations made by numerous VOC vessels and expeditions.[753]

The continuing importance of the VOC as the main promoter of expeditions and as a broker of information for the *Terra Australis* during this period is reflected in

[751] L. T. I. Penman, 'The Wicked and the Fair: Changing Perceptions of Terra Australis through the Prism of the Batavia Shipwreck (1629)', in A. M. Scott, A. Hiatt and C. McIlroy (eds), *European Perceptions of Terra Australis* (London, 2016), pp. 247-252; R. Guy, 'Calamitous Voyages: the social space of shipwreck and mutiny narratives in the Dutch East India Company', *Itinerario*, 39/1, (2015), pp. 117-140.
[752] Arthur, *Virtual Voyages*, p. 24.
[753] R. S. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800* (Westport, 2006), pp. 131-133.

Veiras's decision to make his hero Siden a thinly disguised version of himself; the name is an anagram of Denis, a Dutch seaman employee of the VOC. Siden, like the majority of utopian protagonists, is not a simple sailor but a man with a fierce desire to travel and learn about the world. Veiras underlines his connection with his hero by having him to study law, as he did himself before his desire to see the world led him to abandon his future career and to board a ship called the *Golden Dragon* for Batavia in 1655.[754] Following the fate of the *Batavia*, the *Golden Dragon* was wrecked off an unknown land and, just like in the *Batavia*'s case, the majority – 381 people – survived and found refuge on an uninhabited island without fresh water. From this point, however, the similarities between the *Batavia* shipwreck and Veiras' story stop.

In Veiras' tale, Siden quickly assumed leadership and tried to organise a colony. Being afraid for the peace of his castaway community due to the enormous number of male survivors (307) and the small number of women (74), Siden decided to allow each officer to marry a woman and the rest of the low-rank crew to share the rest. The sexual licentiousness of the *Batavia*'s survivors seems to have become the rule of the Austral utopia. Fortunately for the survivors, the land was not as uninhabited as they initially thought, but rather the home of a prosperous civilisation. The activities of the new colony and their excursions into the interior in search of fresh water made the locals aware of their presence, and they sent boats to meet them.

The description of the initial encounter between the Sevarambians and the Dutch reminds us of similar descriptions of contact between Europeans and utopian envoys, such as in Bacon's *New Atlantis*. Siden was grateful when he sees that, rather than warlike naked barbarians the Dutch encountered civilised and well-mannered

[754] D. Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, p. 6; Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, p. 368.

people who approached them with caution, with their leader Carshidas holding a white flag and speaking to them in Spanish.[755] The leader of the group revealed to them that the name of the country in which they had found themselves was Sporoumbe, and that the Sporocii guaranteed their safety, offering to take the survivors to their capital, Sporounde. The city amazed the Dutch with its location, being built on the meeting point of two rivers surrounded by a fertile plain where corn and vines were cultivated. There they were introduced to their next guide, Sermodas, who revealed to them that Sporounde and its inhabitants were not the most important civilisation on the land, being instead a provincial kingdom under the protection of the much more impressive and powerful empire of the Sevarambians, located in the centre of the island.[756]

Following Sermodas, Siden and his group slowly journeyed towards the centre of the island where Sevarinde was located. The journey was their chance to become educated in the values and beliefs of this society, and Veiras gave it a metaphorical dimension by having the group cross the interior of a perfectly symmetrical land towards its very heart while they become acquainted with and assimilated within this superior culture. Gradually, they donned Sevarambian dress which reflected their position in the country's hierarchy.[757] In addition, they learned more about Sevarians' religion, marital customs and sexual politics getting acquainted with the social conventions of their new home.

This spatial indoctrination comes to an end when they reach a tunnel that crossed a mountain and led them to Sevarinde itself. There they met the leader of the land, the Viceroy of the Sun, and they finally received dwellings and work, finishing

[755] Ibid. p. 44.
[756] Ibid., pp. 64-70.
[757] Ibid., pp. 103-5.

their initiation and integration into this perfect society. It is not until the arrival to the capital that the character of this society is revealed through its spatial organisation and we can finally see the principles upon which it was built. The city's plan was square with wide straight roads.[758] Siden informs us that Sevarias the founder of the city and the country chose it for its fertile soil and its position in the centre of the island. The population lives and works in 267 'osmasies' four-storied square buildings that housed more than a thousand people each. The temple, amphitheatre, and the bason (reservoir) of the city are the main public buildings of it. Yet it is the Viceroy's palace that really dominates the city, every road leads to it and its big size and expensive ornaments force Siden to confess that no other palace in the world can be compared with it.[759] Hence, Veiras, in a vivid way has the central authority of the state housed literally in the heart of the city, that has been built in the very centre of the island. It is not a coincidence that the absolutist imagery of the Sun that is used by Sevarias and his successors viceroys recalls Veiras's contemporary Louis XIV *'le roi soleil'* and his royal image as the god Apollo in his propaganda.[760]

However, the country seems to have a political organisation inspired by *Utopia's*, with democratic elements and a pyramidical election system that in a basic level elects *coenobiarchs* representing local communities which in their turn elect *brosmansionts* for the Ordinary Assembly, a form of parliament with the senior members the senate of 24 members. Four senators are nominated for the position of the viceroy, and with drawing of lots the next viceroy is chosen. Just like the European castaways' march towards the centre of the island, the system delegates power from the

[758] Ibid., p. 121.
[759] M. Winter, 'The Explosion of the Circle: Science and Negative Utopia', in E. Mendelsohn and H. Nowotny (eds*) Nineteen Eighty-Four: Science Between Utopia and Dystopia* (Dordrecht, 1984), pp. 78-9.
[760] A. Maral, *Le Roi-Soleil et Dieu* (Paris, 2012), pp. 189-200; R. G. Asch, *Sacral Kingship Between Disenchantment and Re-enchantment* (Oxford, 2014), p. 113.

outskirts to the centre of society, something that is confirmed by the strange spatial division of the Sevarambian state itself into two different zones. As we learn from Siden's narration the Sporoumbe that had welcomed them are not a different people but in reality second class citizens whose very name means 'born with a defect' and who are exiled from Sevarinde according to the laws of the state due to being born with a mental or a bodily defect.[761] Their second-class status is confirmed by their city's smaller size and humbler appearance compared to Sevarinde and by them living in the less fertile and less tamed outer region of the island, acting as its guardians from unwelcome visitors. Their lands' separation from the fertile and constantly improved region of the Sevarambians by a difficult to cross mountain shows how its function as an internal frontier is used to reinforce the internal hierarchy of this society. Moreover, the spatial organisation of this society and the importance it attributed to the 'centre', has been interpreted as a symbol of the 'middle point of view' and of moderation around which the utopia's spaces has been arranged that surveys the whole island and policies against any extreme behaviour, idea or deviation from normality. Even the exclusion of the born with defects Sporocii and their banishment to the outer regions of the island is an example of it.[762] The importance of the centre can be seen also when, in a typical utopian fashion, our hero cannot really fit in, despite his admiration for the Sevarambian society and its principles, and he asked permission from the Viceroy to return to his country and family. Siden travelled in a reverse direction towards his homeland, moving away from the centre represented by Sevarinde, gradually shedding the utopian habitus and returning to his initial European one.[763]

[761] Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, p. 155.
[762] T. Mora, 'Classics of Sociology and Modern Social Utopias', in Da Silva (ed), *The Epistemology of Utopia*, p. 75.
[763] Veiras, *The History of the Sevarambians*, p. 383.

Veiras constructed a narrative that more than anything earlier could be passed as real. He wove his story with real contemporary events like the third Anglo-Dutch war and the disastrous shipwrecks suffered by VOC in Asia and used real people who had positions in VOC to enhance his story's credibility, more than anyone before or after him. For example, in his preface to the second volume he claimed that Joan Maetsuycker (1606-1678), who served as the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies from 1653 until his death, vouched for the truth of the story.[764] In the *History of the Sevarambians*, the empiricism of the period that stemmed out of Gassendi, Hobbes and Locke and which denied Cartesian dualities of body and soul by giving the senses the dominant role in knowing and interpreting the world seemed to be the driving force of Veiras's vision. The ideal society of the Sevarambians is founded in the experiences and observations of Sevarias after his travels, and so is an organised and condensed experience and as a result is bereft of any kind of optimism and idealisation of the Other.

The settler's utopia: recreating the homeland.

Early in the sixteenth century the Spanish settlers who arrived in the Americas brought with them not only their culture and beliefs but also their homeland's vernacular architectural idioms and spatial organisation, declining, at least initially, to use the local styles, materials and techniques. The same attitude was demonstrated by the various religious and ethnic groups that moved to North America in search of a godly community. This is not surprising; the settlers knew that they would not see their homeland again, and they had a strong sense of superiority over the locals and their

[764] Fausett, *Writing the New World*, pp. 120-2.

culture. Thus, their desire to build a new home was always shadowed by their desire to regain their lost one, a conflict that prevented them using new or innovative forms.[765]

The sixteenth and seventeenth century utopias in some respects built their alternative paradigms by taking advantage of this conflict. They described alternative societies which were new and foreign to the writers' contemporaries, and for this reason they could not be imitated completely but only serve as one of the influences or components of these alternative visions of a better world. This recalls the importance of cognitive estrangement for the period's utopian thinking. Additionally, the early modern utopias claimed to be based on a new rational social vision. More, as a humanist, believed in the capacity of man to restrain his bestial appetites due to his rationality, as a result his vision of ideal society was based on 'rational and secular premises'.[766] Thus, the early modern utopias focused on the elimination not only of any supernatural elements from their narratives but also of any illogical behaviours and impulses of their citizens.[767] However the equation of the rational with the utopian is deeply problematic especially when it leads to the abandonment of the deeply humanitarian and communitarian character of the latter. Hence the upgraded role that rationalism and secularism assumed in the mid-seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century utopias, while reflecting a real-world change of approach by the European states' administration of the period where 'rational functioning' of society became the focus of their commercial and agriculture policies, also expressed an anti-utopian tendency.[768] Through their rejection of emotion and empathy as an inferior

[765] C. Armstrong, *Writing North America in the Seventeenth Century: English Representations in Print and Manuscript* (Aldershot, 2007), p.156.
[766] M. G. Logan, *The Meaning of More's Utopia* (Princeton, 2014), p. 235
[767] J. Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 18, 35-48
[768] T. Munck, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict and Social Order in Europe 1598-1700* (New York, 2005), p. 274.

characteristic, this period's utopias transformed their described societies and citizens to caricatures of the dangers that excessive logic in political decisions posed. The Austral utopias denied the possibility of an alternative social vision by repeatedly proving intolerable and monolithic, shielded behind their rational social and political principles. In such capacity, their described societies may be closer to a definition of utopia as a blueprint for reform, but their vision is restrained by a suffocating projection of their contemporary European societies and their pragmatism. These imaginary societies could not be mirror images of their contemporary Europe, but they could be model images of what bureaucratic and political elites hoped to succeed, with reform programs that seem like precursors of the late enlightenment's social mechanics.

Hence, the Antipodes and the *Terra Australis Incognita* were ideal spaces for these utopias precisely because they were constantly seen as projections of Europe, and their perception as empty lands allowed them to be the canvas not for the construction of a new society as the utopian legislator/founders claimed, but rather for narrow experimentations upon Europe's dominant socio-political models. However, this raises the question of whether these improved recreations of Europe can be understood as utopias and how they differed from the utopian aspirations of the settler colonialism that we saw in the first part of this chapter. For example, *The History of Sevarambians*—which describes a colonised society that under the leadership of its conqueror/legislator managed to progress away from its initial stage of religious conflict to reach a level of political and technological progress similar to if not greater than that of Europe—demonstrates the narrow horizon of expectation of these narratives. The Sevarambian kingdom, as is demonstrated by its people's initially friendly contact with the Dutch castaways, is not just a part of the emerging globalised world, but an equal member in it. The rationalisation/disenchantment of the local

Sevarambian traditions by Sevarias, according to the tenets of the conservative Enlightenment with which Veiras was associated, aimed to protect a civilised and, to a limited extent, tolerant society from the resurgent religious fervour that had previously led Europe to bloodshed.[769]

This problematic relationship between pragmatism and utopia is evident in Veiras's work, probably because of his sources. Veiras had an adventurous life, being a Huguenot and spending many years in England serving in some capacity as a spy. There he became familiar with John Locke's ideas and may well have been acquainted with him.[770] It seems that his ideal society was influenced by *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1669), the outlines of a constitution of a proprietary colony in America, attributed at least partially to Locke due to his position as secretary to the Lords and Proprietors of Carolina.[771] The text's utopian values and Locke's possible contribution demonstrate the link between colonialism, constitutionalism and utopianism. Carolina, like many other North American colonies, enjoyed a peculiar status, being part of England and simultaneously enjoying autonomy from the Crown's administration. This enabled it to create its own hundred-article-long governing document intended to set out the principles for 'a better agreeable settlement', a document permitted as long as it did not violate English laws and customs.

The *Constitution* was evidently influenced by James Harrington's republican ideal society *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656). In this work, Harrington described the constitution of a democracy of land-owners like the one described by Aristotle in his *Politics*. Harrington's main influence for the spatial organisation of the new colony,

[769] I. O. Wade, *Intellectual Origins of the French Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1971), p. 379-81.
[770] Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, p. 369.
[771] D. Armitage, 'John Locke: Theorist of Empire?', in S. Muthu (ed), *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 87.

named Charles Town, was its proportional allotment of land among the settlers.[772] In addition, articles that promised a limited religion tolerance and made military training mandatory for all male citizens seem to echo similar laws from *Oceana*.[773]

Hence, in *Fundamental Constitution*, we can see how pragmatism and the close connection with real issues led to the abandonment of radical ideas that were traditionally associated with utopia, like the abolition of private property. *Oceana* and the *Constitution* laid down a vision for a republic where the various groups drew their socio-political identity from their ownership of land. By using land, Harrington hoped to stabilise and negate the dangers to the civic peace of the community's social and political antagonisms. The same idea dictated the proprietors' choice to divide the land between lords, freeholders and servants, creating a society with three social classes, all essential for the welfare of the community due to their different virtues and abilities, and all harmoniously coexisting.[774] However, this elaborate plan could not be put into action in a small colony like Charles Town because it required not only plenty of land, but also plenty of people to till it. The role that Locke had in imbuing colony's constitution with utopian elements offers us a unique glimpse into the relationship between early modern colonialism and utopianism. This is especially true, if we consider Locke's direct involvement with colonial administration via his role as the treasurer of the Council of Trade and Plantations and how this influenced his views about the right to enslave the Indians and take their lands. For example, he conceived

[772] A. Reeve, 'Harrington's elusive balance', *History of European Ideas*, 5/4 (1984), pp. 401-417.
[773] J. C. Davis, 'Narrative Constitutionalism and the Kinetics of James Harrington's Oceana', in D. Galligan (ed), *Constitutions and the Classics: Patterns of Constitutional Thought from Fortescue to Bentham* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 169-78.
[774] V. Hsueh, 'Unsettling Colonies: Locke, 'Atlantis' and New World Knowledges', *History of Political Thought*, 29/2 (2008), pp. 295-310.

of slavery as a continuation of a war between the conqueror and the conquered, reflecting the constant fear of planters of a future slave revolt.[775]

It is not surprising that Locke, in both colonial and utopian fashion, understood the land of the Americas as empty. In his *Two Treaties of Government* (1689) he denies the indigenous population any ownership of their lands due to their failure to cultivate it. For Locke, property existed in a state of nature and the reason that political society was established was to protect and regulate it. Locke shaped the period's idea about property, individualism and power in a colonial setting. A man who had also invested in the Royal African Company, he used the idea of *res nullius* that maintained that all empty things, including all unoccupied lands, remained common property until put to some use, and in particular when it started being cultivated.[776]

This 'agriculturalist argument' provided the colonists with a powerful rationalisation for taking land based in natural law, which was what More's utopia used. Whether Locke was influenced by More in the articulation of this dogma is debatable, however, especially in light of Locke's equating of utopia with stasis. In particular, in his *Second Treatise of Government* he uses a utopian example to justify the value of money. He describes an island completely isolated from the rest of the world and thus without any form of trade but populated by a hundred families and so rich in flora and fauna that they wanted for nothing. The only scarce resource on the island was any kind of metal that could be used to mint coins.[777] For Locke, this absence would be disastrous, because the society would have no way to accumulate wealth and the people would stop striving to use all the available resources, gradually abandoning any effort

[775] R. W. Grant, *John Locke's Liberalism* (Chicago, 1987), p. 68; S. Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (London, 2005), p. 47.
[776] C. Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 27.
[777] C. W. Smith, *Empiricist devotions: science, religion, and poetry in early eighteenth-century England* (Charlottesville, 2016), pp. 154-5.

to improve the land and cultivating only enough to survive. The land would lose its value as a result. It is interesting that this 'decaying utopia' was likened by Locke to America, where the Indians had abundant land but no reason to cultivate it because they had no money.[778]

Perhaps we can see in the regression of the *Isle of Pines* a glimpse of Locke's decaying utopia: a primitive society of autarky where its steady population had no need for money and due to the lack of precious metals, no suitable materials to produce currency. The isolation of the island, as in many utopias, meant that it had no commercial ties with other nations, so the inhabitants had no reason to increase their possessions, having everything given to them in plenty by nature. So, if they could maintain their isolation, they could maintain their utopian society eternally, with no reason for social antagonism or strife. Yet, from the initial paradisiacal garden of the patriarch, until the rediscovery of the island by the Dutch, we see in Pine a society with deteriorating morals, due in part to the corrupting abundance that allowed it to easily sustain itself without hard work or the need to accumulate wealth that characterised real colonial societies. In the *Isle of Pines,* we can see not only a decaying utopia, but the futile effort of Pines to recreate his homeland's society with everything he manages to save from the shipwreck. Although, his vision deteriorated with the passage of time, along with the European tools he bequeathed to his descendants. Pine can be seen as an archetypal figure of a castaway who takes advantage of his ingenuity, tools and environment to rebuild his home society. However, his sexual lasciviousness led to a society that was quite different from that which he had hoped to create.

[778] J. Locke, *Two treatises of government* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 293-4.

Hendrik Smeeks (1645-1721) in his *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* (1708) combined the Austral topos with a more traditional utopian tale. *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* is the only Dutch Austral literary utopia we have from the period and an interesting work because it includes in its narrative both a classical utopian society represented by the Kingdom of Kesmes and a castaway utopia represented by the adventures of El-Ho. Another interesting element of this work is its utopian traveller, Juan de Posos, a Dutchman who after learning Spanish changed his identity and started working as a trade agent in Cadiz. He is encouraged by a friend he calls Master, who works as a surgeon on VOC's ships, to seek the *Terra Australis*, and in 1702 leaves from Panama and follows the route to Philippines. A storm leads his ship to the *Terra Australis* and a heavy wooded island where the Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes is situated.[779] Posos' route is almost the same as that followed by Queiros in 1605 in search of the *Terra Australis*. So, Smeeks' work follows the practice of the Austral utopias in using real events and expeditions to enhance the plausibility of their narratives.[780]

Similar influences from other works like the *Kingdom of Sevarites* are evident in his description of his ideal state of Kesmes, in which, according to the local guide, the capital of the island was established 20,000 years earlier and has a composite political system where a hereditary monarchy is supplemented by elected representatives. The Kesmians have a rational monotheistic religion, but Except for the religion, their society seems to be very similar to its contemporary European analogues.

