



ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DEI LINCEI

International Conference

THE 'CITY' ACROSS TIME

Emergence, developments, and social, economic, political, cultural and health impact

8-10 JUNE 2022

A B S T R A C T

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PROGRAMME

The Conference will offer a diachronic and interdisciplinary account of the formation of the city and of the radical changes this process produced in the life of communities, in terms of their social, economic and political relations, relations on the territory – between the city and the 'countryside' and between the metropolis and small centres –, the forms of production and circulation of goods, the development of long distance trade, in the regulation of social relations and the law. The city favoured the specialisation of labour, generating a close and structural interdependence between all the social and productive components within and outside the urban space, and played an important role in the development and dissemination of knowledge and know-how. But urbanisation also increased social inequalities and imbalances, sometimes giving rise to social tension and conflicts and requiring ever tighter forms of central coordination. Relations between the city and the State will be also analysed, as well as the economic role played by public institutions and private categories and households from the earliest formative stages to the present day. The attraction exerted by urban centres over a growing population has led to making them particularly sought-after destinations by migrants, to which different responses have been adopted in different historical, socio-economic and political contexts, either creating new identities and multicultural situations or amplifying clashes and contradictions. Lastly, cities will be also looked at as potential risk factors, in terms of health, built landscape, and environment protection. Drawing on this comparative long-term analysis, we shall raise questions and debate on which future we might imagine for our cities.

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Il Convegno tratterà in modo diacronico e interdisciplinare i temi della formazione della città e delle trasformazioni profonde da essa prodotte nella vita delle comunità: nei rapporti sociali, economici e politici, nelle relazioni sul territorio tra città e 'campagna' e tra metropoli e piccoli centri, nelle forme di produzione e circolazione dei beni, nello sviluppo del commercio a lunga distanza, nella regolamentazione dei rapporti sociali e del diritto. La città ha favorito la specializzazione del lavoro, generando una forte e strutturale interdipendenza tra tutte le componenti sociali e produttive all'interno e all'esterno dello spazio urbano, e ha svolto un ruolo importante nella diffusione dei saperi e delle conoscenze. Ma l'urbanizzazione ha fatto anche crescere le disuguaglianze e gli squilibri, generando a volte tensioni e conflitti sociali e richiedendo forme sempre più forti di coordinamento centrale. Si analizzerà il rapporto tra

città e Stato e il ruolo economico giocato dalle istituzioni pubbliche e dalle componenti private e familiari a partire dalle prime fasi formative, fino ai nostri giorni. L'attrazione esercitata dai centri urbani su una popolazione crescente ha fatto sì che essi divenissero anche meta privilegiata dei flussi migratori, cui nei diversi contesti storici, socio-economici e politici sono state date risposte differenti, creando nuove identità e realtà multiculturali o amplificando i contrasti e le contraddizioni. Infine, si rivolgerà uno sguardo anche sulle città come potenziali fattori di rischio, in termini sanitari, architettonici e ambientali. Sulla base di questa analisi comparata di lungo periodo, ci si domanderà e si discuterà su quale futuro possiamo immaginare per le nostre città.

Wednesday, 8 June

9.30 Roberto ANTONELLI (Presidente dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei): *Saluti introduttivi*

Antonella POLIMENI (Rettrice della Sapienza Università di Roma): *Indirizzi di saluto*

Session 1: The birth of cities. Different trajectories and outcomes in urbanization processes

Chair: Susan POLLOCK

9.45 Marcella FRANGIPANE (Lincea, Sapienza Università di Roma): *Urbanization in the Near East. Different types of 'cities' in formative times*

10.15 Guillermo ALGAZE (University of California, San Diego, USA): *A Reversal of Fortunes: The Transregional Origins of Early Mesopotamian Civilization*

10.45 Augusta MCMAHON (Cambridge University, UK): *Tell Brak and northern Mesopotamian urbanism*

11.15 Coffee break

11.30 Andrea CARDARELLI (Sapienza Università di Roma): *On the threshold of History. The origin of the first cities in Italy*

12.00 Mark PEARCE (University of Nottingham, UK): *Different models of urbanization: Early towns in temperate Europe and the Mediterranean urbs*

12.30 Johannes MÜLLER (University of Kiel, Germany): *Chalcolithic European Mega-sites - an alternative approach to early urbanism?*

13.00 Lunch

14.30 Linda MANZANILLA (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico): *Teotihuacan in Central Mexico: an exceptional megalopolis*

15.00 Discussion

Session 2: Different models of ancient Near Eastern 'cities'

Chair: Augusta MCMAHON

15.30 Susan POLLOCK (Freie Universität, Berlin): *Marginalization and "Ordinary Lives" in Early Cities of Southern Mesopotamia*

16.00 Lorenzo NIGRO (Sapienza Università di Roma): *The diverse urbanism of the Levant: models and achievements*

16.30 Coffee break

17.00 Manfred BIETAK (Lincoo, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna): *Harbour Towns: The Examples of Avaris and Byblos*

