THE EMERGENCE OF MEDIAEVAL TOWNS:
INDEPENDENCE OR CONTINUITY?

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M EDIAEVAL scholars have long discussed whether or not some-thing of the municipal institutions and civic spirit of the classical city and city-state survived in western Europe from the Late Roman Empire through the Dark Ages and Carolingian period to fructify the emergence of what they call towns, which began in the eleventh century.[1] However, such survival, or continuity, is only the last of several general

[1] This paper was submitted for discussion at an Interdisciplinary Conference on *The City in History: Idea and Reality* sponsored by The Center for Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies of the University of Michigan during March, 14–17, 1973, in Ann Arbor, Mich. It is presented here by the kind consent of the Director of the Center, Prof. Gerald F. Else. It has benefited in the present version from comments made at the Conference, particularly by the commentator in a discussion of "Form of Cities," Prof. Janet Abu-Lughod of Northwestern University. In the paper, the latinate spelling "mediaeval" is used except in citing titles of books or articles whose authors use the form "medieval." The paper depends heavily on Edith Ennen, *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt* (in Veröffentlichungen des Inst. für gesch. Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn), Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1953, which will be cited hereafter as Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*. Edith Ennen, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters* (in Sammlung Vandenhoeck), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972, is a more recent rehandling of the same general topic, which will hereafter be cited as Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*. A volume of studies in honor of Prof. Ennen: Werner Besch and others, edd., *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte*, Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1972, has a second section (pp. 59–90) of fourteen articles on "Frühgeschichte," of which only one is relevant to the theme of this paper, namely Eugen Ewig, "Von der Kaiserstadt zur Bischofstadt usw." (pp. 59–73), which is cited below in n. 23. Also useful is Paul Egon Hübinger, ed., *Kulturbruch oder Kulturkontinuität im Uebergang von der Antike zum Mittlelalter* (Wege der Forschung CCI), Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968. This is a collection of papers on the topic. Alfons Dopsch, in a paper therein of 1926 (pp. 78–103) entitled "Von Altertum zum Mittelalter — Das Kontinuitätsproblem," deals chiefly with continuity of site, urban plan, and trade. He admits (pp. 90–91) that the city in a legal sense as an autonomous institution was a creation of the high and later Middle Ages, not of continuity from the Roman Empire. However, Kurt Böhner concludes (pp. 318–319) in a paper of 1959 (pp. 278–319), "Die Frage der Kontinuität zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter im Spiegel der fränkischen Funde des

explanations for the emergence of mediaeval towns listed by John F. Benton in his *Town Origins*.[2]

The most popular of these explanations are the ones which attribute the emergence of towns to trade. Either merchants engaged in long-range commerce gathered in some convenient community to store, transfer, or exchange their goods and thus provided the stimulus for its growth. Or the impetus came from the development of local or regional trade. Connected with these two explanations is that which finds the significant stimulus in the development of handicrafts in given communities. These three views envisage the emergence of towns primarily in economic terms.

Other explanations offer legal and political reasons for the development of self-government in the emerging towns. Associations, or guilds, of merchants often were granted immunities and privileges by ecclesiastical or temporal overlords, which permitted them to govern themselves. Military garrisons, comprising troops drawn from the forces of various overlords, could not turn to any one of them for jurisdiction and law and therefore had to be provided with their own courts and regulations. It has also been argued that important monasteries or cathedrals encouraged the growth of commercial communities under their aegis by granting them immunities and self-government. Thus these three explanations, in some measure related to the economic ones, concentrate on the development of self-governing communities, no matter what their size.

The three economic stimuli might have begun from the survival from late antiquity of commerce or handicrafts in given communities. But they appear principally to have originated in the increased prosperity and more venturesome business attitudes which characterized the later Middle Ages, and it is difficult to detect much difference between new communities which developed commercially on their own, e.g. the Hanseatic towns or those of Russia, and those, e.g. in Italy, for which commercial antecedents can be found in late antiquity.

Rheinlandes," by stating that though the rise of cities in northwest Europe was due to the guilds of German traders, still something urban remained in the old Roman sites like a seed in a garden ready to come into bloom again. A parallel collection also edited by Paul Egon Hübinger, *Zur Frage der Periodengrenze zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter* (Wege der Forschung LI), Darmstadt, Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 1969, contains sixteen papers concerned mainly with the cultural boundary between the two periods.

   [2] John F. Benton, *Town Origins: The Evidence From Medieval England* (in Problems in European Civilization), Lexington (Mass.), Heath, 1968, p. ix. This will be cited hereafter as Benton, *Town Origins*.

In the case of the three theories which propound reasons for the development of self-governing mediaeval communities, it is equally difficult to demonstrate that there was continuity of municipal institutions or civic spirit from late antiquity, or that, if anything did survive, it had not been altered out of all recognition, or that it was of itself to any significant extent determinative. This is the problem to be discussed in the present paper.