[779] Ibid., pp. 22-30.
[780] J. Kommers, 'The Significance of 18th century Literature about the Pacific for the development of travel literature', *Bijdragen Tot De Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 144/4 (1988), pp. 478–487.

Slavery, personal property, strict punishments and even a penal colony on a small island a few miles from its shores, create a society with very few utopian elements.

The castaway utopia's plot is even less original.[781] El-Ho, a Dutch cabin boy who was left behind on an uninhabited island when the VOC ship on which he served run aground on the reefs off the western coast of Australia.[782] El-Ho was left alone on the desert island with meagre supplies that could not sustain him for long, but luck smiled on him when he found another wrecked ship full of supplies. El-Ho lived, according to his words, 'like a king' with these supplies, succeeding through ingenuity and the tools he found to use the flora and fauna of the island to sustain himself.[783] The old hero who narrates the story to Posos seems nostalgic for the time he spent alone on this island until the Kesmians saved him. The episode of El-Ho is a celebration of individual ingenuity. To some extent this constitutes a precursor of and possible inspiration for Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[784]

Defoe employed all the usual tricks to make *Robinson Crusoe*, which was published in April 1719, appear to be a true story. The book's success led, as in *The Isle of Pines*, to the author producing a second part called *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* on 20 August 1719.[785] The similarities of Defoe's hero to other utopian protagonists are remarkable; like most of them, he is a man unable to fit into his own society or meet the expectations of his family for a career in law. Like Veiras's Siden, he has only one wish, to become a sailor and travel. It is not coincidental that in

[781] D. W. Fokkema, *Perfect Worlds: Utopian Fiction in China and the West* (Amsterdam, 2011), pp. 141-5.
[782] H. Smeeks, *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes (1708)*, ed.and tr. D. Fausset (Atlanta, 1995), pp. 58-60.
[783] Smeeks, *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes*, p. 70.
[784] D. Fausett, *The Strange Surprising Sources of Robinson Crusoe* (Atlanta, 1994), pp. 197- 203.
[785] L. Werner, 'En route to the real Robinson Crusoe', *Américas*, 54/6, (2002), pp. 22-29.

the original title of his work Defoe calls Crusoe a mariner.[786] This obsession with travel itself distinguishes him from other utopian protagonists because, unlike Hythloday, he is not motivated by the desire to see the New World, nor does he step by mistake into a utopian community like Bacon's Spanish traders. He is a man by 'nature inclined' to be a sailor and to create a fortune, and every one of his adventures is the result of this obsession, against which his father had warned.[787] It is worth noting that Crusoe, before he found himself a castaway on an island in 'the mouth of Oronoque' in South America, had enjoyed many adventures, according to the map that accompanied the sequel—just like Smeeks' Juan de Posos.[788]

Crusoe had established himself in Brazil as a plantation owner until he was encouraged by friends to participate in a trade expedition aiming to import slaves to Brazil from Africa. However, the travel ends in disaster when the ship sank in a storm and Crusoe found himself the sole survivor on an uninhabited island. The empty island is the perfect utopian/colonial void, but the spectacle of its untamed exotic nature is enough to make Crusoe despair. He has no supplies or weapons for hunting and is convinced that he is going to starve to death. Defoe describes how his hero found refuge in a bushy tree for the night, resolving to decide how to die the next day. Luckily Crusoe wakes the next day to find the carcass of an empty ship washed ashore by the storm and his will to live is restored. Like Pines and El-Ho, Crusoe salvages useful items for his survival, transferring these ashore on a makeshift raft similar to the one made by George Pines. What he salvages is instrumental to his effort to affirm his authority on the island's nature, which is 'barren… inhabited only by wild beasts'. A characteristic

[786] J. A. Downie, 'Defoe, Imperialism, and the Travel Books Reconsidered.', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 13 (1983), pp. 74-81 and A. Blaim, A., *Robinson Crusoe and His Doubles: The English Robinsonade of the Eighteenth Century* (Frankfurt, 2016), pp. 8-16.
[787] D. Defoe, *The life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, A new edition complete in one volume* (London, 1798), pp. 5-9.
[788] Ibid., pp.75, 146-173.

demonstration of the power that his tools give him over the island's nature is his decision to shoot a large bird. The bird proves inedible, but the terrified screams of the island's fauna on hearing the 'first gun… since the creation of the world' are a symbolic indication of Nature's subjugation and even the end of this paradise's innocence.[789]

Crusoe's reign upon the empty island is characterised by his effort to recreate through laborious and very tedious work the amenities and way of life he had previously known. This has been seen as a defining characteristic of the Robinsonade which, according to Artur Blaim, focuses heavily on the recreation of a familiar and comfortable space in a hostile environment.[790] However, Crusoe is a promethean figure, his actions on the island are divided between colonial and utopian desire, and indeed, on some level he embodies the collapse of the borders between these two paradigms. His recreation of all the stages of human civilisation from initial cave-dwelling to the present reflects his dismantling of this garden of Eden, untouched by humans, and its substitution by a heavily altered man-made settler utopia.[791] The limits of this individualistic utopia are revealed early on, when Crusoe salvages all the coins that he can find from the ship but muses how they have no value on the deserted island. The analogies with Locke's paradigm of decaying utopia are more than obvious, but Crusoe resists it. Defoe's hero re-energises a form of pre-political natural property when he explores the island and discovers a valley full of wild trees that, unattended, bear no fruit. He starts seeing himself as king and lord of the island, with 'right of possession'.[792] El-Ho had told Posos that he lived like a king, enjoying the abundance of the island, but Crusoe decides to become king by working the island's soil. Crusoe

[789] Defoe, *The life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, p. 73.
[790] Blaim, *Robinson Crusoe and His Doubles*, p. 84.
[791] J. E. Benhayoun, *Narration, Navigation, and Colonialism* (Brussels, 2006), pp. 58-64.
[792] Defoe, *The life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, p. 221.

moves from the biblical command to till the land to survive, to the natural law's command to work to appropriate it. Hence, after his rescue, when he founds a colony there, becoming in the end a typical coloniser/founder, the island is recognised by all as his personal property.

Crusoe has been seen as the archetypal figure of emerging bourgeois individualism. Yet, the view of him as a self-confident western coloniser must not lead us to ignore the similarities shared by Crusoe with founders of utopian societies who were tamers of a barren nature and civilisers. However, what separates him from these figures is his possessive individualism, his desire to appropriate everything, which reveals not only an unpleasant aspect of settler utopia, but also the main difference between the early modern utopianism and colonialism—their opposing views on the issue of possession. Moreover, *Robinson Crusoe* and the Robinsonades rarely deal with the issue of establishing a community. Usually, the castaway utopias are narratives where a man finds himself alone in an island. This leads to initial despair that could trigger for the hero some form of spiritual crisis that seems to be a feature of the genre, but in the end we always have a lonely figure catering to its own needs.[793] Of course, the subjugation of nature is at the core of early modern utopianism. However, Crusoe's owner attitude is very different, not only from that seen in More's or Campanella's works but also from that of Smeeks, from El-Ho who was content to live on his island with only apples and water.[794] Humanity regaining its mastery over nature, having been lost in the original sin, was the key to a restored Garden of Eden. More's utopians, even if they were unaware of the original sin, could not stand the idea of barren and uncultivated lands. They constantly toiled the fields achieving autarky for their

[793] A. Blaim, *Failed dynamics: the English Robinsonade of the 18th century* (Lublin, 1987), p. 60.
[794] Smeeks, *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes*, p. 61.

community. Bacon's Bensalemites used their scientific knowledge and their experiments to improve their island's nature and satisfy the needs of their community. How was this different from Defoe's Crusoe? Crusoe probably worked harder than the people who fed Amaurote's population and he used his tools in more ingenious ways than the House of Salomon's researchers, yet he failed to build a better society: maybe, because he had no intention of creating one.[795] His only desires were to survive and possess. It is in this limited vision where early modern utopianism and colonialism diverge.

Hence, in Defoe's book, the drive for profit leads Crusoe to want to appropriate the land, while in More's *Utopia* the appropriation is because of the community's need. A telling example of this attitude is provided when Defoe's hero returns to his island in the sequel to the first novel. Crusoe despite having a peaceful life in England desires to revisit his 'property'. Upon his arrival he finds the land that he strived so hard to improve in danger of deteriorating once more and its few Spanish inhabitants left behind to grow, now desperate as a result of attacks from both cannibals and lawless Englishmen. Crusoe helps the defence of the island which the inhabitants immediately recognise to be his property and tries to take measures to safeguard its prosperity before leaving once again.

Nevertheless, all the measures taken by Crusoe; leaving supplies and tools, bringing additional residents, while pacifying the population and aiming to increase its prosperity, have one common purpose which is to maximise the return of his property. Hence, in my view it is difficult to see Crusoe acting as civiliser, lawgiver or even colonial governor. This is the main feature that distinguishes the Robinsonade from

[795] Blaim, *Robinson Crusoe and His Doubles*, p. 176.

utopia. Despite the use of travel and the remoteness of the island, there is an absence of any desire to construct a better social and political paradigm on the island, preferring either to reconstruct a miniature form of the world, that as a castaway was separated from, or to create a garden where the sole owner enjoys the delights of ripping its fruits. Finally, it must be noted how little time Defoe has his hero spending in his second visit on the island before his departure for further adventures in places like Siberia and Madagascar. This is a sign of a larger mutation of the Robinsonade away from its utopian origins towards a more action-oriented genre.[796]

In this chapter, I examined spaces that were outside the Ptolemaic geographical model, like the Antipodes and the Terra Australis Incognita. These were hypothetical spaces that belonged to the previous model of the *oecumene*, which embedded them with specific characteristics; being populated by monsters or housing societies with inverted mores and values. Satirical and anti-utopian works found fertile ground in these lands due to their extreme Otherness that was the result of their climate and geographical position. Elements that the Ptolemaic normalised space employed by More and his imitators could not offer to satirists such as Brome and Hall. Of course, the advances in the exploration of these areas, which the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries utopian narratives observed closely, led to their normalisation. The employment by Defoe of an American geographical setting for his utopia-inspired *Crusoe* in some respects sealed the end of this long process of geographical normalisation that left the globalised world without *terrae incognitae* suitable for utopias.

[796] Blaim, *Robinson Crusoe and His Doubles*, pp. 172-8.

Conclusion

The space of utopia.

The importance of space in the early modern utopia has been recognised by a number of scholars in the last decades. Luis Marin, Romuald Lakowski, Nicole Pohl and Chloë Houston are some of those who explored the role of spatial representation, geography and travel literature in More's work, and the early modern utopia in general, providing a more nuanced image of utopia's spatiality. However, the notion that utopia, while sharing a link with its social context, remained largely a rigid, isolated and conservative paradigm, persists as the recent work of Elisabeth Grosz attests.[797]

My own intervention in this well-researched field, is based on the examination of early modern utopia's space under a new prism, based on the cartographical and geographical models that Ptolemy's *Geography* introduced after its re-discovery in the West in the second half of the fourteenth century. The contact of early modern cosmographers, humanists and artists with Ptolemy's work inspired new ways of spatial representation and geographical understanding, leading *Geography* to become the founding text of a different model of geographical conception of the cosmos than that of the Classical and medieval oecumene. However, this was not the result of a stale appropriation of Ptolemy's work but was a creative engagement with *Geography* that led Apian and Waldseemüller to distinguish geography from chorography, emphasising the differences of these two cartographic practices as quantitative and qualitative respectively.[798] However, as it was explained in my introduction, I also engaged

[797] R. Trousson, *Voyages aux pays de nulle part* (Brussels, 1975), p. 179; E. Grosz, E., 'The Time of Architectures', p. 265.
[798] Gunn, *Overcoming Ptolemy*, pp. 21-25; L. Nuti, 'Mapping Places. Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance', in Denis Cosgrove (ed), *Mappings* (London, 1999), pp. 90-108.

creatively with Ptolemy's cartographical categories and, based on the geographical categories of geos, topos and choros, I introduced, in the qualitative descriptive category of chorography, a quantitative aspect; essentially breaking it into two categories that of topography and chorography. The first referring to the analysis and spatial representation of the urban landscape and the second to the analysis and representation of individual spaces.

By using these spatial and descriptive divisions, I was able to dissect the space of a large array of literary utopias and intentional communities, illuminating the unique characteristics and special function of each of them in early modern utopianism. For example, the geos with its emphasis on the natural environment and geographical location allowed me to explain how early modern utopias differed from previous incarnations of utopianism. This model was achieved by employing a Ptolemaic model of the world that understood the geos as homogenous and normalised without any metaphysical or physical barriers to separate them from their contemporary Europe. Similarly, in the analysis of their topography, I was able by examining Renaissance architecture and the town-plans of the period's ideal cities and their practical application to emphasise their common architectural language. Underlining, thus, how the early modern utopia's topography shared contemporary architecture's concern to provide pragmatic solutions to urban issues like hygiene and safety even if this meant the modification of its geometrical harmonious town-plan. Thus, proving that to understand these utopian topographies as highly symbolic and unimaginative is a false generalisation. Moreover, I further illustrated the value of using the Ptolemaic cartographic categories in the analysis of the utopia by pointing out how the inconsistencies and contradictions in More's text and Marin's inability to use them to

create a harmonic re-construction of *Utopia's* space can be explained as part of the period's Ptolemaic spatial representation conventions. Marin's effort to combine descriptions of spatial divisions with different character that were not meant to be understood in same way and where based on different principles (quantitative and qualitative) in order to provide a holistic view of *Utopia's* space, and his ultimate failure, emphatically prove the value of this approach.

Finally, the examination of utopia's and heterotopia's chorography allowed me to emphasise their role as lived spaces of everyday practice that are essential for the cultivation and dissemination of the values and ideas of the utopia. Making apparent that, contrary to Mark Goldie's criticism about the inappropriate use of the term 'indoctrination' for the early modern period, the evidences are clear that both utopias and intentional communities of the period were utilizing their choros to instil sets of principles and values to their members and citizens through practice.

To summarize the argument of this thesis, space was the resource through which utopia offered solutions to practical issues, but it was also the medium through which it demonstrated and disseminated its values. It was the terrain on which it explored the dichotomies of urban and rural, the growing objectification of nature and the conflict between the needs of the individual and those of the community. This is demonstrated by the utopian narrators' movement between the interconnected early modern utopian spaces and his original society—a journey which often results in the protagonist's decision to return back to the old corrupt world, as in cases of Hythloday and Siden.

However, my use of Ptolemy's work is strictly utilitarian, avoiding commenting on a decades long debate between art historians and geographers about the role of Ptolemaic cartography and geography and whether they are precursors of modernity.

Jameson was vocal about utopia's association with modernity but in the case of Ptolemy's work its reinterpretation by the early modern cosmographers make its association with a radical break from the previous geographical theories and conventions tenuous. Instead, I underlined its coexistence with previous models and theories through examples like the sixteenth century's cosmographers' use of the Ptolemaic model to upgrade the model of *oecumene* and its utilisation by Nebrija and Brunelleschi to accommodate the newly discovered Americas and invent new systems of representation. The importance of the Ptolemaic model was further demonstrated in my examination of the Antipodes and Terra Australis Incognita. These geographical loci existed in the early modern imagination outside the normalised model of the world, a fact that allowed their utilisation in satirical and anti-utopian narratives with fantastical elements like monstrous races and reversed morals. Of course, these perceptions were drawn from the Classical and medieval *oecumene's* model of the world that perceived the Antipodes as a locus of environmental and ethnological extremity untouched by the moralizing and soteriological influence of Christianity.

Though I attempted to examine a wide range of issues related to early modern utopianism and space between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries, including the importance of the travel literature during the early modern period and its influence in utopia and the emergence of Robinsonade in the eighteenth century, many aspects of early modern utopianism were left unexamined. For example, I have only briefly touched central issues such as the relationship between early modern utopianism and colonialism, and the role that proto-ethnography played in the early modern Europeans understanding of Americas' utopian potential for evolving the image of the Golden Age. I believe that the relationship between Ptolemaic geography and utopia requires more attention. My thesis could not delve in depth on the impact that these

theories had in each author but I tried to establish how utopias and satires followed closely the travels of exploration. Moreover, I emphasised the importance of the early modern utopian authors choice to locate their alternative societies on the margins of the explored world and how they used geographical concepts and theories like the Antipodes and the macrobian model of climate zones in the service of their narratives. These are areas that are worth further study and would be invaluable for our understanding of how utopias were constructed and their spatiality was utilised.

Appendix

Visual sources

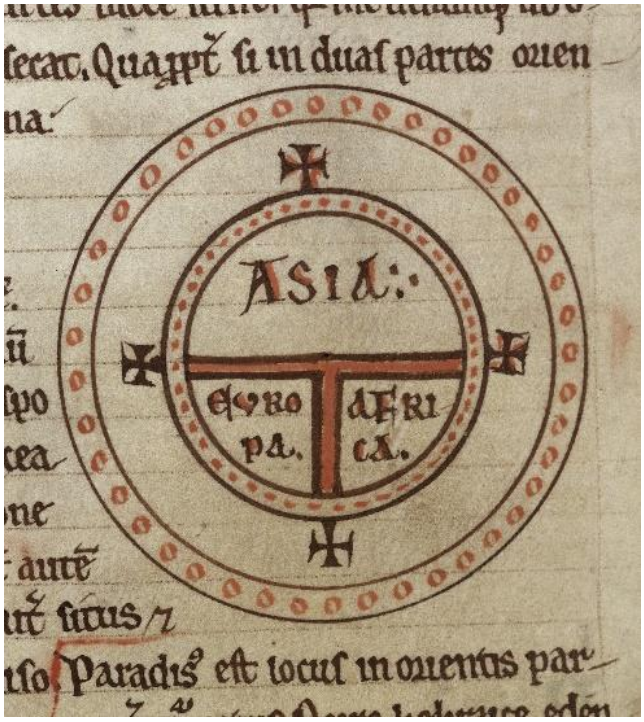


Figure 1: T-O map of the world, with east at the top. Mediterranean Sea divides the three continents that are surrounded by the Ocean River.



Figure 2: Zonal map depicting five climate zones.



Figure 3: ‘The Map Psalter', exemplifies the idea of the world as a Christian *oecumene* by having Christ blessing the world that has in its center the holy city of Jerusalem. On its right extremity the monstrous races that Pliny had described are depicted.