17.30 Andreas SCHACHNER (Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Istanbul): *From Hattush to Hattusha: the making of a capital city under the conditions of Central Anatolia*

18.00 Discussion

Thursday, 9 June

Session 3: Cities in the ancient Mediterranean world

Chair: Manfred BIETAK

- 10.00 Louis GODART (Linceo): *From the Emergence of Towns to the Birth of Palaces in the Aegean Bronze Age (2800-1200 BC)*
- 10.30 Matteo D'ACUNTO (Università di Napoli L'Orientale): *The birth of the polis and the city-states of Archaic Greece: the archaeological perspective*
- 11.00 Carmine AMPOLO (Linceo, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa): *The Polis and its modern critics: City-States on move and participation*
- 11.30 Coffee break
- 11.40 Discussion

Chair: Giorgio PIRAS

- 12.00 Paolo CARAFA (Sapienza Università di Roma): *When? Where? How? Questions on the origins of the city in Rome*
- 12.30 Maria Teresa D'ALESSIO (Sapienza Università di Roma): *Turning inside out: changing landscapes around roman cities*
- 13.00 Lunch

Chair: Eugenio LA ROCCA

- 14.30 Luigi CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI (Linceo, Sapienza Università di Roma): *La città e il suo patrimonio istituzionale*
- 15.00 Sabine LADSTÄTTER (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna): *Simply the best! The everlasting competition of Ephesus with other cities in Asia Minor*
- 15.30 Sauro GELICHI (Ca' Foscari Università Venezia): *The city from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages: a historical-archaeological perspective*
- 16.00 Coffee break
- 16.15 Discussion

Friday, 10 June

Session 4: Urbanization in North Africa

Chair: Marco MANCINI

- 10.00 Emanuele PAPI (Linceo, Scuola Archeologica Italiana ad Atene): *The birth of "cities" in North West Africa (first millennium BC)*
- 10.30 Lucia MORI (Sapienza Università di Roma): *Urbanization in the Central Sahara in the 1st millennium BC*
- 11.00 Coffee break

Session 5: Cities in the contemporary world

Chair: Annalisa ROSSELLI

- 11.15 Paolo SESTITO e Antonio ACCETTURO (Banca d'Italia): *Urban agglomerations in the Italian economy*
- 11.45 Bruno BONOMO (Sapienza Università di Roma): *Housing the Masses: Italian and European Cities in the Post-War Era*
- 12.15 Giulia Maria LABRIOLA (Università Suor Orsola Benincasa, Napoli): *La dimensione politica e pubblica della città contemporanea. Uno sguardo da fuori*

12.45 Michele COLUCCI (ISMed, CNR Napoli): *Cities of immigrants: urbanization and population movements in Twentieth Century*

13.15 Lunch

Chair: Roberto SCAZZIERI

14.30 Saskia SASSEN (Columbia University, NY): *Are our large cities in decay?*

15.00 Paola PELLEGRINI (Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University, Suzhou, China): *Between modernization and sustainability: The invention of Chinese cities after the opening up*

15.30 Discussion

16.00 Coffee break

Session 6: Risks in urban life

Chair: Ernesto CARAFOLI

16.15 Stefano DE MARTINO (Università di Torino): *The Epidemic of the Late 14th Century BC and the Effects on the Hittite Kingdom and its Capital*

16.45 Francesco D'ANDRIA (Linco, Università del Salento): *Il rischio negli agglomerati urbani di età romana. Il caso studio di Hierapolis frigia*

17.15 Final Discussion

The Conference is organized with the contribution of
Sapienza Università di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità
and
Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Archeologiche Antropologiche e Storiche (CIRAAS)

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The conference will be in hybrid format
Registration is required to participate

Nel rispetto delle limitazioni imposte per l'emergenza Covid-19, il numero dei posti in sala sarà limitato e, nel rispetto delle normative vigenti l'ingresso sarà possibile solo con green pass (vedi: <https://www.lincei.it/it/news/misure-la-gestione-del-green-pass>).
Fino alle ore 10 è possibile l'accesso anche da Lungotevere della Farnesina, 10
I lavori potranno essere seguiti dal pubblico anche in streaming

In accordance with the Covid-19 restrictions, the number of seats in the conference room will be limited, and attendance is possible only with proof of green pass
(<https://www.lincei.it/it/news/misure-la-gestione-del-green-pass>).
Until 10am access to Via della Lungara is possible from Lungotevere della Farnesina, 10
Live streaming available

***A Reversal of Fortunes:
The Transregional Origins of Early Mesopotamian Civilization***

Guillermo ALGAZE (University of California, San Diego, USA)

Complex social systems neither exist nor grow in isolation; on the contrary, cities, states, and civilizations always evolve against a background of intense contacts between neighboring polities that inevitably affect the developmental trajectories of each of the interacting societies. Accordingly, scholars searching for the origins of Mesopotamian civilization need to decenter their search away from any single “heartland” within the vast Tigris-Euphrates watershed in order to be able to recognize and reconceptualize the geographical breadth of the dynamic processes of interaction that gave rise to that civilization in the first place. When available data for the emergence of urbanism and socially complex societies in both Upper and Lower Mesopotamia is assessed from a transregional perspective, Mesopotamian civilization is best conceptualized as an amalgam of material and social innovations that took place in different regions at different times and that crystalized in recognizable form only after a substantial period of intense interaction, selection, emulation, and amplification.