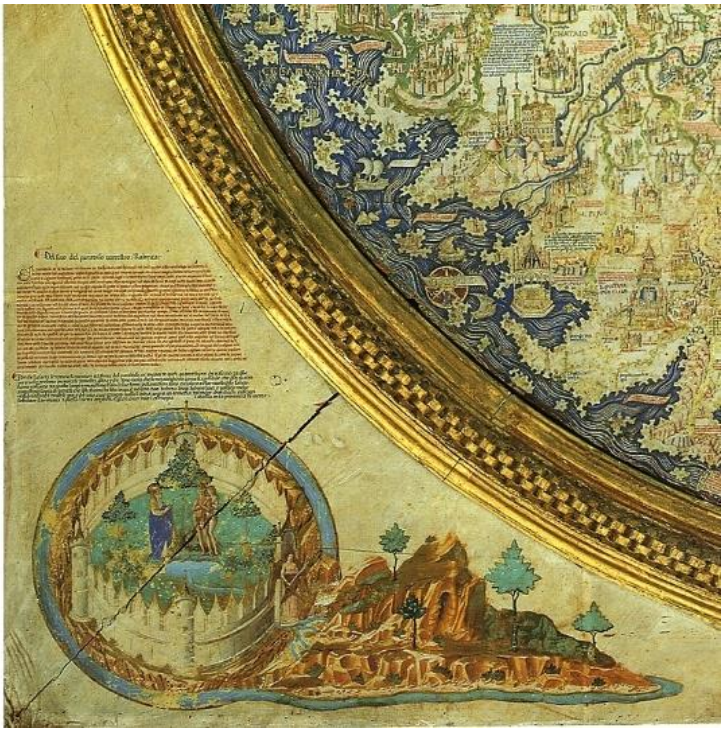


Figure 4: Detail from the bottom left of the Fra Mauro map, depicting the Garden of Eden.

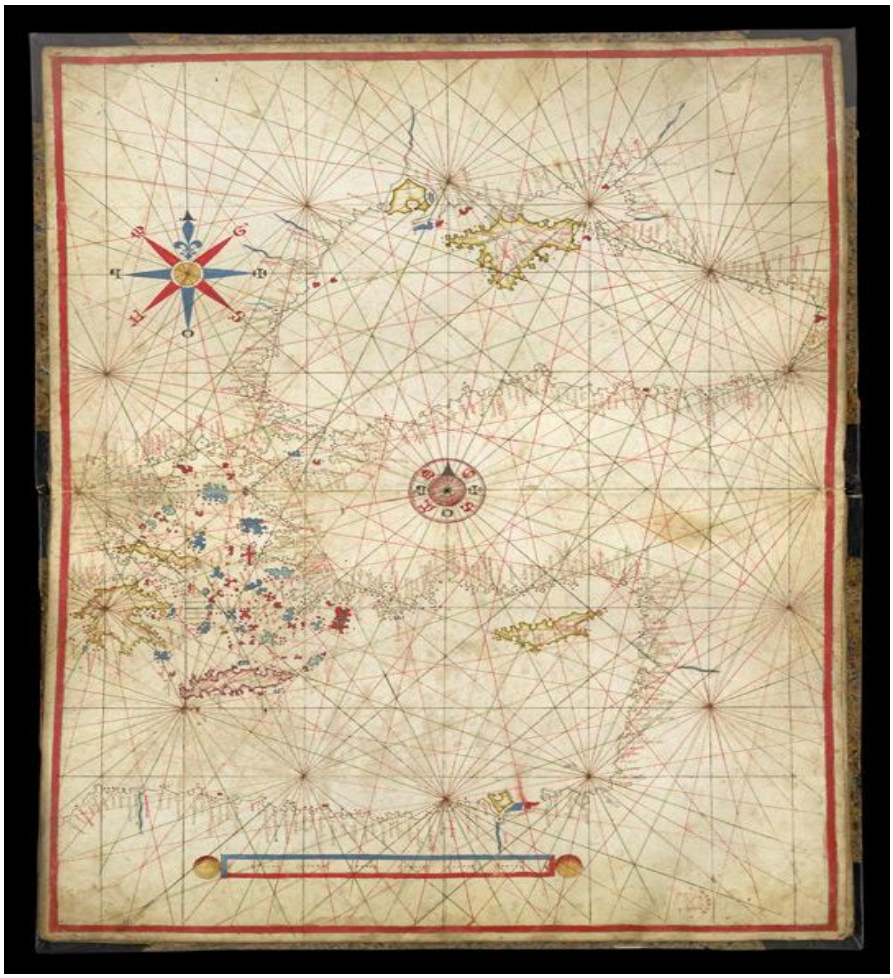


Figure 5: Portolan map of the east Mediterranean and Black sea depicting sea routes, islands and major ports and coastal cities.

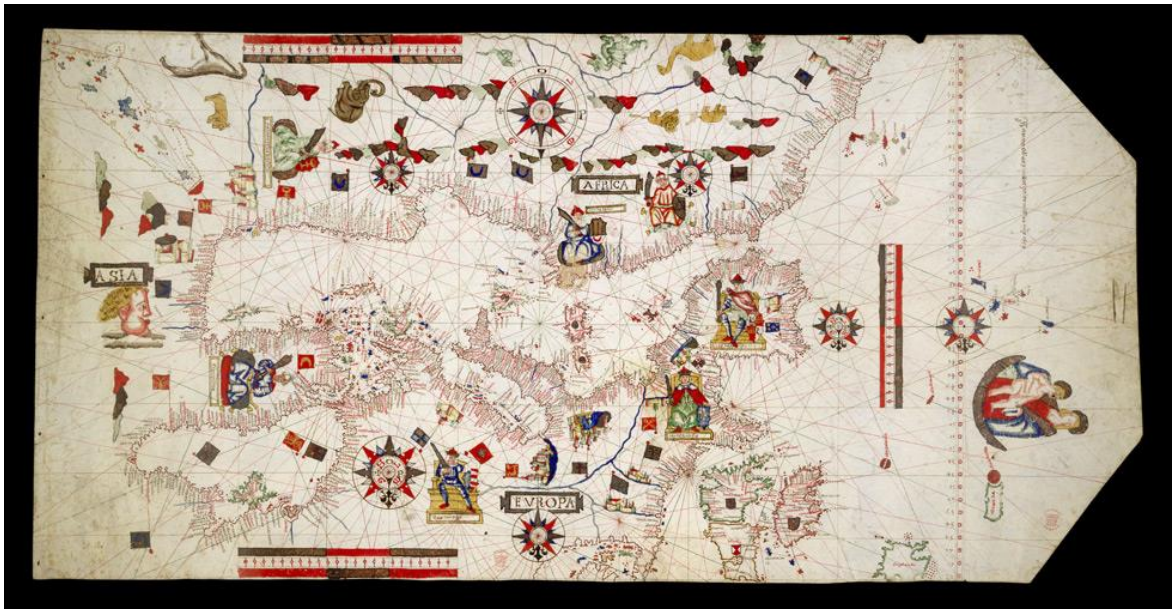


Figure 6: Portolan depicting the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Atlantic coasts and the British Isles.



Figure 7: Peter Bruegel the Elder, *The Land of Cockaigne*, 1567.



Figure 8: Nicolas Poussin, *Et in Arcadia ego*, 1637–1638.



Figure 9: Guercino, *The Arcadian Shepherds*, 1618-1622.



Figure 10: Bird's eye view of Florence (1572)

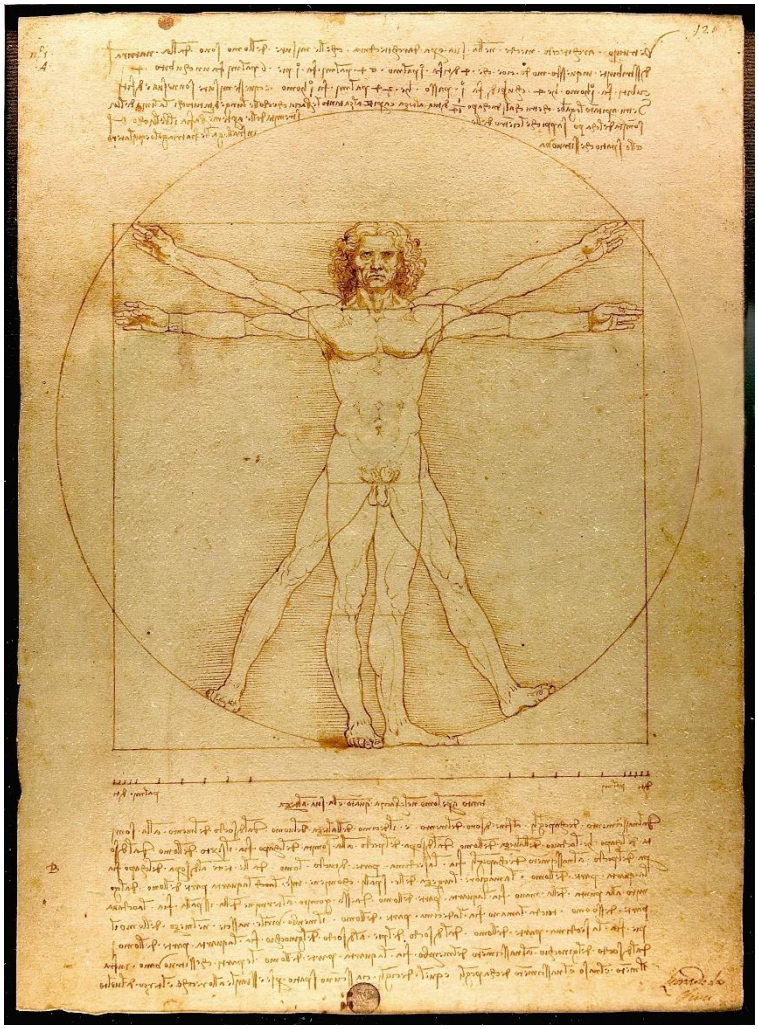


Figure 11: Leonardo da Vinci, *Vitruvian man*, c. 1490.



Figure 12: The Pantheon from Bernardo Gamucci, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma* (1556).



Figure 13: Melozzo da Forlì, *Ideal city of Urbino,* 1490s.



Figure 14: Fra Carnevale, *Ideal City of Baltimore,* 1490s.



Figure 15: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Ideal City of Berlin*, 1477.



Figure 16: Detail showing Sforzinda's location in the valley.

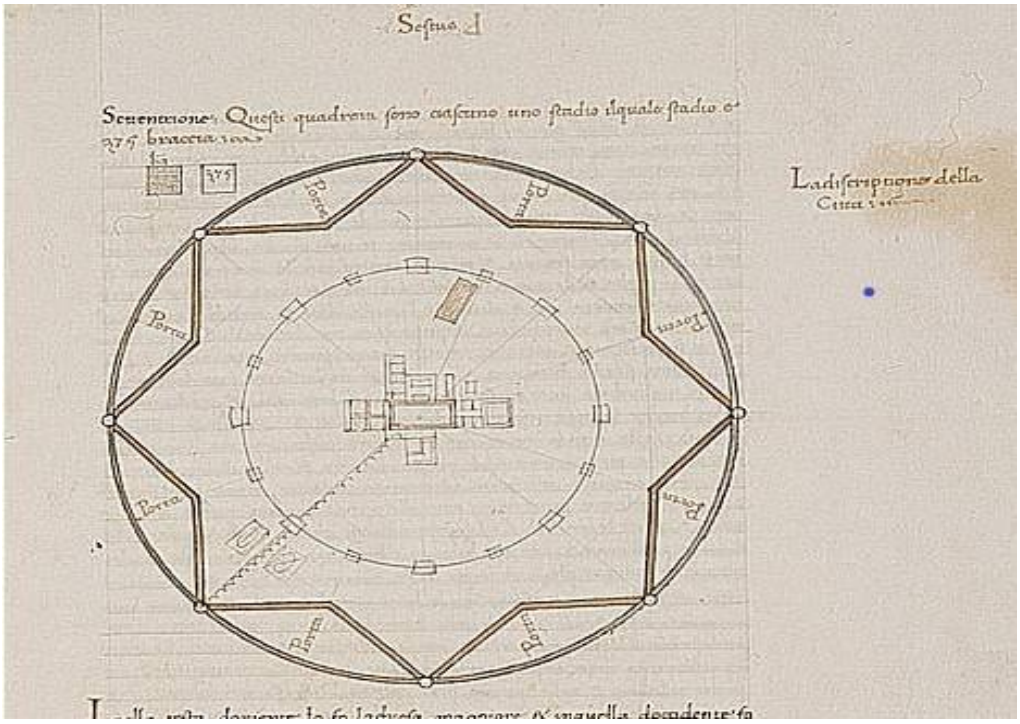


Figure 17: Sforzinda's star-shaped plan inscribed in a circular moat.

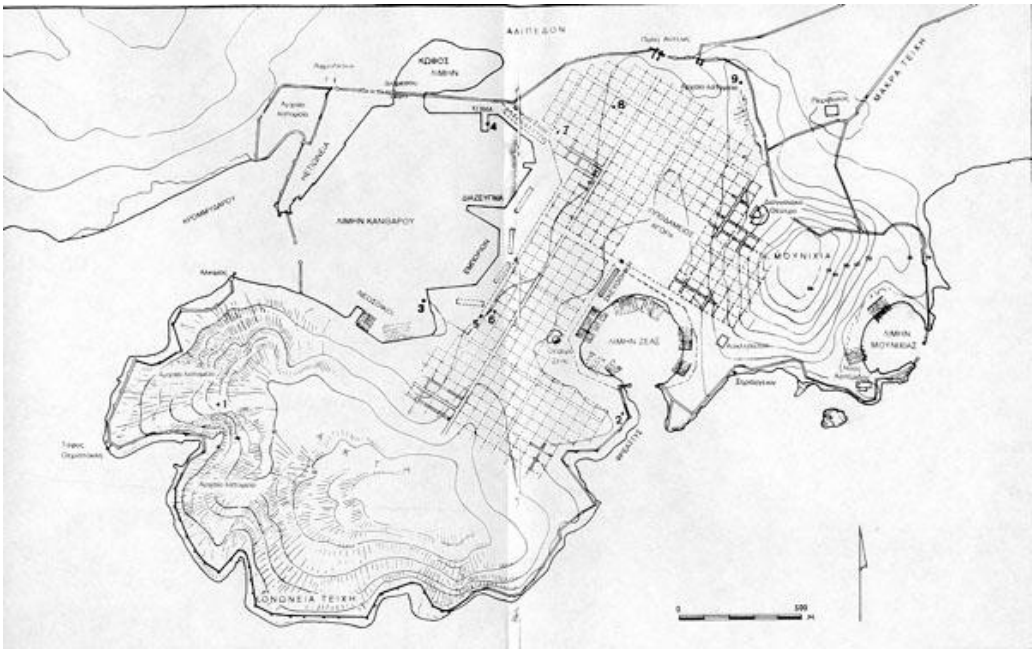


figure 18: Piraeus' Hippodamian grid, Museum of the City http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/hippodamus-and-early-planned-cities/ (14. Jan. 2018)

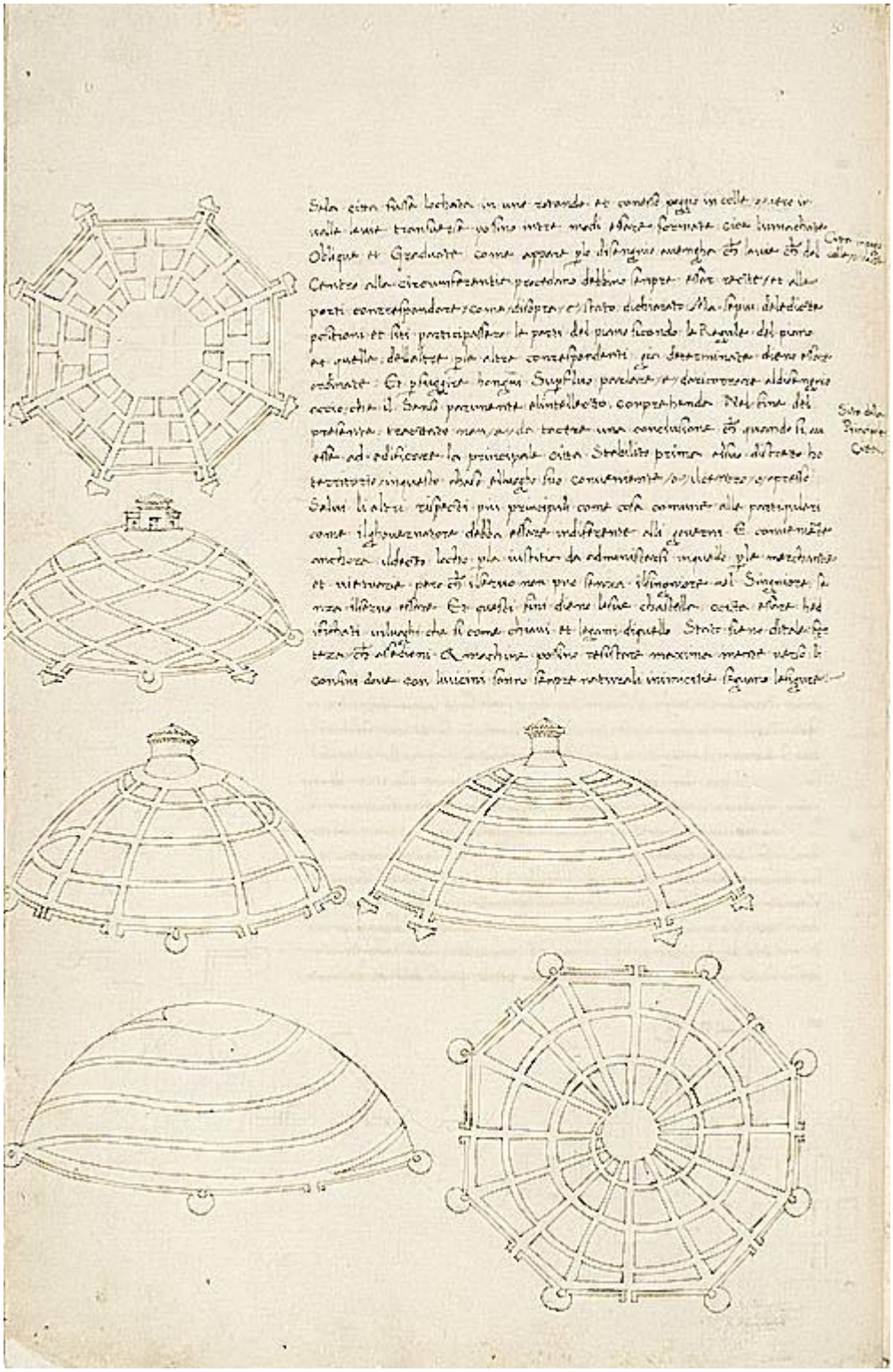


Figure 19: Martini's various sketches and town-plans from his Trattato. The circular plans with the city being build on a hill crowned by a bulding remind us later utopian cities like Campanella's City of the Sun.