Tell Brak and northern Mesopotamian urbanism

Augusta MCMAHON (Cambridge University, UK)

Tell Brak and northern Mesopotamian urbanism

The cities of northern Mesopotamia during the early to mid-4th millennium BC are among the world’s earliest, but they were experimental and not always successful. I will focus on Tell Brak in northeast Syria and the evidence from this important site for the formation of the city and new forms of hard and soft urban power. City growth and new urban powers were accompanied by changes in socio-economic relations, including the expansion of hierarchies and inequalities, and new modes of production, based in increased specialization of labour. These new modes of production were somewhat paradoxical, including both centralised organization of manufacturing and diffused and flexible private production. Urbanisation increased economic efficiency, but the new hierarchies and inequalities also generated social stresses that resulted in civil violence.

On the threshold of History. The origin of the first cities in Italy

Andrea CARDARELLI (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Archaeological research in recent decades has highlighted the way in which the preconditions were created in Central Italy for early forms of the city-state during the X and IX century BCE. Many Authors claim that this phenomenon was confined to the closing centuries of the II millennium BCE and the opening centuries of the I millennium BCE. This contribution will argue in favour of a much longer time scale which embraces the greater part of the II Millennium BCE. In the timeframe here proposed the role played by local communities is central to the profound political and social changes that led to the growth of early cities, and thence to incipient forms of state organization. More regular and significant contacts with areas further afield, such the Aegean have been catalysts for some change during this period, even if they did not substantially modify the socio-economic and political structure of the communities in proto-historical Italy. Pursuing a trajectory that necessarily generalizes these trends, this contribution will address the process of transformation that took place between the XVIII/XVI and IX centuries BCE. These can be divided into three distinct and progressive steps:

- 1) Communities form at fixed sites, often with settlement defenses and infrastructures, comprising hundreds of individuals (minimum). A shift can be observed in the system of community loyalty, supplanting the previous model based on blood ties and kinship.
- 2) A collapse or transformation occurs in the socio-political paradigm: extensive territorial entities are developed to which individual villages are subordinate in an inter-community political system. By grouping several villages into equal political alliances, this new system revolves around a central fulcrum in which a political system based on inter-tribal cult contexts prevails.
- 3) There is a transition towards more extensive socio-economic and political-territorial forms that prefigure the first city-state

***Different models of urbanization:
Early towns in temperate Europe and the Mediterranean urbs***

Mark PEARCE (University of Nottingham, UK)

Many scholars have proposed criteria for the identification of urban settlements, but such criteria are often premised on their own views of how and why towns emerged. Moreover, it can be argued that any discussion of urban origins is prejudiced by the criteria used to define the city (Benton 1968), as a city will only be recognised as such if it meets those predefined criteria – indeed, the use of criteria based on the characteristics of the Mediterranean *urbs* mean that we fail to recognise alternative forms of urbanisation occurring in later Bronze Age and early Iron Age Italy.

This paper will take as its starting point a critical examination of the use of the term ‘proto-urban’, generally employed to describe population centres in later Bronze Age and early Iron Age (‘protohistoric’) Italy. The study of urban origins in pre-Roman Italy has been hampered by reference to later Greek and Etruscan cities and Rome as *the* model for a town. I shall argue that the label, ‘proto-urban’, is primitivist, teleological and also predicated on a single model of the city, the Mediterranean *urbs* of the classical world. In fact, it is clear that there is a great variety of urban forms in the classical Mediterranean world and that cities like Athens or Corinth are not representative of Greek *poleis*. Furthermore, a city like Rome had different characteristics again. I shall argue that a consideration of alternative, non-Mediterranean, models of the town, and in particular the medieval European town, suggests that local, indigenous forms of urbanisation arose in western Europe before the diffusion of the east Mediterranean-inspired city, which established itself in central Tyrrhenian Italy and then became the dominant model in the ancient Mediterranean. The introduction of an east Mediterranean model of the city represented in fact a change of direction in the development of urban settlements, replacing local, indigenous forms of urbanism in Italy. We must recognise that there are many forms of town, or as Braudel (1967: 370) wrote, ‘... où qu’elle soit, une ville est une ville’.