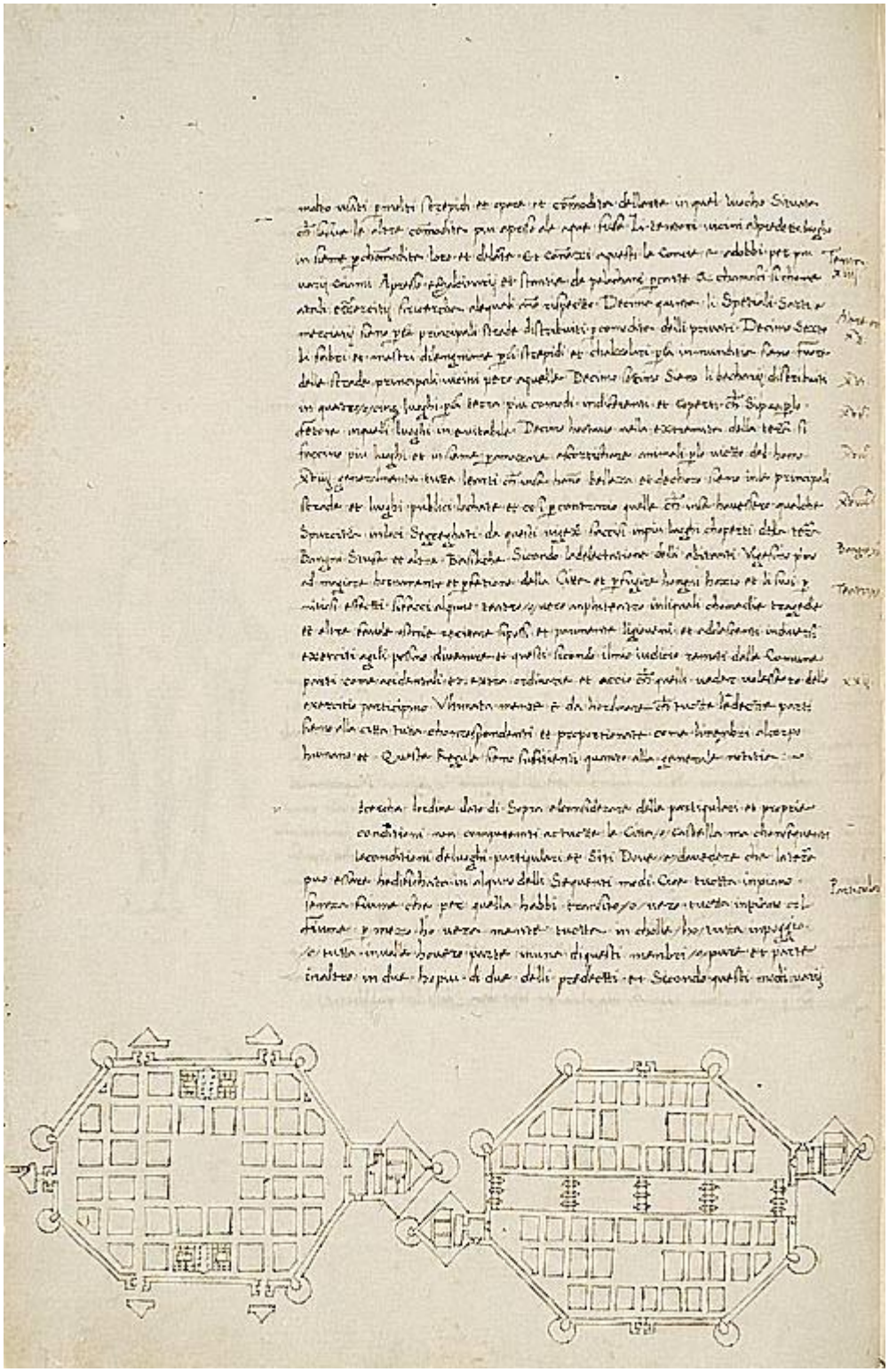


Figure 20: Martini's sketces of octagonal cities from his Tractatto.

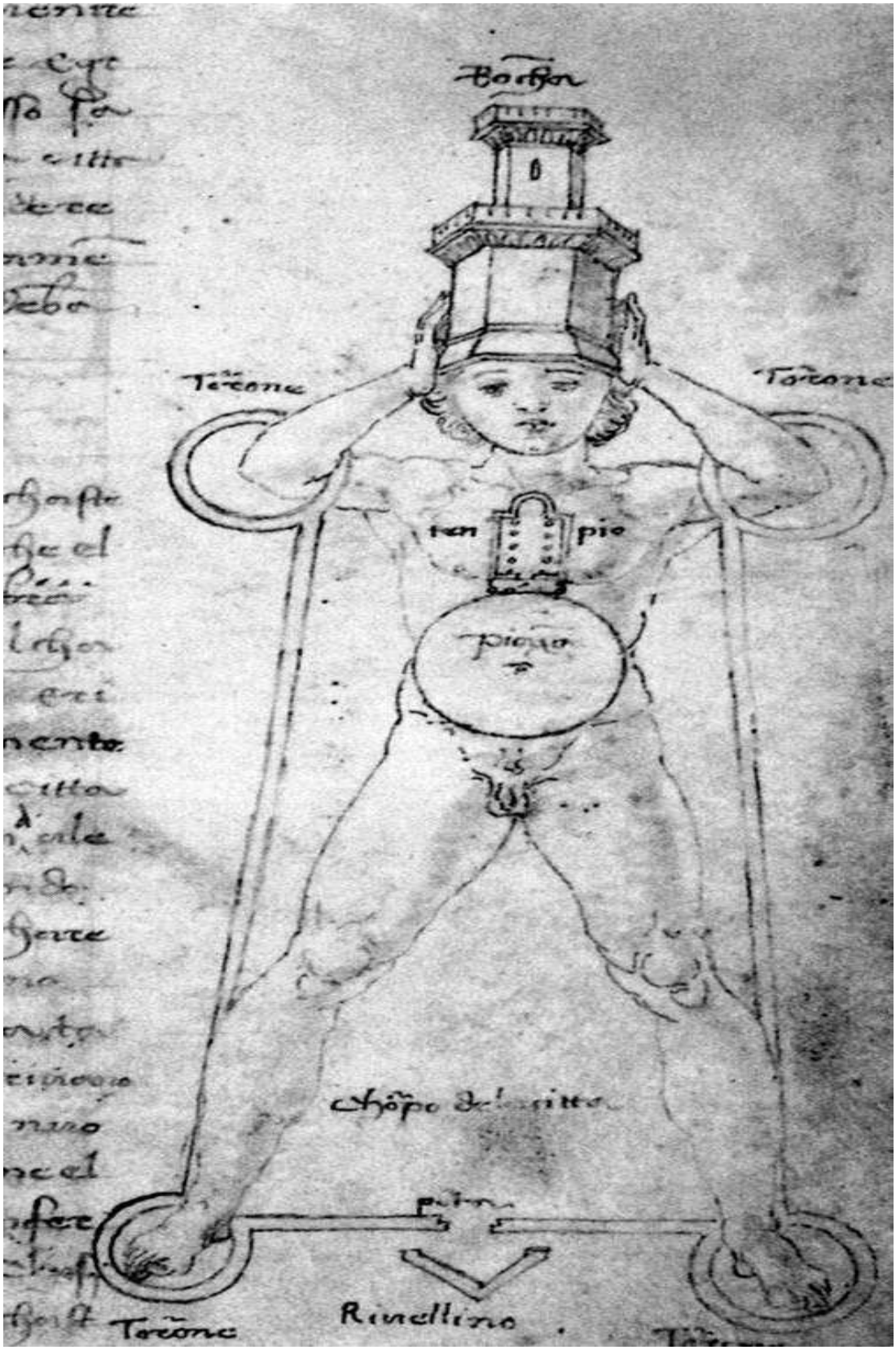


Figure 21: Detail from Martini's Trattato. The city following the harmony of human' body's proportions.

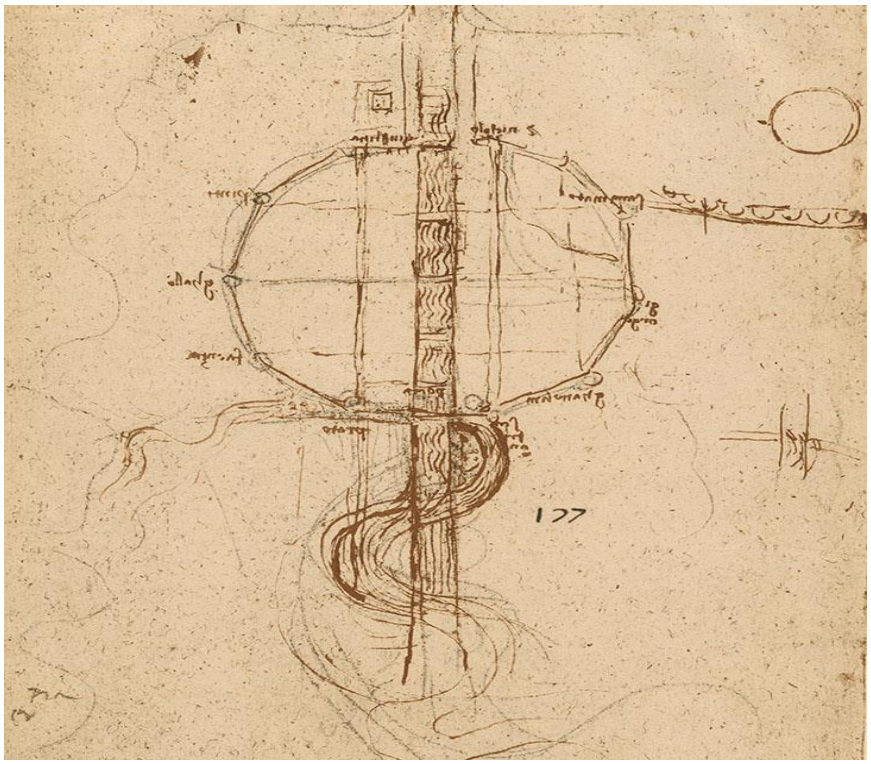


Figure 22: Leonardo's plan for Florence.

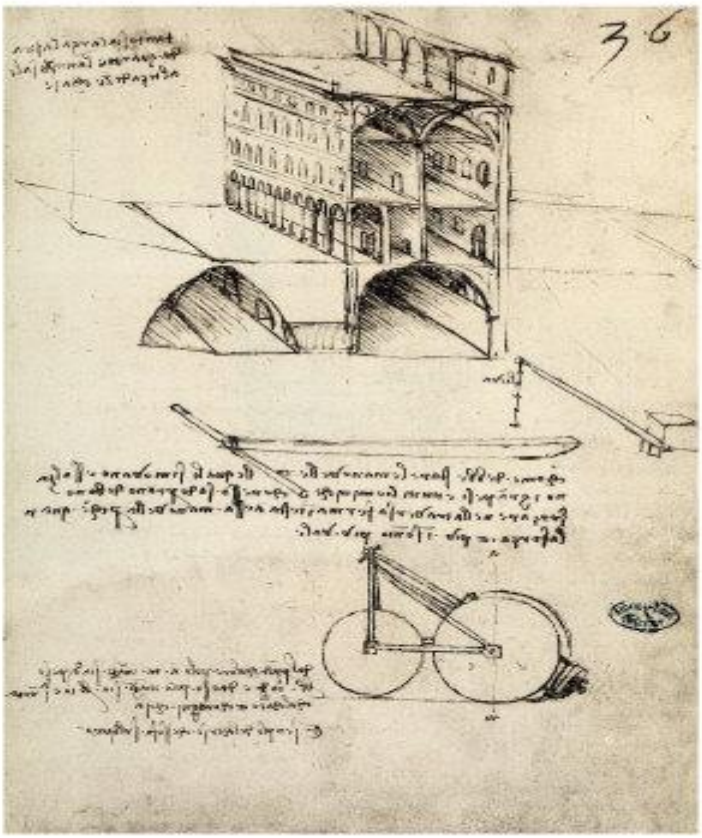


Figure 23: Leonardo's sketch of his multileved town plan of Milan.

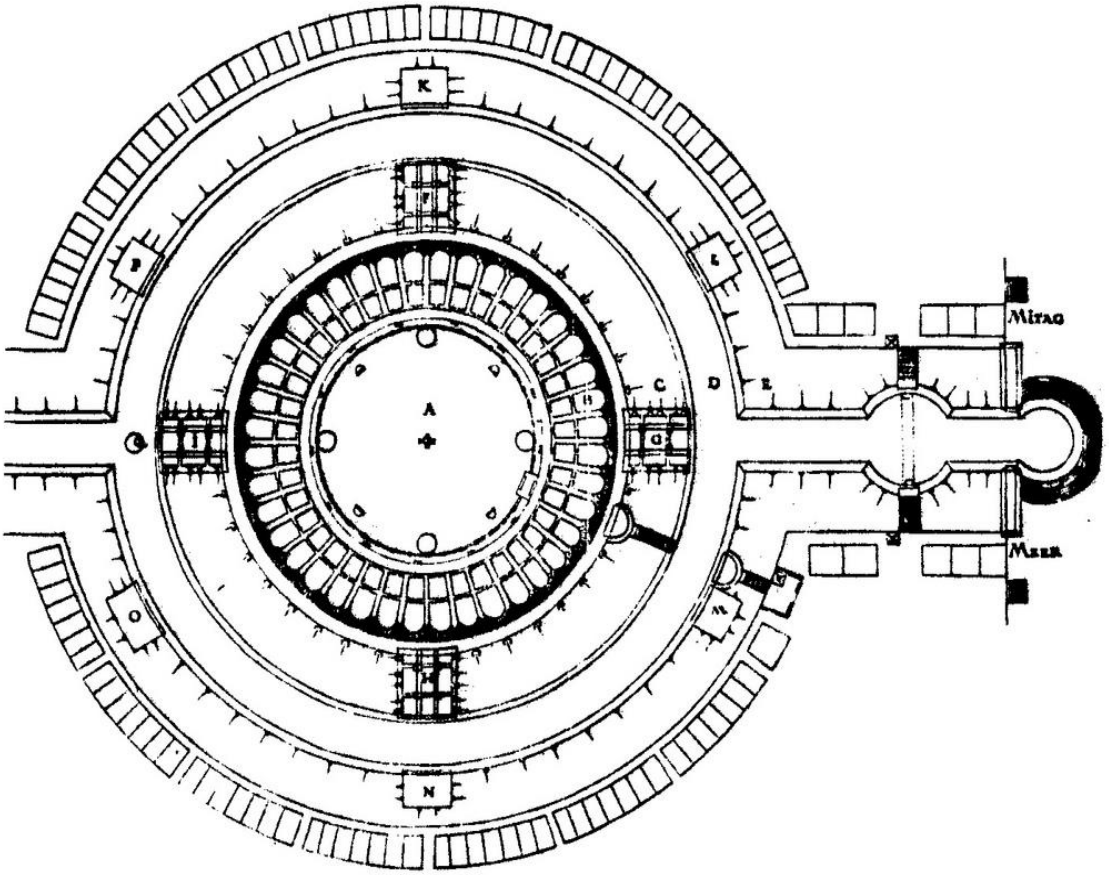


Figure 24: Dürer's town-plan of a circular ideal city

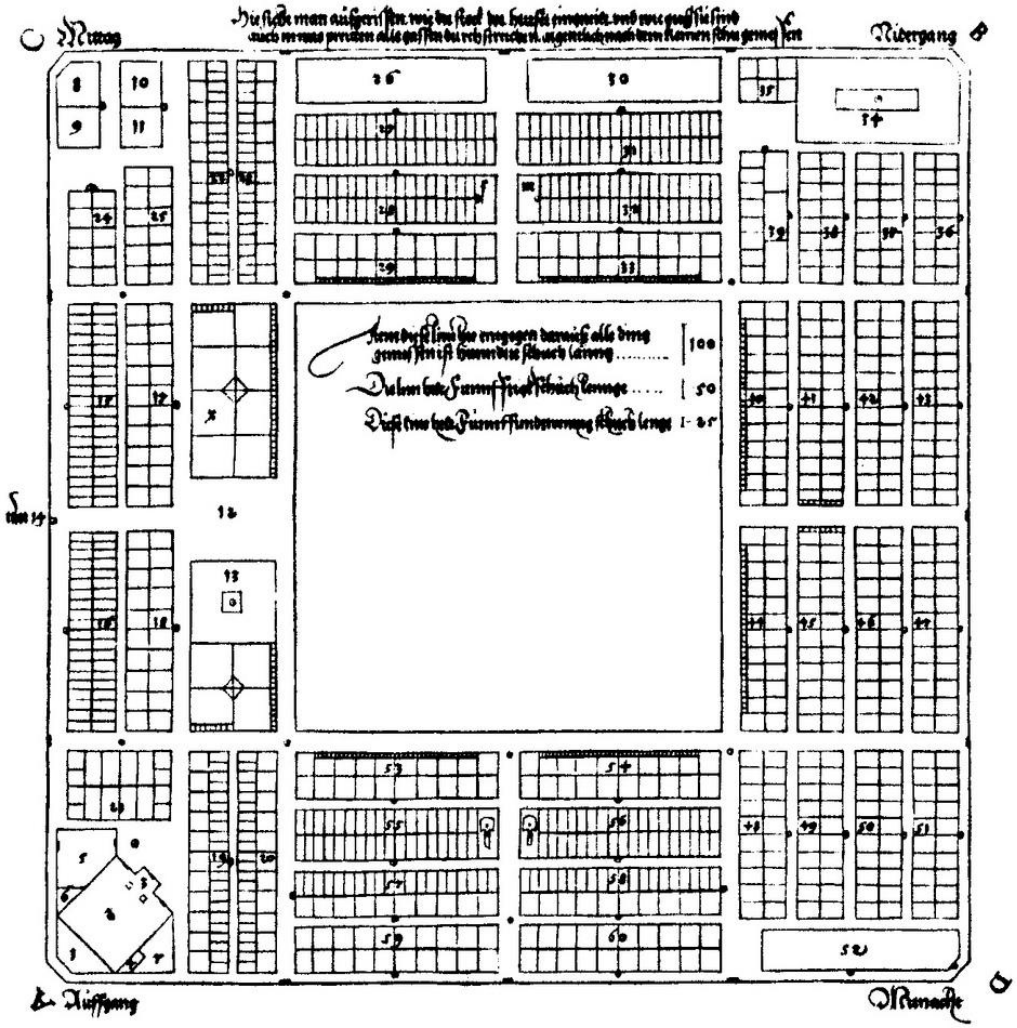


Figure 25: Dürer's rectangular Ideal city's town-plan. A significant departure from the Italian Renaissance ideal city plans.