Benton, J.F. 1968. Introduction. In J.F. Benton (ed.), *Town origins: the evidence from medieval England*: ix-xv. Problems in European civilisation. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Braudel, F. 1967. *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme, XVe-XVIIIe siècle, I*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Teotihuacan in Central Mexico: an exceptional megalopolis

Linda MANZANILLA (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico)

The metropolis of Teotihuacan in Central Mexico (AD 100-650) was the first planned multiethnic urban center of the Classic period. It was an exception in Mesoamerica due to its size (20 square kilometers), its multiethnic population (with people from the Basin of Mexico, Michoacán in Western Mexico, Puebla, Tlaxcala, Hidalgo, Oaxaca, Chiapas, etc),

and its dual organization (corporate at the base and summit, and exclusionary in the middle).

This paper presents my view on the contradiction of two organizations found in the Teotihuacan society: an exclusionary one (following Blanton *et al.* 1996) in the neighborhoods headed by the intermediate elite of Teotihuacan, and a corporate one at the base (the corporate groups of the apartment compounds) and the summit (the possible co-rulers' council) of this exceptional society.

The neighborhood centers managed by the intermediate elite were in charge of the supply of basic subsistence goods through the *tianguis* (weekly market) disposed in the open ground attached to each neighborhood center; but also for the provisioning of foreign goods and raw materials through the caravan system which traveled through ally sites in specific corridors towards particular regions of Mesoamerica. Each neighborhood constituted an economic, social, and symbolic unit similar to a "house society".

The contradiction between these two organizations: an orthodox austere ruling elite, and a competitive wealthy intermediate elite had no solution. A revolt dated in 570 CE seems to be the response of the neighborhoods towards the ruling elite when the Teotihuacan state seemed to have tried to control the excessive autonomy of the neighborhoods. All the scenarios of the ruling elite along the Street of the Dead were destroyed and burned.

Marginalization and "Ordinary Lives" in Early Cities of Southern Mesopotamia

Susan POLLOCK (Freie Universität, Berlin)

In their bestselling book *The Dawn of Everything*, David Graeber and David Wengrow have thrown down the gauntlet to archaeologists, arguing that early cities were much more variable than we have allowed, often not ruled in an authoritarian manner, and not necessarily dependent on a rural hinterland for their food supply. I will use the occasion of these and other far-reaching claims to reexamine facets of early city life in southern Mesopotamia in the 4th mill. BCE. My focus is on those people who were not members of the ruling elite. Although available archaeological data allow only indirect glimpses into the lives of "ordinary" people, some of our standard approaches to trajectories of settlement, production of food and tools used in everyday tasks, and labor offer windows into an understanding of the lives of the non-elite.

The diverse urbanism of the Levant: models and achievements

Lorenzo NIGRO (Sapienza Università di Roma)

In the westernmost region of the ancient Near East, that which extends from the foothills of Mount Taurus to the Sinai Peninsula, through Syria, Lebanon and Israel / Palestine, the formation of cities or the spread of urban patterns is a secondary phenomenon both from the point of view culturally and temporally. However, or precisely because of the specificities of the Levant, the idea of cities in these regions develops according to alternative models to those that arose at the dawn of urban civilization in the great alluvial valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is this 'different' urbanism, with variable intensity and resistance, which arises from attempts to adapt the city to environmental and social contexts that are profoundly different from those of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, which can provide interesting insights into understanding complexity and diversity of the urban phenomenon in the Levant in pre-classical times. Jericho, "the oldest city in the world", in Palestine or Byblos. on the Lebanese coast, or, finally, Ebla in Syria, show different models of Levantine cities.

Harbour Towns: The Examples of Avaris and Byblos

Manfred BIETAK (Linceo, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

Avaris and Byblos had a special relationship during the time of the late Middle Kingdom and the 14th Dynasty. The local Western Asiatic dignitary in Avaris with the title "Prince of Retjenu" seems to have been according to his name and his title a relative of the royal family of Byblos. This explains the close ties between these two harbour towns between c. 1850 - 1640 BC. The expertise in navigation of the Byblites and their kinsmen in Avaris played an important role between these two towns and their trade connections. Of special importance in this respect is the looting of royal and elite tombs in Egypt and the sale of the spoil to the Levant which reached not only Byblos but also other courts, but the trade was operated via Byblos. This important economical axis ended abruptly with the beginning of the Hyksos rule in Egypt.

From the Emergence of Towns to the Birth of Palaces in the Aegean Bronze Age (2800-1200 BC)

Louis GODART (Linceo)

In my speech, I will try to examine three different situations.

The first concerns the birth of cities without a future. I will refer to the situation that occurs in Cyprus in the pre-Neolithic and Neolithic periods.

In Cyprus soon after ca. 8.500-8.000 B.C., we have the first evidence for the permanent installation of farmers in the island.

At about 5.500 B.C., the aceramic Neolithic settlements, including Khirokitia, were abandoned, not because of war or natural disaster, but for reasons which have not been clarified.

The second concerns the affirmation of cities where the presence of a social hierarchy is already perceived. I will focus on the cases of Lerna in Argolid and Vasiliki in the island of Crete.