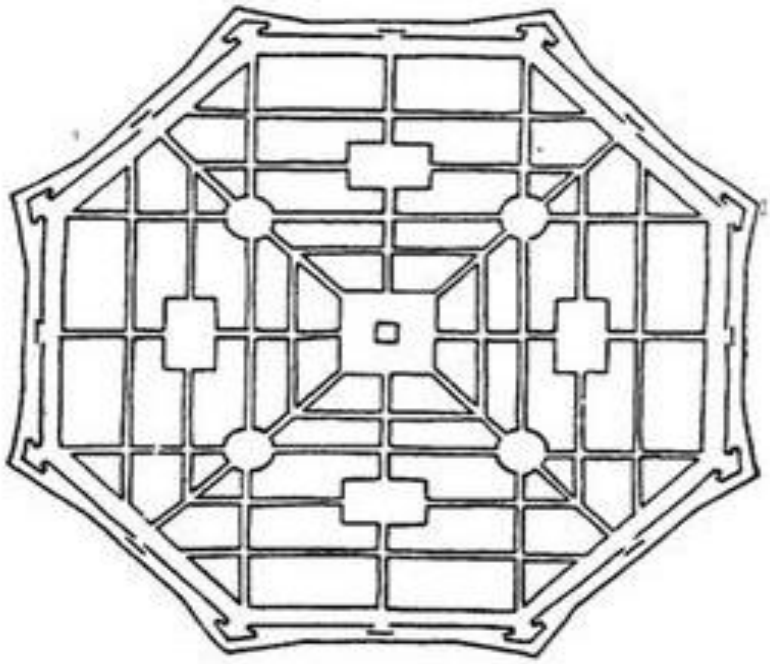


figure 26: Giorgio Vassari the Younger's octagonal Ideal city plan.

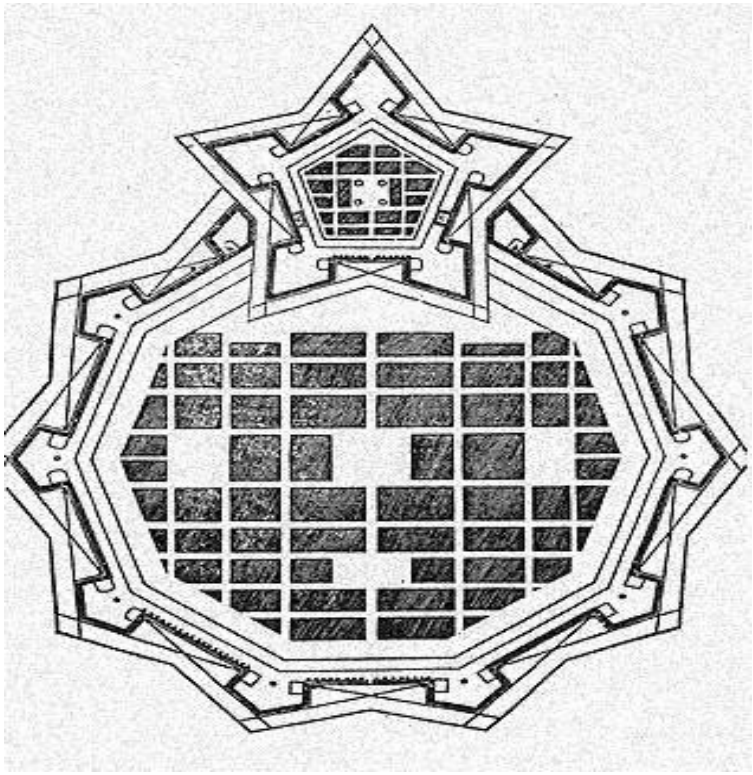


Figure 27: Cataneo's Ideal city with a star fortress in its north. The architect's care for the city's protection is evident in its defences.

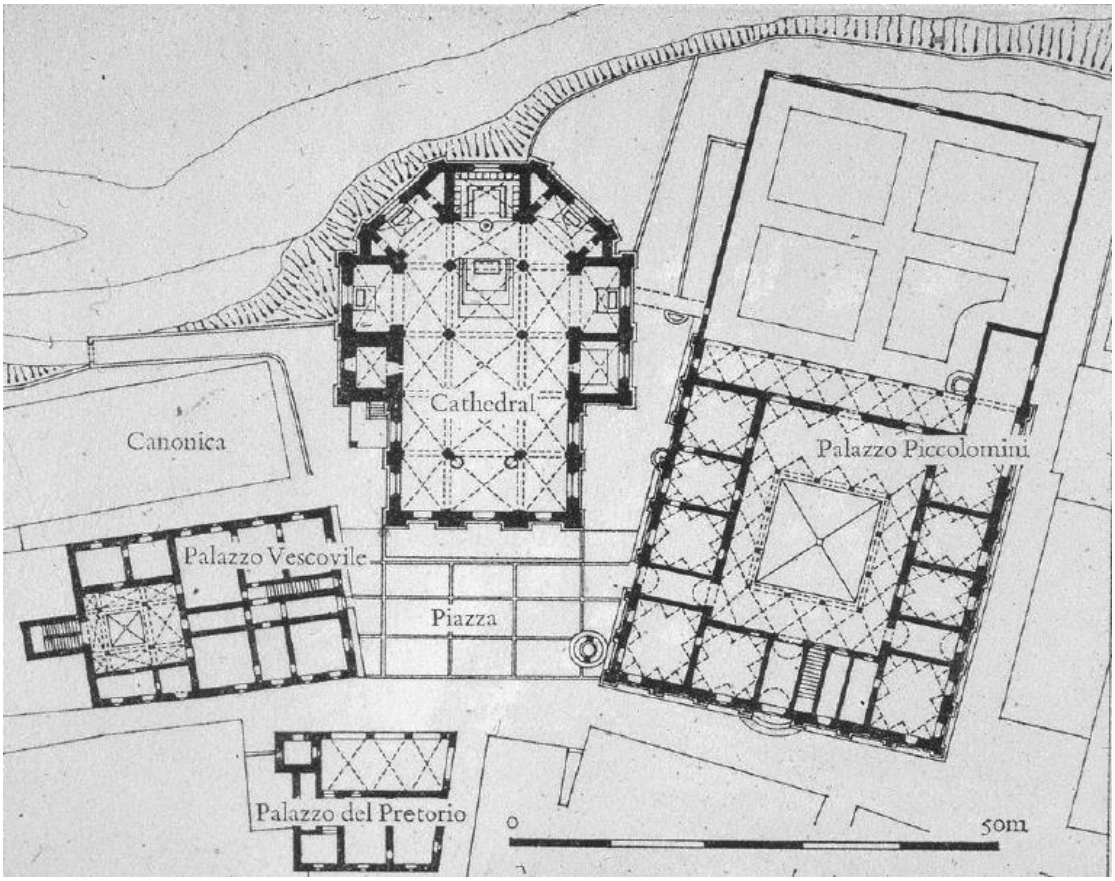


Figure 28: Pienza's Piazza, the small scale intervention reshaped the center of this small town changing it as a whole.

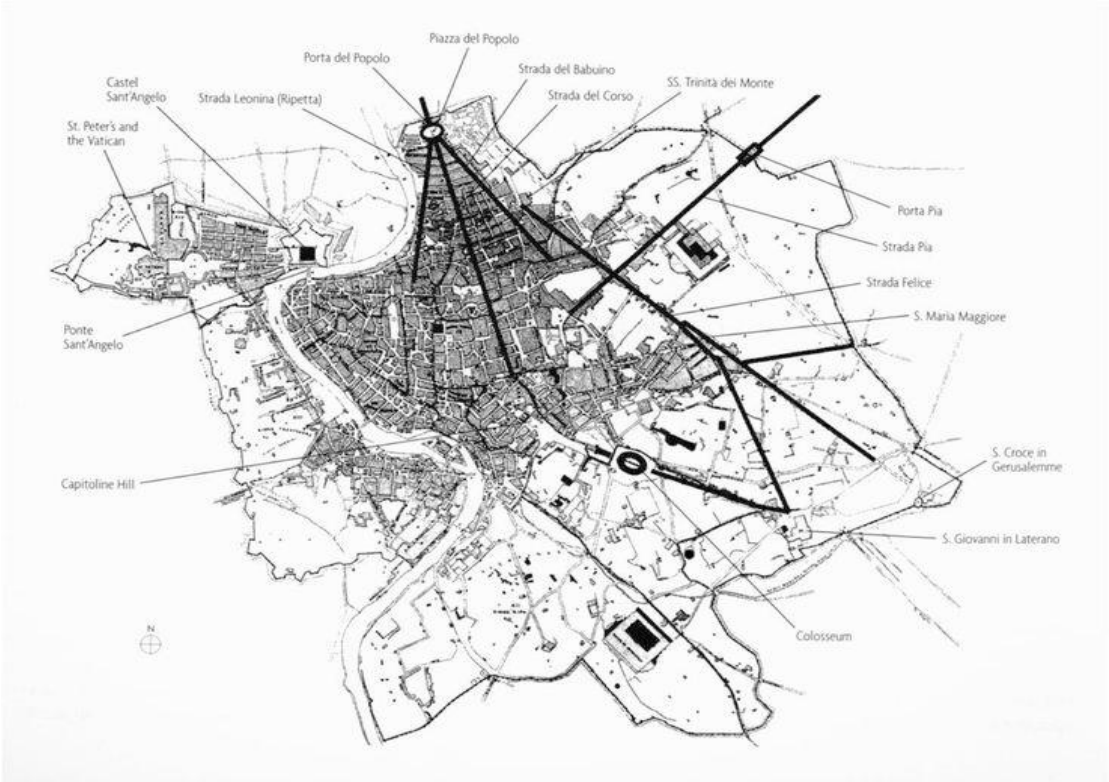


Figure 29: The major 'viae rectae', the straight roads, opened during Nicholas V's papacy and his successors's, linking the major landmarks of the city.



Figure 30: Strada Nuova in Genoa from an 18th c. engraving.

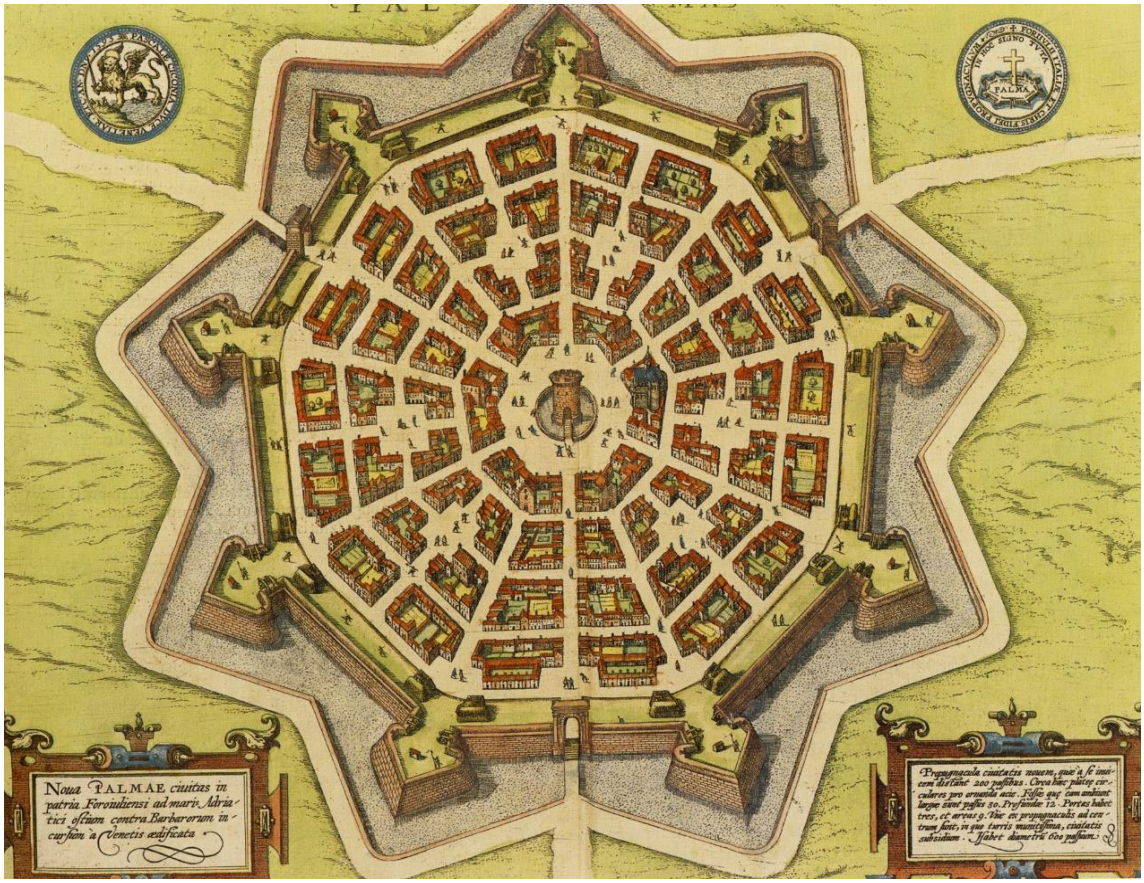


Figure 31: Palmanova, the city's character as a fortress is evident by the care given to its defenses with a moat and bastions.

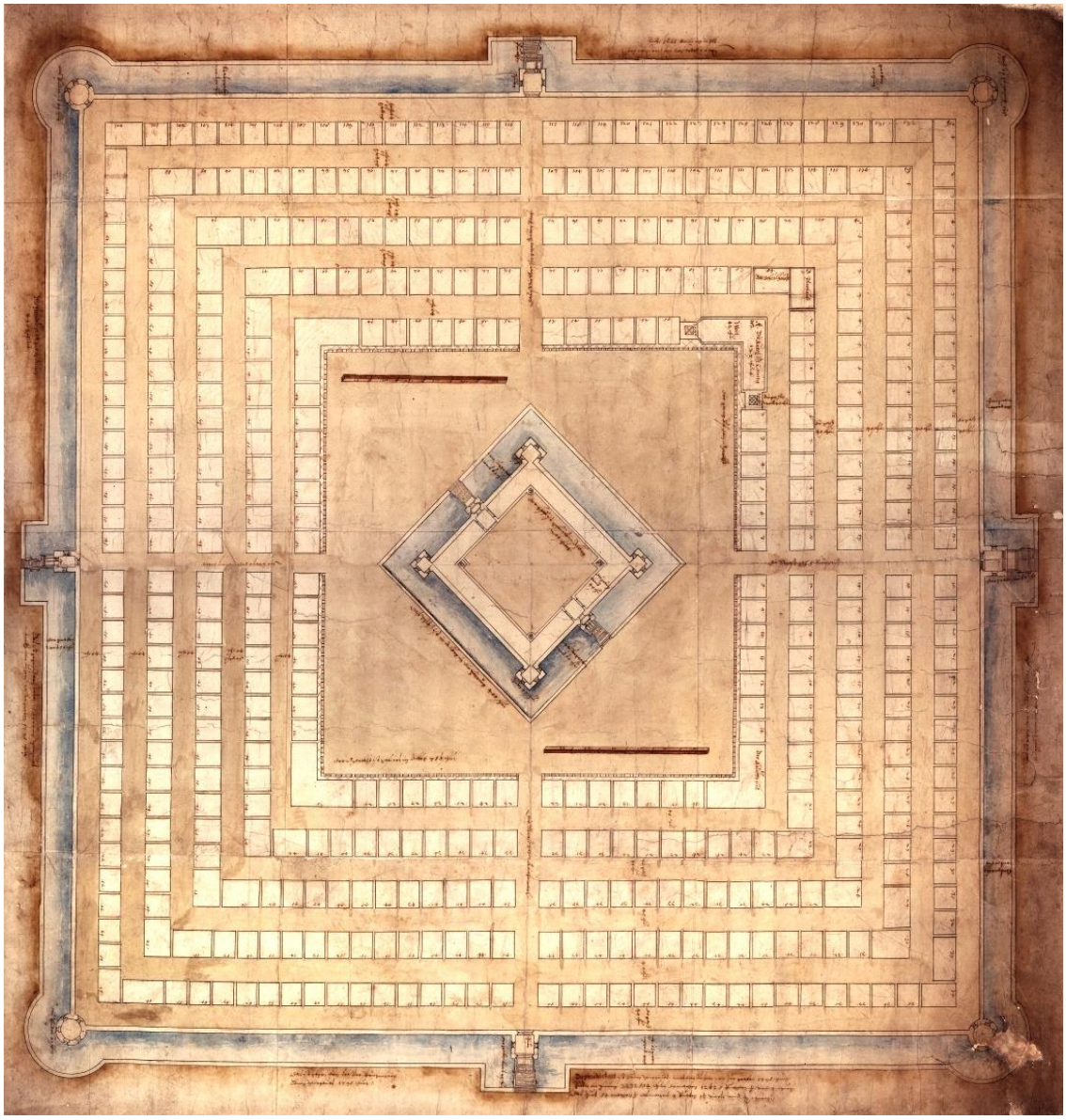


Figure 32: Freudenstadt’s town-plan, in which the well ordered city has in its center the monarch’s fortress.

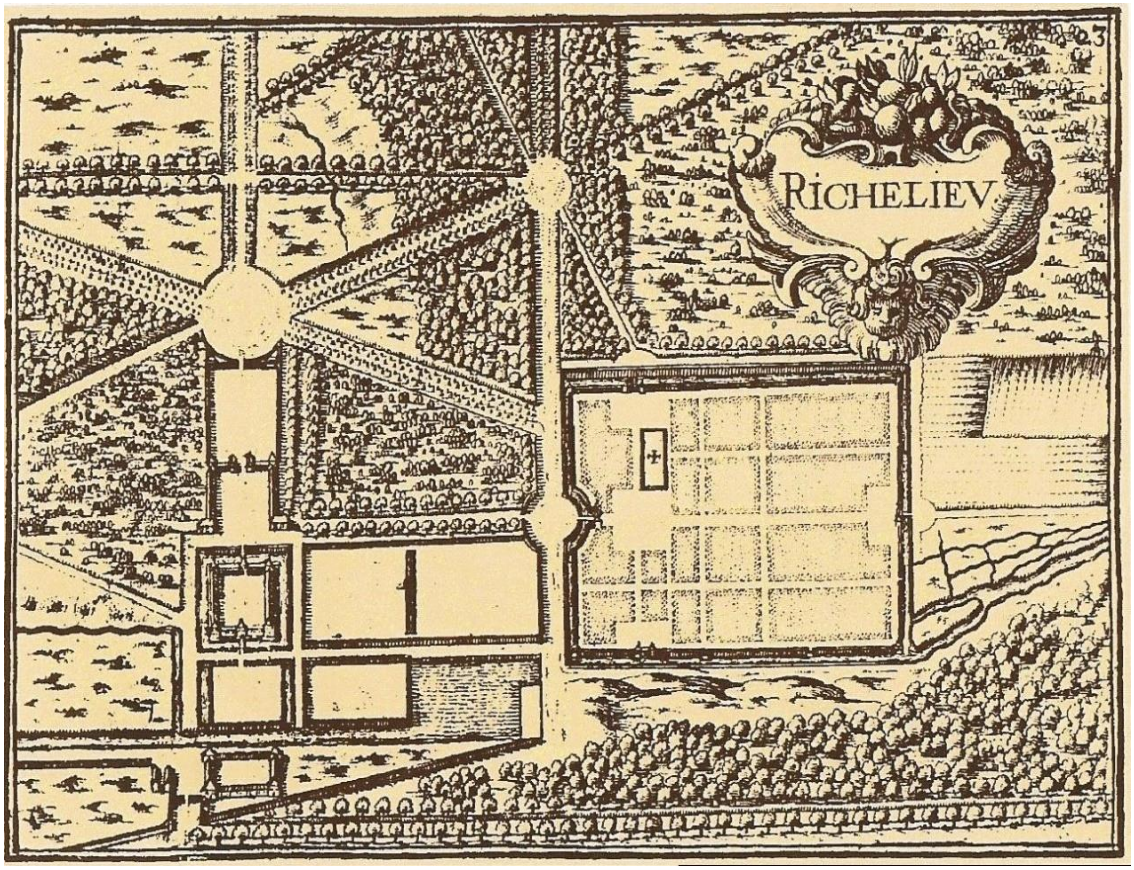


Figure 33: Detail, Plan of the city of Richelieu with the surrounding gardens and Château. The city is part of a general reshaping of the area's topography.