The village of Lerna, on the western side of the Argolid Gulf, is one of the most important prehistoric locations in Greece, frequented for about 5,000 years, from the Neolithic to the Mycenaean period (VI-end of II millennium B.C.). The great splendor of Lerna is connected to the Proto-Helladic II (Lerna III: 2700-2200 B.C.), when the town acquired a mighty fortification with a gate and two towers to the south. Among the houses of this period stands out a monumental building (12 x 25 m), with the main entrance to the East, a series of rooms on the E-W axis and corridors on the long sides. In the small southern chamber that had access only from the outer side of the building, more than 150 clay seals were found, with which the contents of containers were sealed, confirming the existence of an ancient urban system of central administration. Vasiliki in eastern Crete is an important Early Minoan site which has been variously interpreted by different excavators. The "House on the Hill" was considered to be a primitive form of Minoan Palace, and the seat of some local "chieftain". Subsequent excavations revealed that Vasiliki was not, in fact a primitive form of palace but the site of a number of building phases.

The third instead contemplates the situation of the agglomerations in which the central role of the Palace with its economic, political, administrative and cultural functions emerges. I will consider the case of the island of Crete.

There is no doubt about the development of small rural communities around Knossos, in the Mirabello Gulf region and at the eastern end of Crete. This development also coincides with the appearance of real cities. The palatial cities of Knossos and Malia reach, at the

end of the Middle Minoan I (1850 - 1800 B.C.), the dimensions that are quite close to their maximum size in the Late Minoan I B (period of the Second Palaces 1500-1450 B.C.). In this context marked by an indisputable demographic increase and a better occupation of the territory, the so-called first Palaces were born.

The reasons for this innovation remain debated. Some thought they were due to the development of contacts with neighboring civilizations. In the Near East, in fact, the palatial structures date back to a period largely earlier than the end of the third or the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and it cannot be excluded that the Minoans were influenced in their choices of a new political system and architectural structures hitherto unknown on the Cretan territory, from the example of the peoples of the Near East with whom they had established contacts that became increasingly close. Now this hypothesis must be abandoned.

The Palaces are large architectural ensembles that group together environments with different purposes (domestic districts, kitchens, stables, etc.) and are born in the heart of fertile areas of the Cretan territory, where the first Minoan communities had been organized from long time. These constructions respond to a coherent architectural design and are born from the will of an individual or a group. Three precise functions can be traced: an economic function, a political function and a religious function. But it is clear that the control of the central power over the territory linked to the palace can no longer, as it once was, be exercised with the help of the sole memory of the administrators, as in the farms of the past. The palace needs a bureaucratic structure that can provide all this information. Thus, a fourth function, the administrative one, will be added to the three previous functions of the Minoan palatial residences. The palace then becomes an economic, political, cultural and administrative center through which an individual, whom we call the sovereign, manages an entire territory that we call the State.

The birth of the polis and the city-states of Archaic Greece: the archaeological perspective

Matteo D'ACUNTO (Università di Napoli L'Orientale)

This paper aims to present, from a bird's eye perspective, the archaeological and urbanistic aspects through which *poleis* manifested themselves as city-states between the 8th and early 5th centuries BCE. Several macroscopic aspects that are an expression of the *poleis* will be examined: the central role played by urban and extra-urban sanctuaries; the definition of the public space of the *agora*; the organization of urban space; the creation of defensive systems and infrastructural works, such as hydraulic systems; the making of a language of images for the city; the transformation of cemeteries; and the central role played by heroic cults. These aspects differ from *polis* to *polis* and from period to period, as a result of the specific socio-political dynamics at work at different moments in the history of these cities. Reference will be made to the archaeologically best known and discussed cases of Athens, Eretria, Argos, Corinth and others.

Turning inside out: changing landscapes around roman cities

Maria Teresa D'ALESSIO (Sapienza Università di Roma)

The essential link between the city and its territory in the Roman experience is a crucial relationship that changes over time according to changing political and socioeconomic situations. Thanks to a recent work of re-arrangement and re-evaluation of archaeological data in the southern part of the Latium Region included between the Tiber and the Liri rivers ("Ancient Latium Project"), the osmotic relationship between Rome and its *suburbium*, as well as that of the other cities of ancient *Latium* with their surroundings,

can be examined with a new narrative approach that follows the increasing transformations of settlements from moment of their first urban foundation and throughout the following centuries. Through this project, changes in landscape can be considered in the same way as a cultural product, expressing the entire history of the communities that inhabited it and representing it as a continuous flow of discontinuity and continuity.

La città e il suo patrimonio istituzionale

Luigi CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI (Linco, Sapienza Università di Roma)

The birth of the ancient city, in particular of Rome, obviously does not coincide with the genesis of all her religious and cultural heritage. A large part of them did already regulate the life and internal relationships of the various archaic communities destined to flow into the synecism of the city. We are unaware of the mechanisms that should have presided over the processes of unification and selection of pre-existing institutional materials which, in the Roman case, had to have a sure point of reference in the *rex* and in the priestly colleges. We can find many significant traces of them in that material which did not flow back into the Roman religious and institutional system, which did remain peculiar to the minor groups: the *gentes* and *curiae*. Later on, from the dynamic factor constituted by the military sphere was provided a powerful stimulus to the successive transformations and improvement of the citizen institutions, with the central importance given to the relationship between the political community and the single citizen-soldier. I am referring to the transition from the structure of the first legion associated with the system of the *curiae* homogeneous to the patrician lineages to the hoplitic army based on individual wealth, where the social basis of the patrician aristocracy is dissolved in the system of the *centuriae*.

The city from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages: a historical-archaeological perspective

Sauro GELICHI (Ca' Foscari Università Venezia)

The subject of the city (in the Mediterranean and post-antique Europe) has been on the agenda of historians and archaeologists for several decades. However, it was only after the Second World War, also due to the development of urban archaeology, that the material characteristics of the urbanism after the end of the ancient world began to be better defined. If Europe's medieval cities were in the public eye (and if the older ones had been the subject of archaeological attention even earlier), it was the phenomenon of late antique and early medieval urbanism that took shape in this new research. Taking the Italian case as a starting point, this contribution will briefly retrace the history of these studies, mention the problem of the lexicon in written sources, and outline the physiognomy of urban settlements in particular during the early Middle Ages. The outcomes of early urbanism (the continuity cities or abandoned cities) will be discussed, but also the few significant examples of 'new cities'. Finally, an attempt will be made to discuss the limits of previous historical-archaeological approaches and to identify possible new lines of research in this field.

Urbanization in the Central Sahara in the 1st millennium BC

Lucia MORI (Sapienza Università di Roma)

Till recent years, the Central Sahara had generally been neglected in debates on early urbanization and the assumption had tended to be that desert societies were settled

primarily in the Islamic era. This was due to several reasons, among them a paucity of available data and a distorted interpretation and chronological attribution of the scanty recorded archaeological evidence. Recent investigation in the region of Fazzan, Libyan Sahara, carried out in the field till 2011, showed instead, that the 1st millennium BC was a significant phase in the Saharan history. This region underwent a deep transition in the subsistence strategies of the desert people that due the encroaching aridity partly shifted to a sedentary life in the oases. The introduction of a “technological package” related to agriculture with different irrigation techniques, the development of long-distance trade and the emergence of a complex hierarchical society in the region of Fazzan brought to the flourishing of the Garamantian kingdom and the development of a local and original urban civilization, whose core was the Wadi el-Ajal, with Garama (modern Germa) as its capital. Data from the more peripheral region of Wadi Tan ezzuft (Libyan Sahara) testify that also the area of the Acacus mountain experienced an original development, sharing similar cultural traits but also differences in socio-economic and political features. The evidence brought to light can contribute to a broader reflection of the nature of early urbanization.

Urban agglomerations in the Italian economy

Paolo SESTITO e Antonio ACCETTURO (Banca d'Italia)

In recent decades, the rate of growth of the population has been higher in urban areas than in non-urban areas in all the advanced economies. A large body of literature, both theoretical and empirical has emphasized the role of urban areas as an engine of economic growth. Agglomeration economies enhance productivity in part because they foster innovation by creating and developing new products and by improving the allocation of resources. The distribution of the population among cities, therefore, has a very significant impact on the aggregate economic growth of a country, especially for the advanced economies.

A research project by the Bank of Italy has attempted to assess in quantitative and qualitative terms the role of urban areas in the economic growth of Italy. The aim of this paper is to show – in a necessarily selective manner – some of the key findings in order to contribute to the economic policy debate on the role of urban centres in national development.

A first piece of evidence is that the contribution of Italy's large urban agglomerations to the national economy is lower compared with the other advanced countries; Italy's large urban centres have a smaller share of the population and generate a relatively lower value added compared with France, the United Kingdom, Spain and, to a lesser extent, Germany.

The relatively limited magnitude of urbanization in Italy is deeply rooted in history. At the beginning of Italy's ‘economic miracle’ and, therefore, of the country's transformation into an industrialized economy, its urban network was highly polycentric in the North and strongly bimodal (Palermo and Naples) in the South (while the rest of the population in this geographical area lived in inland, remote areas). The internal migrations of the following decades only partially altered this situation: starting in the 1970s, larger urban areas have expanded mainly by absorbing peripheral municipalities in their LLM and extending the commuting radius.

The limited role of urban areas for the Italian economic growth is the outcome of a non-favorable equilibrium characterized by high congestion costs and low agglomeration benefits.

According to our studies, congestion costs in Italy are indeed high: Italian urban areas display a level of vehicle congestion that is, all other things being equal, higher than

in many other European cities. Moreover, urban rents, especially in the center of the large urban areas, are very high and discourage mobility into big cities. Finally, and partly related, housing supply elasticity is low in an international comparison. These characteristics are affected not only by geographical constraints but also lie in the chronic inefficiency of the public administration, ineffective and insufficiently widespread public transport, and under-utilized real estate.