Figure 34: Topographical sketch of Mexico City.

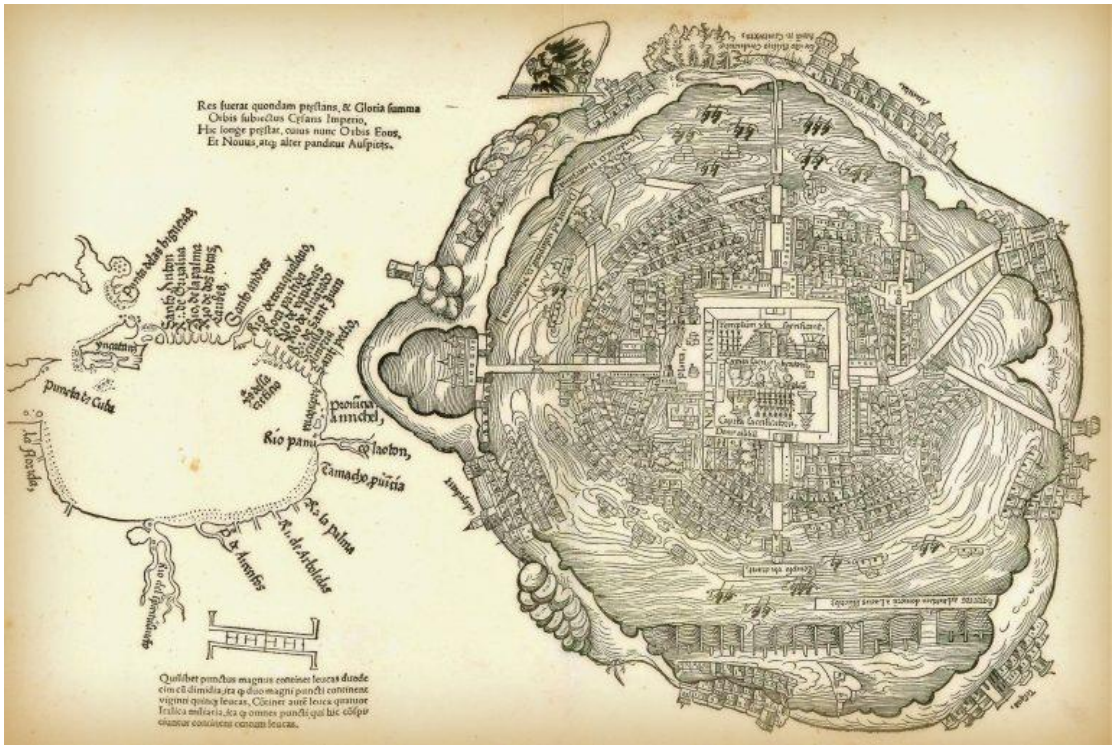


Figure 35: Woodcut map and town plan of Tenochtitlan. The city of Mexico that was erected upon Tenochtitlan's ruins followed the latter's town-plan, but it appropriated and Christianised its space.

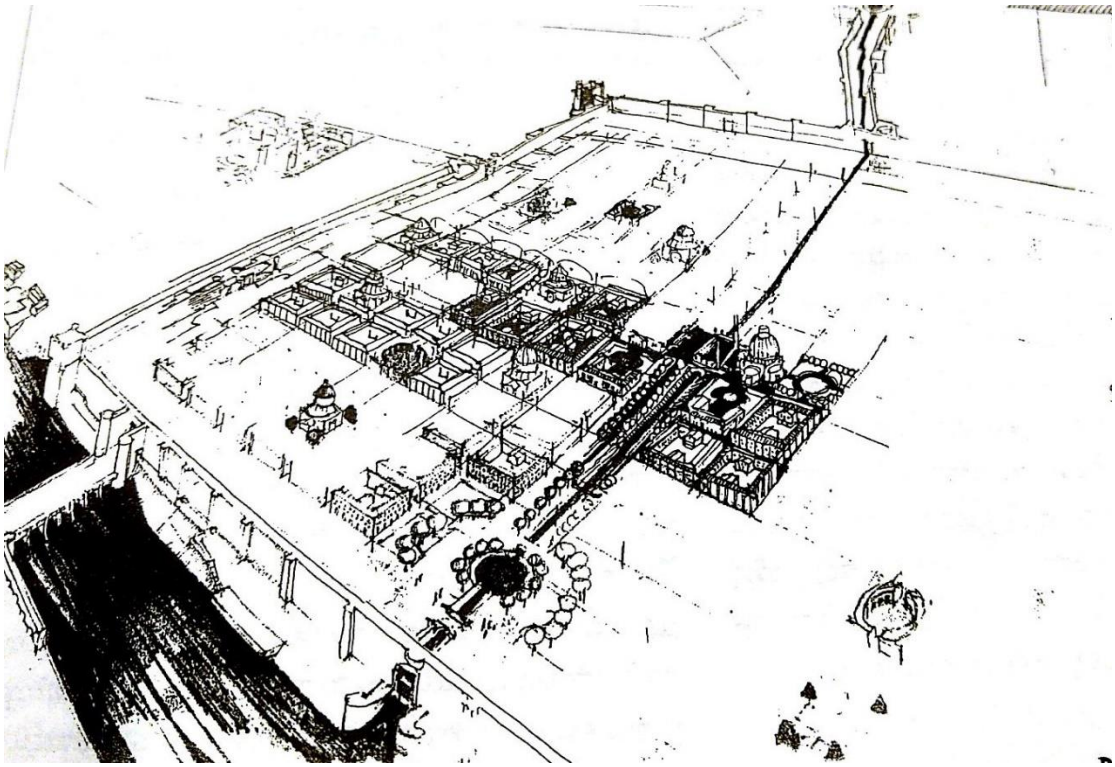


Figure 36: Amaurote's topographical sketch.

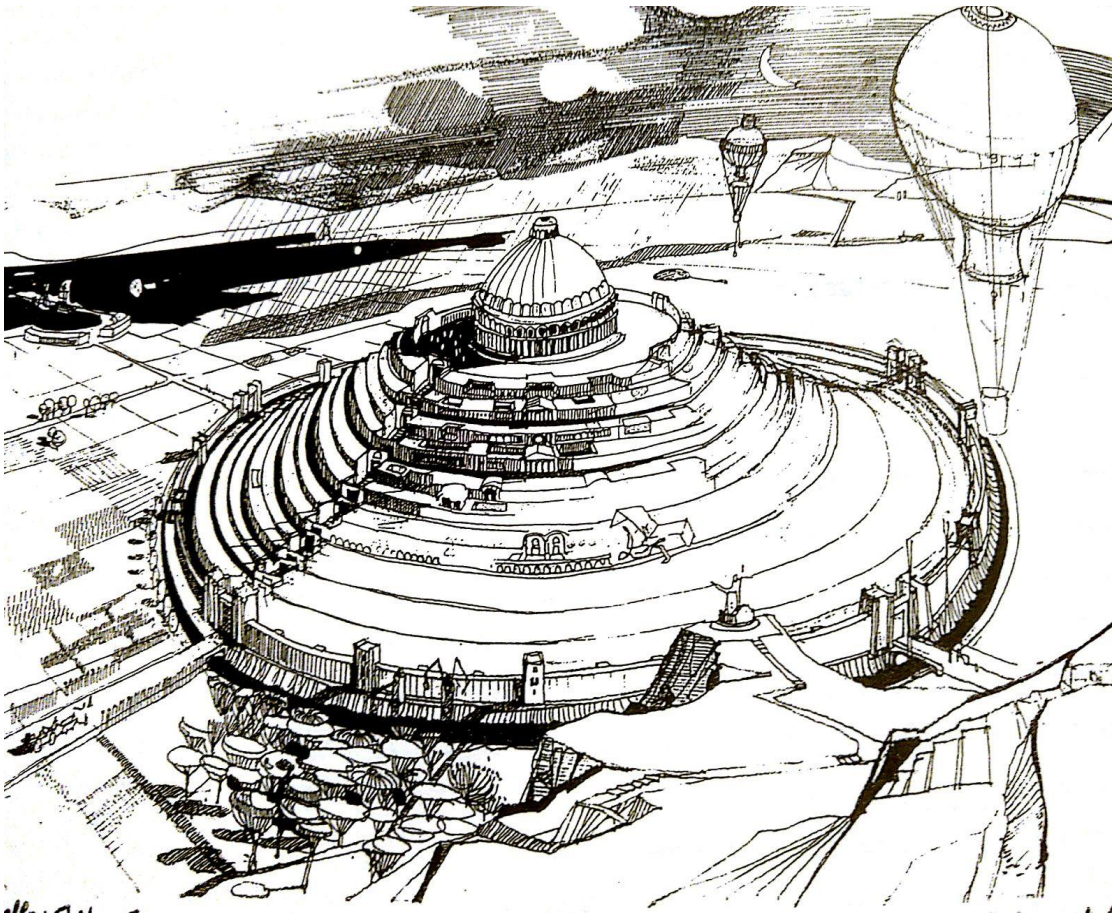
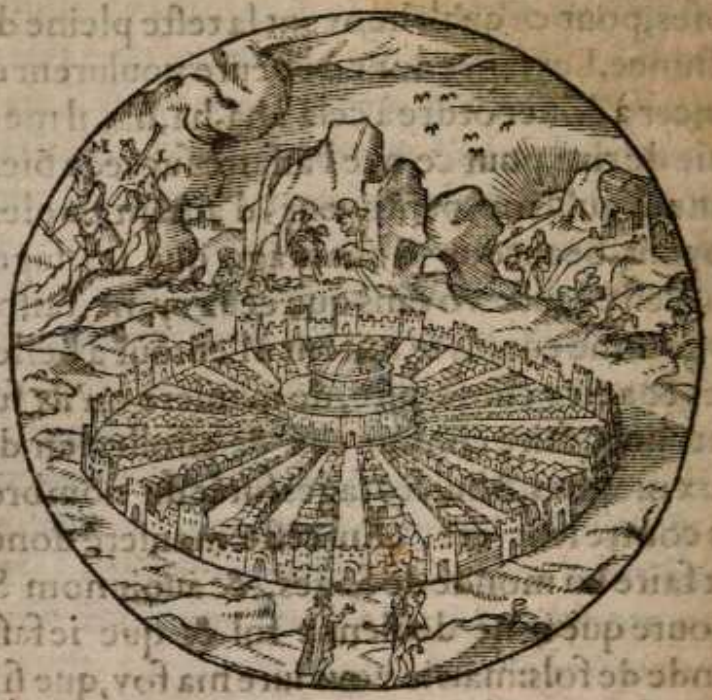


Figure 37: City of the Sun’s topographical sketch.



Figure 38: Raphael, *Lo Sposalizio*, 1504.

LE MONDE SAGE.



Le Fol & Sage Academiques, par vne vision monstree de Iupiter & de Mome en forme de Pelerins & passagers, voyent vn nouueau monde, lequel, par vn d'iceux est appellé Fol & par l'autre est dit le Mõde Sage.

LE SAGE, LE FOL.

IE me sembloit bien aduis que c'estoit vn songe, & disoye bien que cela ne se pouuoit faire; mais elle me sembloit tant vraye qu'elle m'entretenoit en grãd plaisir.

LE FOL. Quelques fois nous

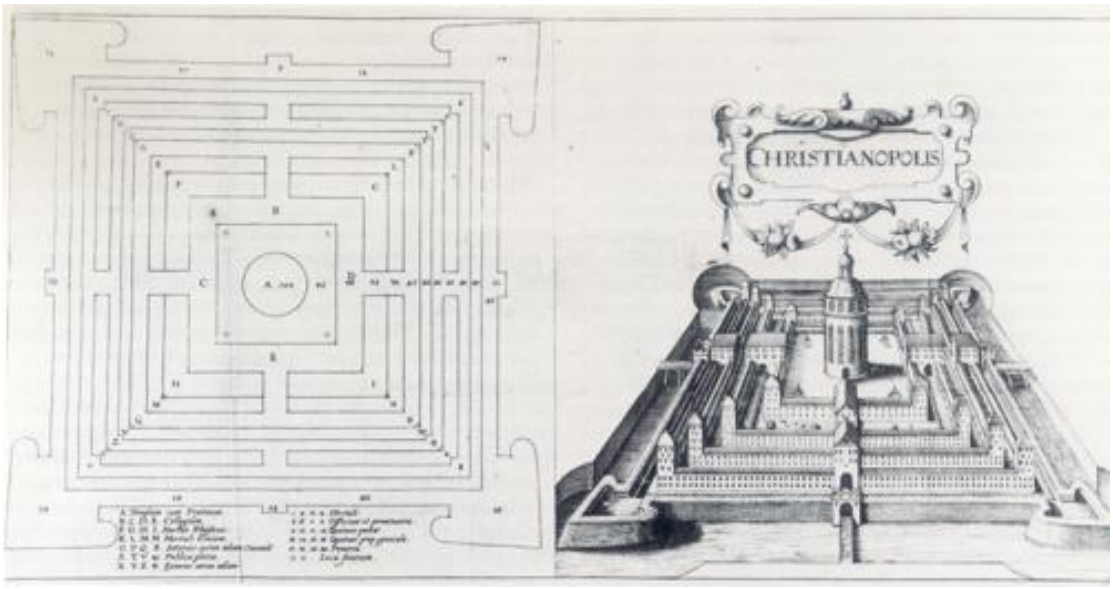


Figure 40: Town-plan and sketch of Christianopolis.

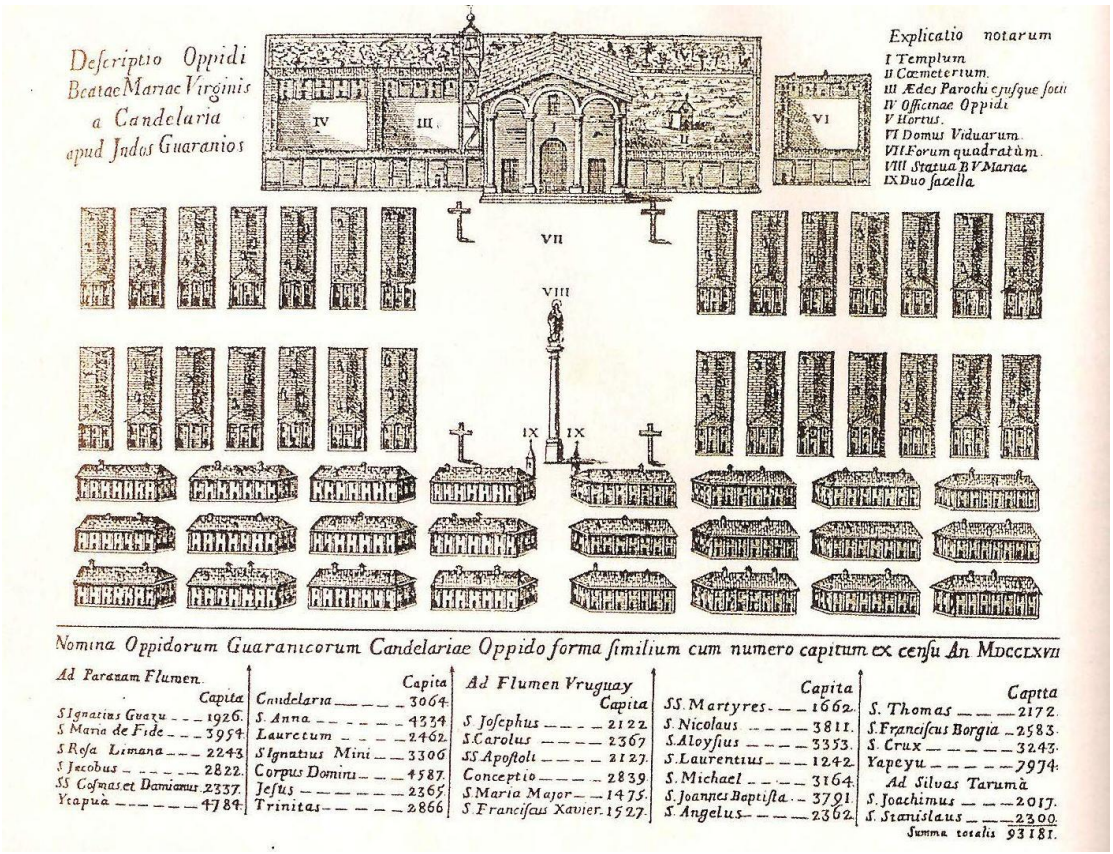


Figure 41: The Jesuit reduction of Candelaria.