While the costs are high, the benefits of agglomeration are instead quite limited. The productivity and innovation 'premium' for workers and firms is lower than that estimated for other countries, and this is reflected – also because of the existing labor market institutions – in a lower wage premium for those living in a large urban center in Italy.

Against the backdrop of an international economic environment marked by the growing importance of services (especially advanced), which benefit greatly from economies of agglomeration, the limited development of the Italian urban system could translate into a further brake on the national economy. Not much is known, however, of the causes of the limited development of urban centres in Italy.

The pandemic shock and the distancing measures adopted in 2020-21 affected urban areas to a greater extent than less densely populated territories. The economic consequences of the pandemic have been reabsorbed in a rather short period, thus confirming the resilience of cities as economic centers of advanced economies. However, the spread of Covid-19 has triggered structural changes in the adoption of technologies and in the organization of work, which - over longer time horizons - may influence the size and role of urban areas in the economy. The spread of smart working (especially in knowledge-intensive services, more concentrated in cities) will presumably reduce the intensity of daily commuting flows but will not eliminate the need to concentrate workers, albeit for a more limited number of days, in large cities. The fundamentals for urban development will therefore probably remain unchanged, since the competitiveness of cities will still be based above all on its infrastructures: not only transport ones (possibly even longer-range ones) but also digital ones (to make smart working truly productive).

Political and public dimension of the contemporary city. A view from outside

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Foreword

In my paper, I would like to address some aspects of the relationship between city, territory and rights. I will start by outlining the idea of the city as a territorially delimited political space; then I will briefly focus on the idea of the boundary and its possible declinations; finally, I will conclude by addressing the importance of acquiring an external point of view: seeing the city from outside in order to be able to understand its critical elements and development factors.

1. *The city as a political space surrounded by walls*

The idea that the city is a political space surrounded by walls is a primal idea of thinking about the city, which can still be considered valid in at least two senses.

First of all, this definition refers to the fact that the city accommodates all the functions of life: whether private (something that is not individual, which is a poor reference, compared to classical culture) or public, in both cases, the city accommodates and makes political life possible, since it is the place where an associated community, united by common bonds and aims, expresses itself. For these reasons, each city is a political body par excellence; therefore, in this sense, each city is by definition public. Secondly, this definition contains the idea that a political community, in order to be such, must be settled in a circumscribed territory, in a portion of space: the city brings with it the idea of boundary, making citizenship rights possible (only) within a specific

territory. In this sense, the city has given shape to the original relationship that exists between territory and rights, with a continuity in history that has very ancient roots, and refers to the foundation myth, which is, also legally, the establishment of boundaries. Law needs a “where”.

2. *Different ways of understanding the boundary*

In modern times, the idea that each political body has well-defined physical boundaries has been created and represented above all by the state, which has also established and consolidated itself in this respect, greatly reducing the autonomy of cities. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in the contemporary age, there has been a reversal of this trend and the decline of the state has been accompanied by an unstoppable expansion of cities, which play a leading role at the centre of territories that no longer necessarily correspond to the boundaries of the nation-state, with respect to which they are increasingly autonomous (if not intolerant).

The affirmation of the city beyond the state and the organisation of the world's cities into increasingly broader networks reintroduces the connection between city, territory and rights we started from, but in a new way. Also in the light of these transformations, the contemporary city has developed a new relationship with the spaces it is surrounded by, suggesting that it should not only be examined from inside, but rather from above and from outside.

If we leave the walls of the city, i.e., its physical-political perimeter, we will realise that today this boundary serves much more to keep out what is outside than it does (as it always has) to define what is inside. We are witnessing a transformation, neither permanent nor irreversible, but important, in the direction of a closure, almost defensive, of cities: in this new layout, the boundary is ever more similar to the *limes* (a boundary that excludes) rather than the *limen* (a boundary that includes).

3. *From outside*

The idea I would like to suggest is the need to rethink the boundary (i.e., bring it back from a militarised barrier, which excludes, to an open threshold, which allows osmosis) and then to cross it (develop a view outwards and from outside, with respect to the space occupied by the city, both physical and abstract).

To prove the usefulness of this approach, I will use two examples, which have to do with the relationship between city and rights and between city and nature.

In the first case study, it can be seen that looking “from the outside” allows you to identify with the condition of those who see the urban boundary as an obstacle to overcome. In the diversified panorama of the new *global assemblages*, the city is one of the last territorial political bodies to guarantee rights, benefits and *status*: a mirage for vast populations around the world. Looking from the outside makes you take charge of the inequalities that are all over the world and that cannot be ignored by those within the city walls, in safe and privileged conditions. In a more technical sense, it obliges jurists to decide whether they want to give importance only to the substantive condition of rights (the territory) or also, really, to their ideal substratum (the human condition): in other words, it is a matter of assuming a position in the recurring dialectic between human rights and the citizen's rights. By taking the first approach, the urban boundary will tend to be open (albeit with regulations) to the universal demand for justice, equality and rights; by taking the second approach, it will tend to be impassable.