Figure 42: Sketch of Plymouth colony

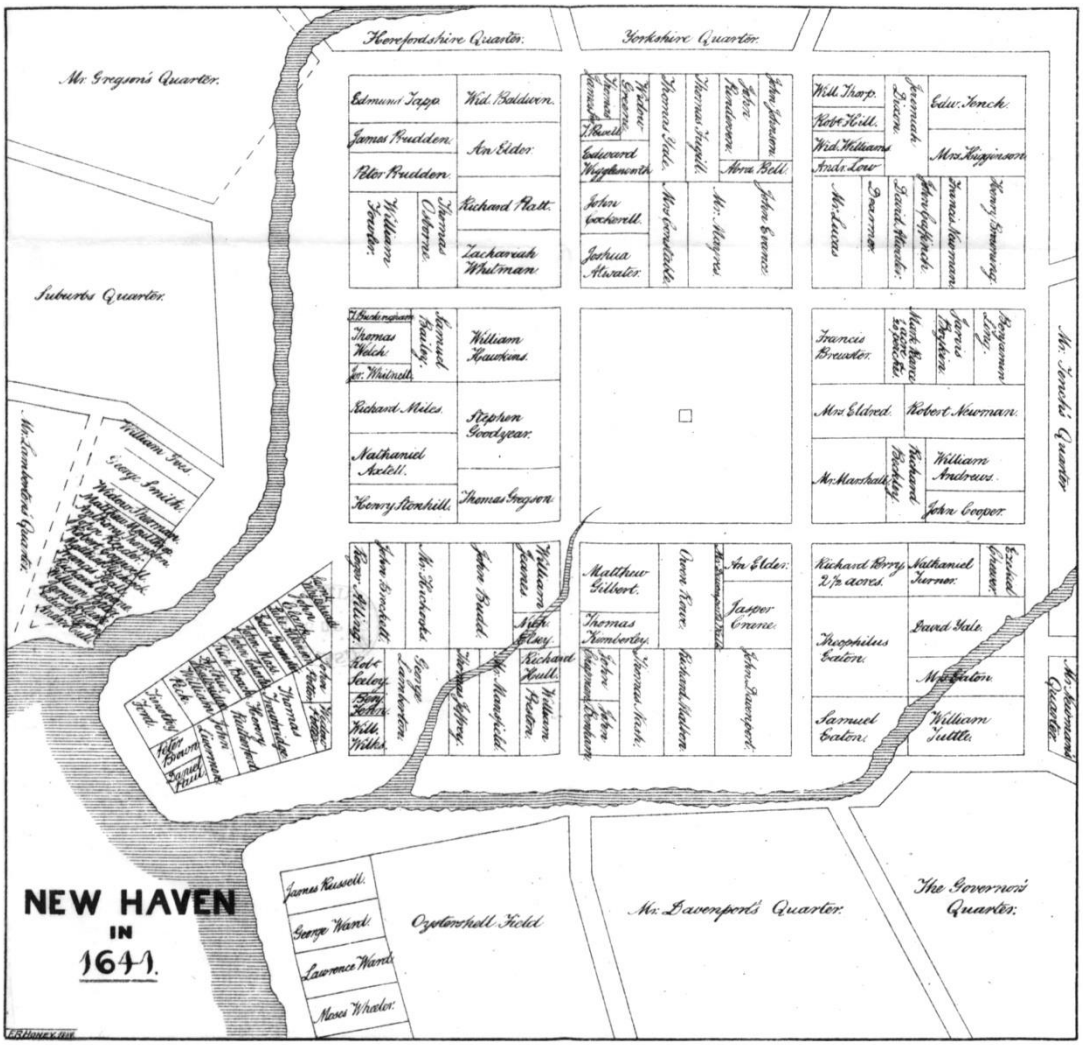


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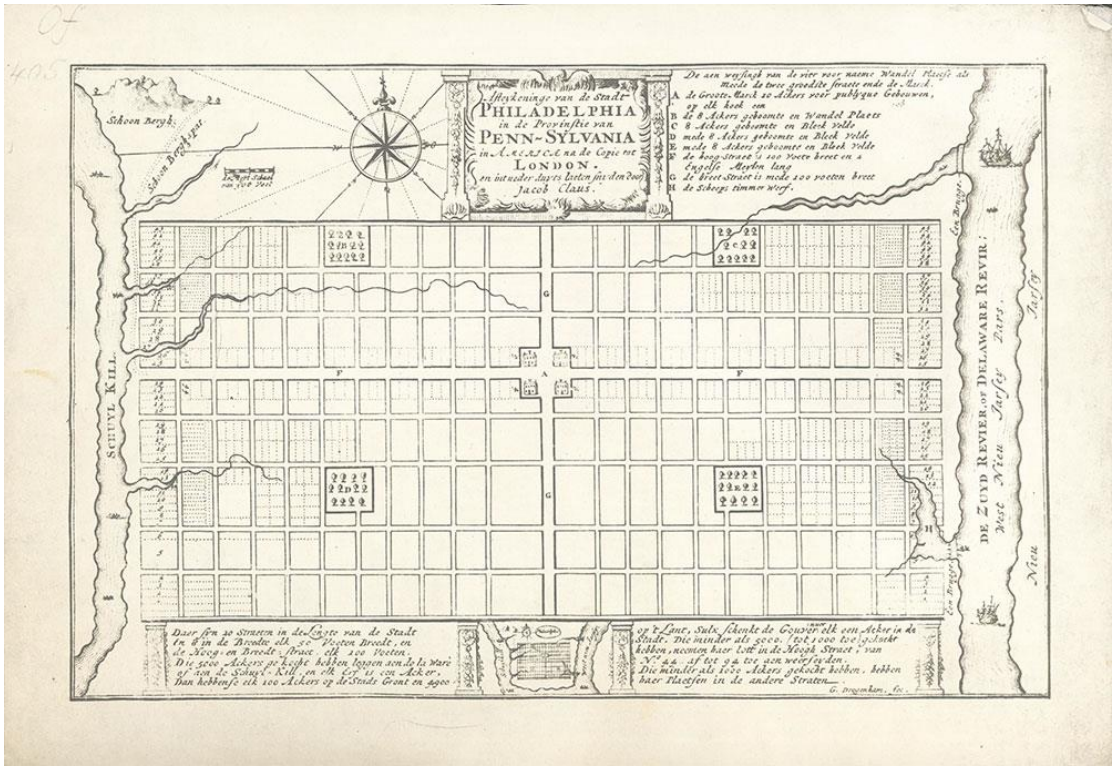
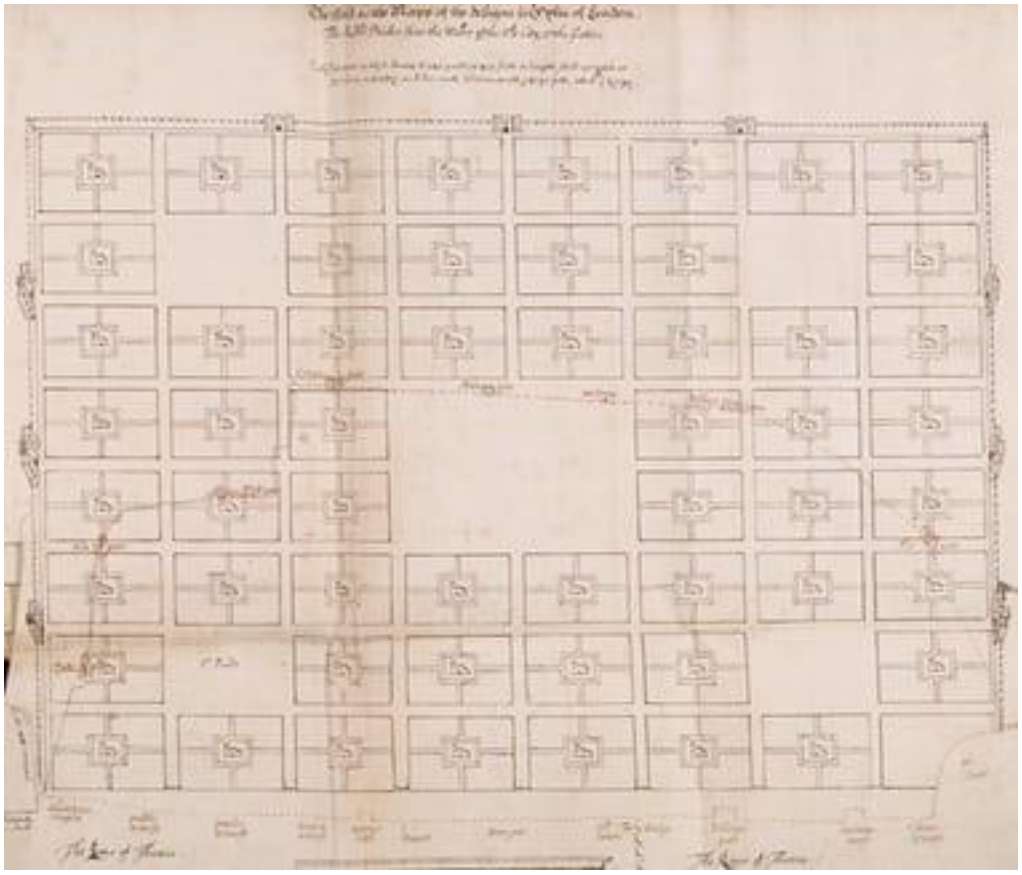


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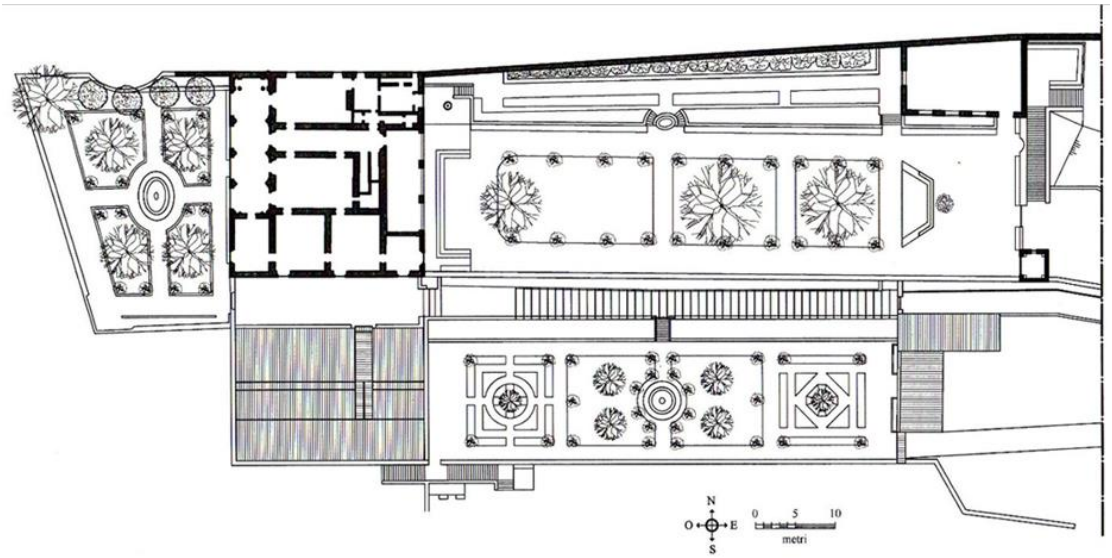


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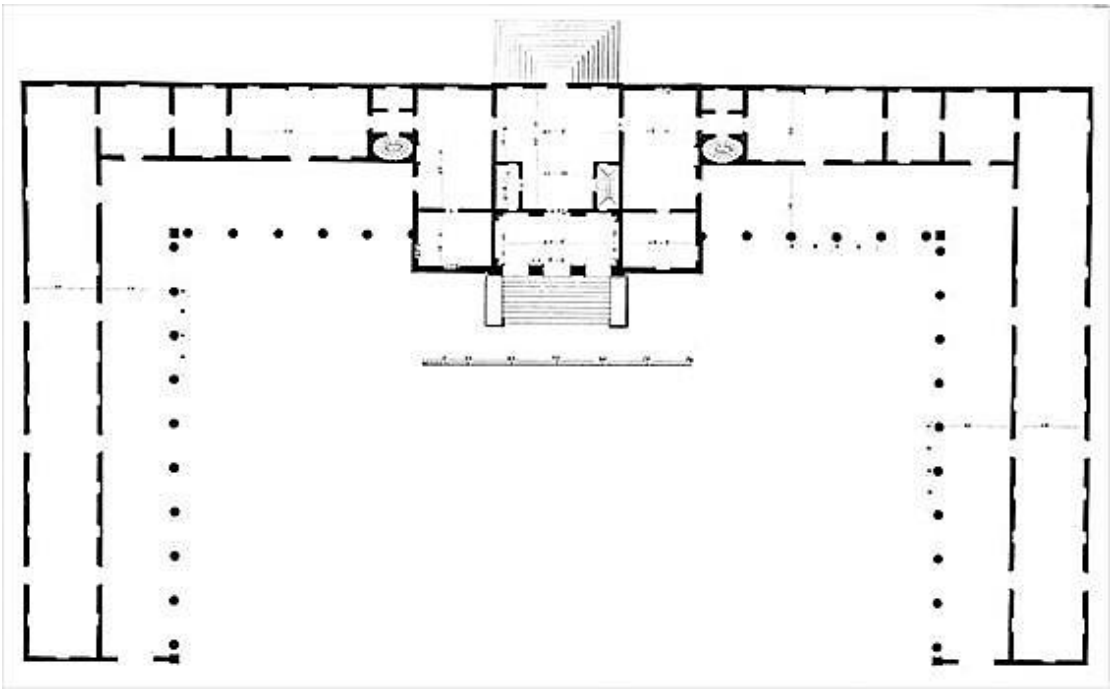


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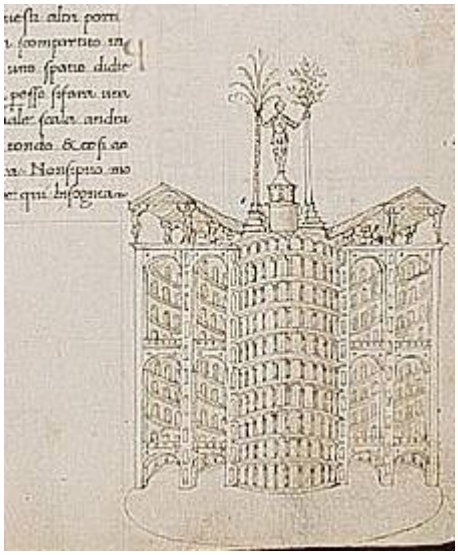


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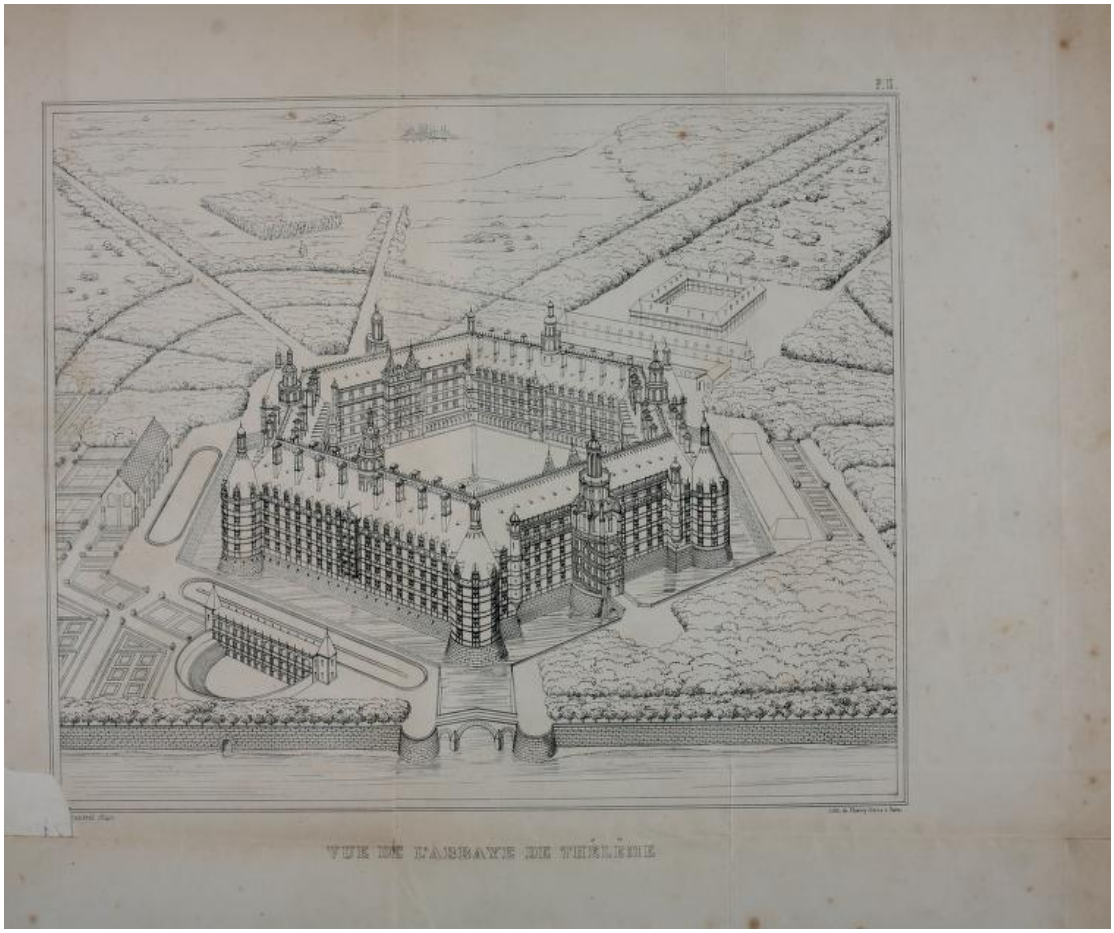


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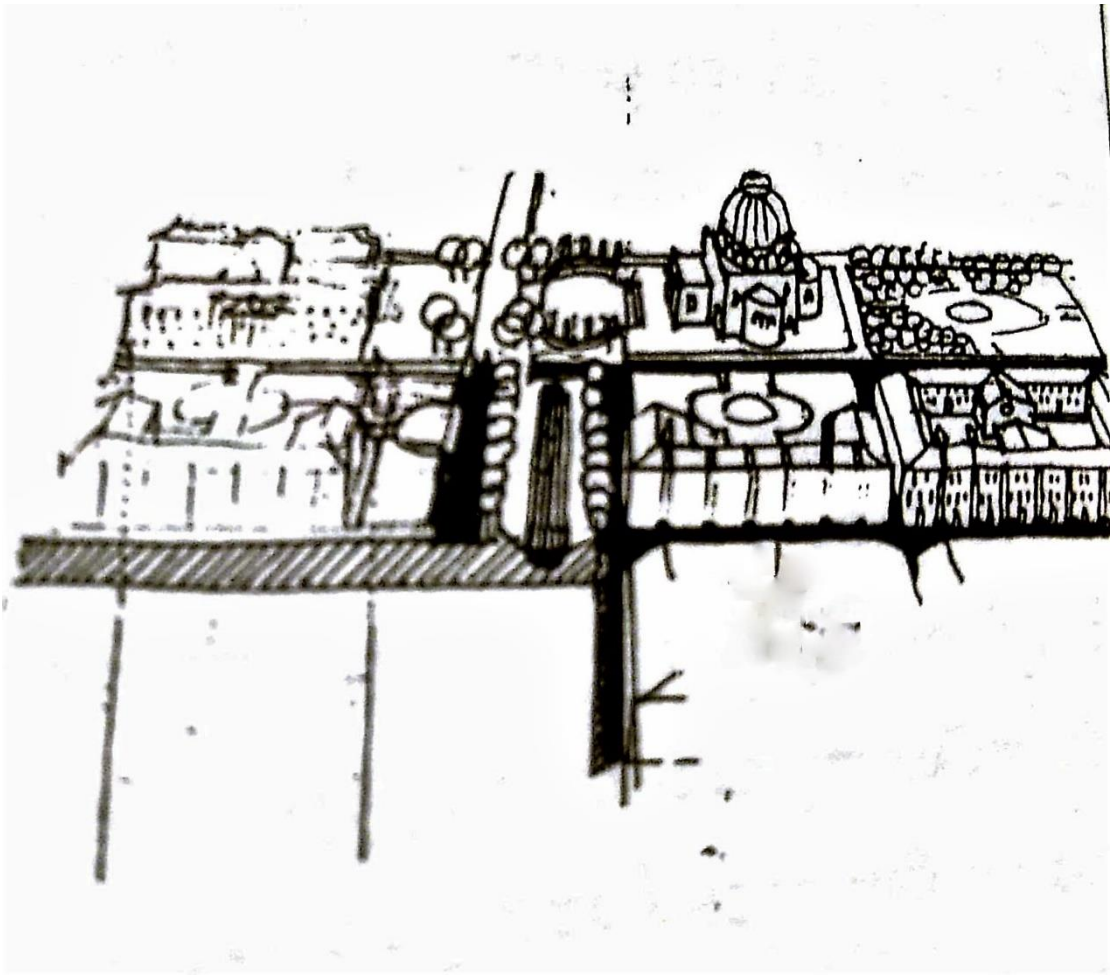