In the second case study, looking “outwards” leads to the non-static contemplation of nature outside cities and to the development of an idea of cosmopolitanism that is different from the previous one, but complementary. In other words, it is a matter of asserting that the rights and duties of citizenship include not only what is inside the walls, but also what is outside, in terms of natural resources. The boundary of the city as a political space becomes almost completely open, when you are familiar with the idea that nature is an essential part of the political, therefore public, dimension of cities. Not in an ornamental sense, but in a constitutive sense.

In both cases, the reflection on the city suggests including also (perhaps above all) what is outside it, but not extraneous: non-citizen humans and the non-urban environment.

***Cities of immigrants:
urbanization and population movements in Twentieth Century***
Michele COLUCCI (ISMed, CNR Napoli)

Great mass migrations have transformed the face of the contemporary world, radically changing territories, economies, cultures and nation-states. The metropolises that have marked the history of the last two centuries have experienced the alternation of many different immigrations at a relentless pace.

The paper will focus on the Italian case, comparing the Italian specificity with the broader Mediterranean picture. Initially, the main migratory movements active in Italy in the last 150 years will be listed: emigration, immigration, internal migration. Next, the impact of these movements on some major Italian cities will be analyzed. In conclusion, some connections between the growth of cities in contemporary times in the Mediterranean area and the evolution of direct mobility to urban environments will be proposed.

Rethinking the history of cities as a history of immigrations is essential to fully understand the transformations of contemporary cities, from the perspective of identifying the world of immigration as a factor of change and not simply adaptation.

***Between modernization and sustainability:
The invention of Chinese cities after the opening up***
Paola PELLEGRINI (Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University, Suzhou, China)

After the opening up in the early '80s, China started to address a challenge: how to realize large and modern cities as quickly as possible. In the last 40 years, the urbanization process has been one of the main drivers of economic and social development and *being urban* in China means development and modernization, wealth and progress. What is rural, has *remained* rural: has not progressed into a better state.

The approach to this huge urbanization task can be synthesized by a Chinese saying 摸着石头过河, which translates to "cross the river by feeling the stones" and refers to the pragmatic attitude "to adopt some goods models and adjust actions and rules during the process according to the output". At an unprecedented speed, starting from some areas along the south-eastern coast, massive urbanization was explored and realized at the same time. The case of Shenzhen 深圳 is a great example of this approach made of experiments, where different imported planning models were adapted to the local context and resources. Shenzhen is now a model itself as the State Council of China has recently declared it a high-quality development and a model for the whole country.

Shenzhen is a famous case of experimentation, but several others can be mentioned: as examples Suzhou 苏州 and Guiyang 贵阳, the first city in the increasingly middle-class Yangtze river delta, the second one in the much less developed and competitive south-western province of Guizhou. Suzhou developed in the '90s to be a cheap manufacturing hub copying the Singaporean governance and urban design model, and in recent years it is re-thinking what already built; Guiyang is still searching for its special economic character and suitable references.

In the background of these diversified urbanization process and invention of Chinese city some issues can be highlighted: the goal of modernity and how it relates to sustainability, the programmed a-synchronia of development among provinces, the constant adjustment of plans and goals, the unwillingness to deal with what is complex, plural, individual.

The Epidemic of the Late 14th Century BC and the Effects on the Hittite Kingdom and its Capital

Stefano DE MARTINO (Università di Torino)

An epidemic affected the Hittite kingdom in the last decades of the 14th century BC. In this paper we will try to establish when and where the disease broke out according to the Hittite documents and the Amarna letters. Although the available evidence does not give precise information on the symptoms and the pathology of this disease, we know that it was a contagious illness with a high rate of fatality, and King Suppiluliuma I and his follower Arnuwanda II contracted the disease and eventually died.

In the 15th year of the reign of Mursili II the epidemic broke out again in the Hittite capital Hattusa and the king moved with the court to a safer place.

The epidemic had devastating economic effects. Anyhow, the most serious consequence of the spread of the disease was the loss of prestige and charisma of the Hittite royal house and monarchic institution. The king was the intercessor between the gods and his country, and the epidemic was perceived as a divine punishment for the faults committed by Šuppiluliuma I.

Muwatalli II, who took the throne after Muršili II, abandoned Hattusa. This decision was caused by several considerations of various nature, and we argue that either the memory of the plague or a new wave of it contributed leading the king to choose a new location for his royal residence.

Hattusa continued to be inhabited, but many temples in the Upper Town were definitively abandoned, and the urban layout of some areas of the city changed. Furthermore, Tuthaliya IV put up a huge open-air sanctuary outside the capital, at Yazılıkaya.

The last known king of the Hittite royal dynasty, Suppiluliuma II, definitively abandoned Hattusa and this event coincides with the abrupt interruption of the Hittite documentation and the end of the kingdom of Hatti.