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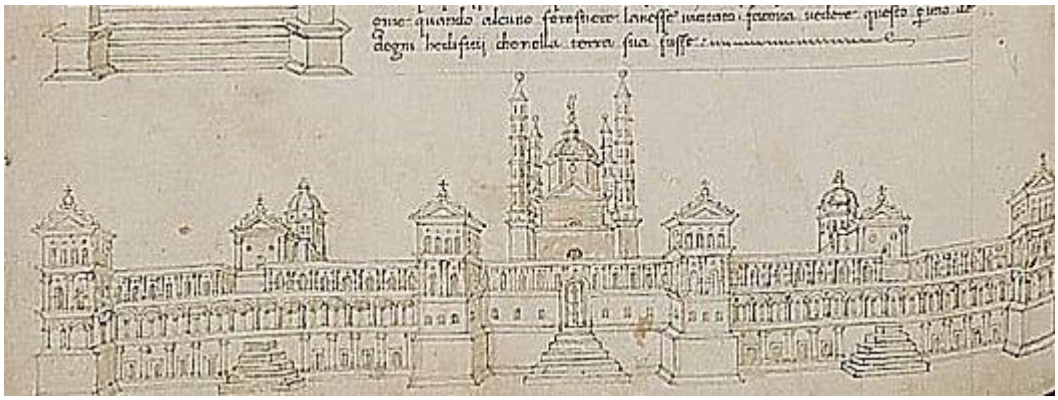


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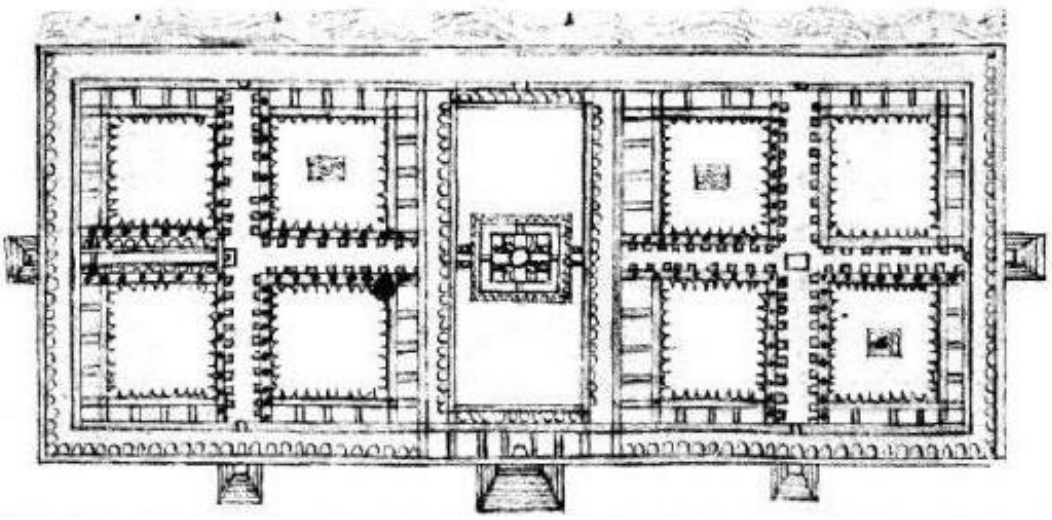


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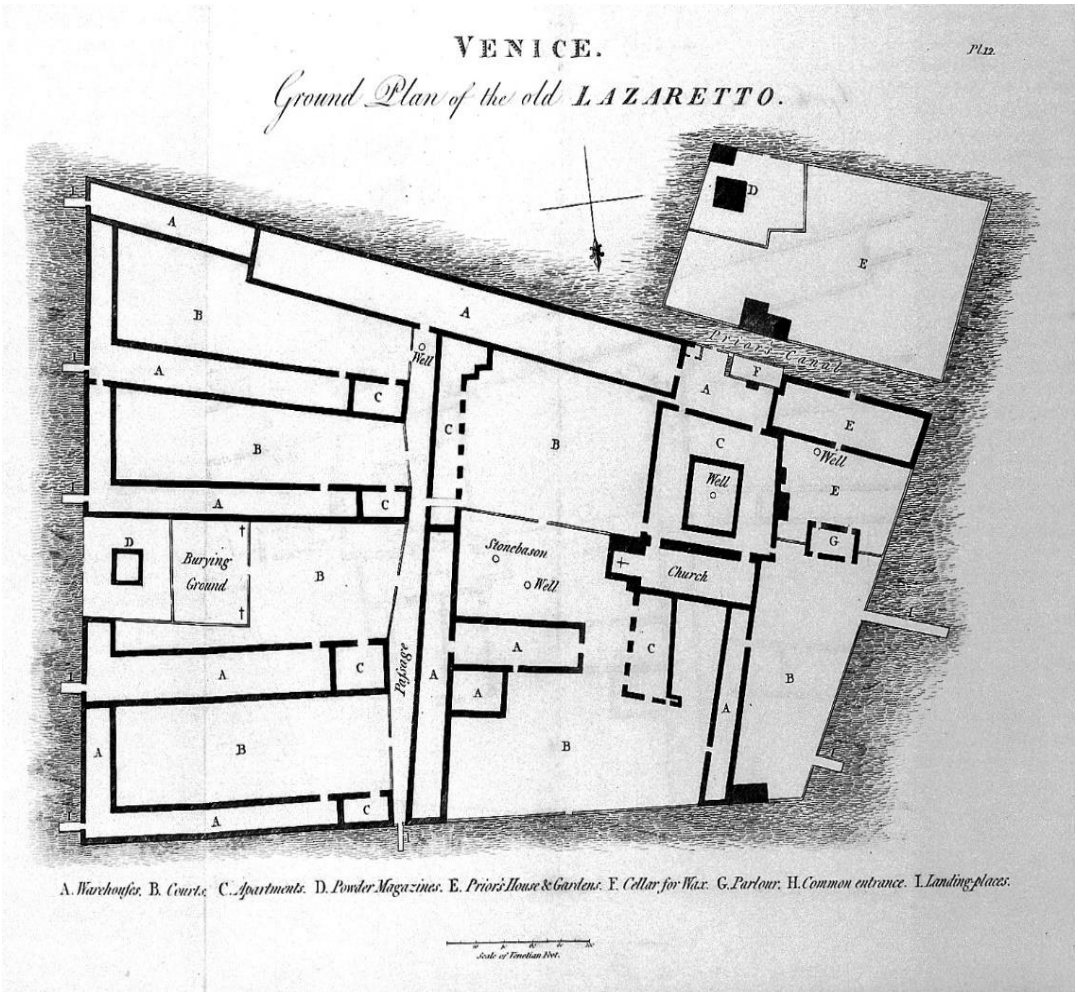


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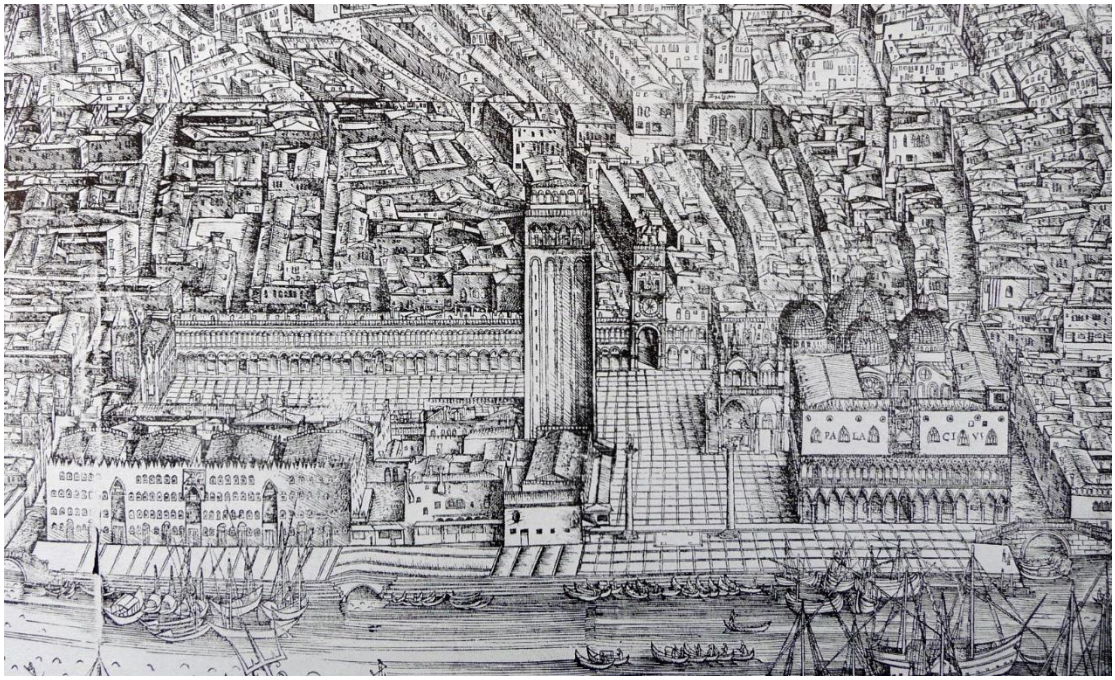


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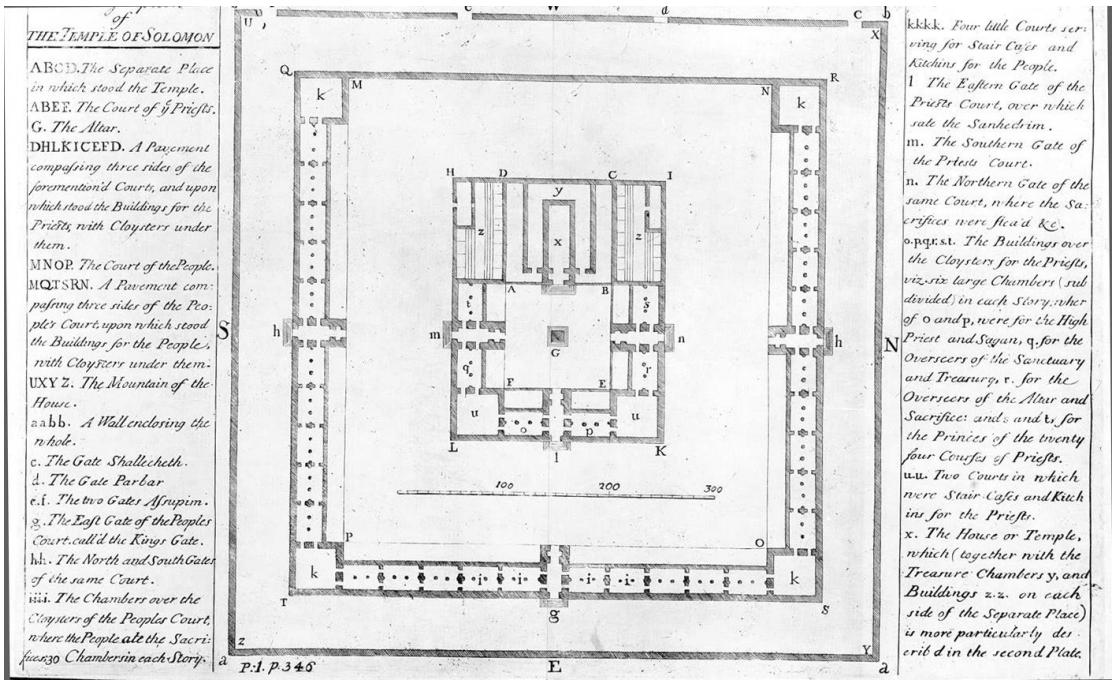


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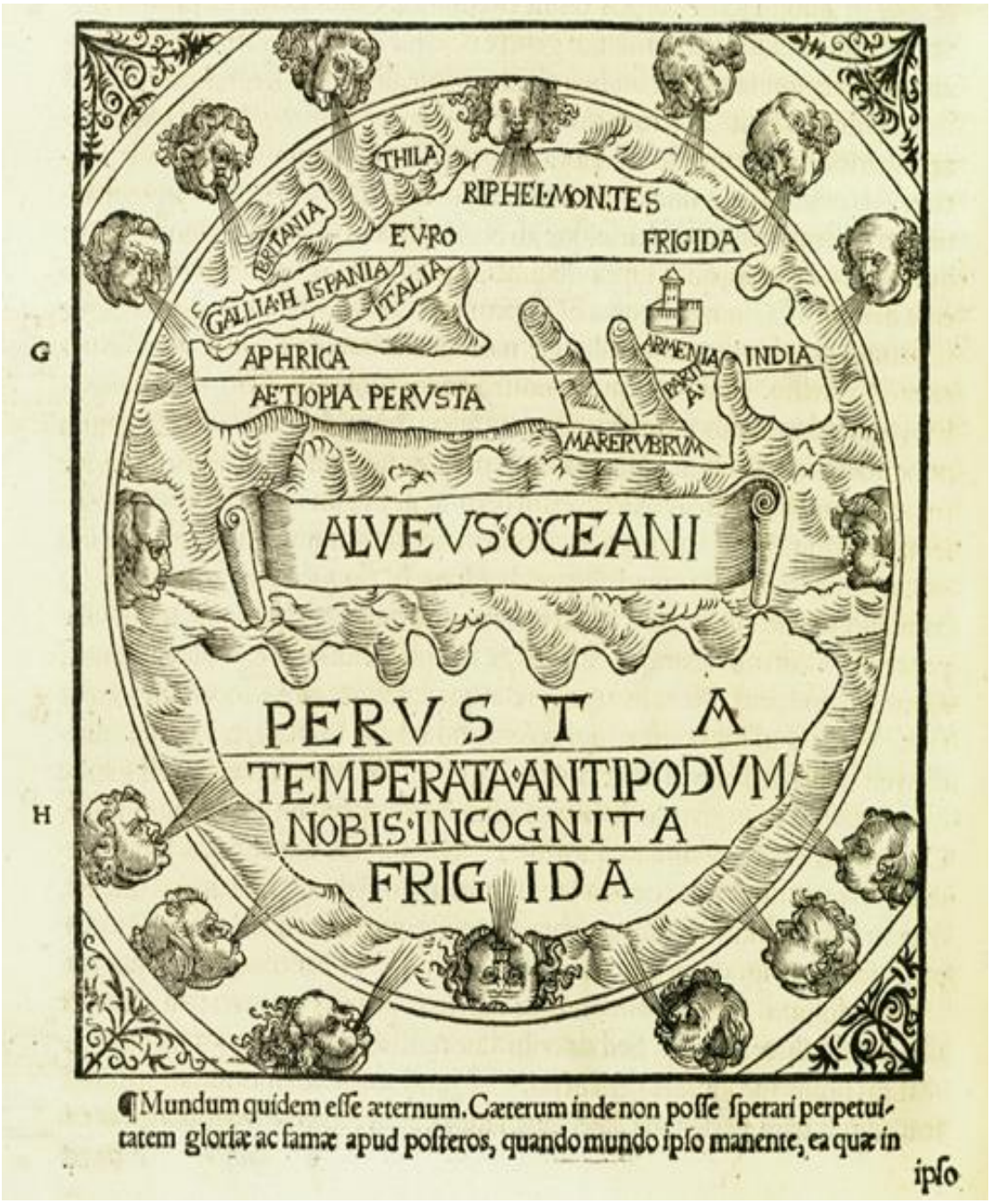


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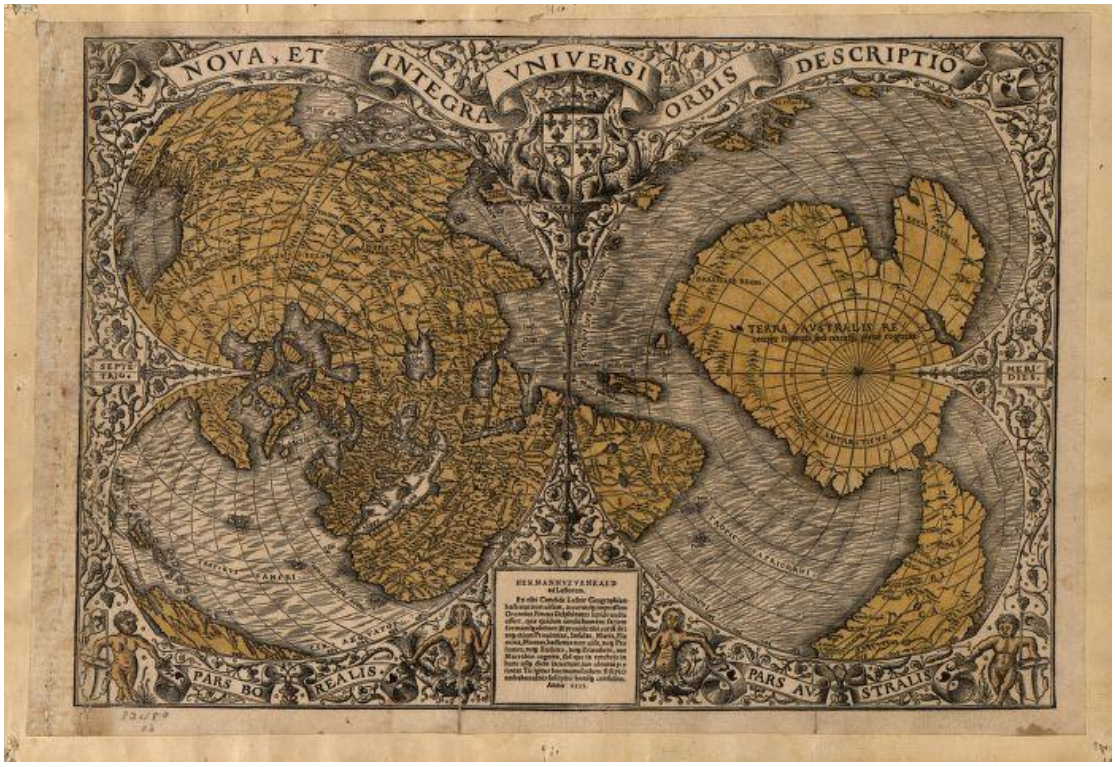


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