The last of Benton's explanations, continuity from the past, may be considered in connection with any of the other seven views; nor, indeed, need these be treated as mutually exclusive. Since, however, this paper can claim no wide research or expertise in the Middle Ages, it will concern itself mainly with this question of continuity as seen from the point of view of a classical historian. It elaborates general conclusions expressed in the penultimate chapter (ch. XXII) of a book entitled *The City in the Ancient World*, published in October 1972 by the Harvard University Press and hereafter cited as Hammond, *City*.[3]

That book is mainly concerned with two questions. First, it traces the history of the city in the ancient world, taken in the restricted sense of the ancient Middle and Near East and the Mediterranean basin. Covering from the first emergence of cities in Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) about 3000 B.C. to the end of the Late Roman Empire in the sixth century, it seeks to determine whether in each succeeding civilization the concept of the city was borrowed from an earlier culture, or whether each civilization at a certain level of social and economic

[3] For a bibliography with brief comments on books concerning the emergence of mediaeval towns, see Hammond, *City*, pp. 529–538, in the bibl. to ch. XXII. A paper summarizing the argument of this book, entitled "The City in the Ancient World: A summary Survey," was delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society and is scheduled for publication in its *Proceedings* in 1974. That paper, like the present one, was submitted for discussion in the Michigan Conference (above, n. 1) and included by Prof. Abu-Lughod in her comment. She remarked that the Greek *polis*, particularly as described by Aristotle, was not the only form of ancient city; no such implication was intended in *The City*. Naturally a classicist is primarily concerned with the Greco-Roman *polis*, but there is in *The City* discussion of earlier forms in the Ancient Middle and Near East and the Mediterranean World, and exclusion from the discussion of urban forms in other parts of the world. She also attacked what she called the Aristotelian fallacy of typology which regards the city merely as a fixed sociological form; she held that the city, as an institution, is in fact process. The present author fully admits the importance of process but would argue that nevertheless cities may be typed at given moments, or even for long periods, as mercantile, religious, military, or administrative, or as monarchical, oligarchic, democratic, or the like.

advance developed its own cities, which were only thereafter subject
to influences from older urbanized cultures. Secondly, for the Greek
and Roman civilizations, it considers the origin in Greece of the form of
urban self-government known as the classical city-state, hereafter
simply the city-state, and also enquires whether this form of municipal
government appeared independently in Italy or was borrowed from
Greece. The conclusions on these questions need not here be sum-
marized. Consideration first of the demise of the city-state during the
Late Roman Empire and then of the shrinkage of cities under the impact
of economic decline and the barbarian invasions naturally posed the
question whether anything survived of the classical city to influence
the emergence of mediaeval towns.

The same chapter also dealt summarily with the fate of the classical
cities in the eastern half of the Roman Empire when this became the
Byzantine Empire, and with the question whether the Byzantine cities
passed on any heritage to the emergent cities of the Arab, Turkish, and
Slavic civilizations. This last question, distinct from that posed by
western Europe, will be only briefly considered at the end of this paper.

The discussion of the emergence of mediaeval towns is clouded by
vagueness as to what exactly is being discussed. Mediaeval scholars
writing in English use the term town rather than city. Scholars writing
in other languages use the terms regular in their languages for city,
e.g., *ville, Stadt,* or *città.* It is fairly easy to distinguish between a city
and a village.[4] The latter is a small, closely inhabited community,
which may or may not be walled. It has purely local significance as a
place of residence for farmers or pasturers who raise crops or cattle
on the surrounding countryside. These, who for brevity will hereafter
be called simply agriculturalists, often live outside the village on their
farms or are absent for long periods pasturing their cattle. The village
also serves as a center for handicrafts to supply the agriculturalists,
insofar as crafts are not practiced in the individual households, usually
by the women. Finally, the village is a market center for the exchange
of local produce among the agriculturalists and for trade to supply
them with such necessities and luxuries as cannot be produced locally,
e.g. metals, salt, fine clothing, jewels, or the like.

While ideally a village thus defined would have no contact with places
outside its own countryside, such self-sufficiency is well-nigh impossible
to achieve. Some of the products of local agriculture or handicrafts
must pass into commerce to obtain, either by exchange or through the

[4] The definitions of, and distinctions between, village, town, and city are
taken from Hammond, *City,* pp. 6–9.

intermediation of money, the necessities or luxuries from abroad which the village requires. Moreover, the early mediaeval village generally existed within or adjacent to a castle, monastery, or cathedral complex, and had to provide a surplus of produce to support nobles, monks, or clergy. These in turn had political, ecclesiastical, or economic connections with the outside world. Moreover, national rulers required taxes and levies of recruits for their armies from the villages. In consequence, even in the darkest moments of the Dark Ages or in the remotest Alpine valleys, it is safe to assume that no village lived in complete isolation and self-sufficiency. Likewise no village could function with a system of exchange based solely on barter. Certainly one aspect of the ancient world which was never wholly lost was the use of money to supplement barter, to pay taxes, and to serve as a means of converting perishable agricultural surpluses into more enduring savings. By and large, however, a village may be defined as a small community which primarily lives off of and has its being in connection with its surrounding countryside and which caters principally to the needs of its own inhabitants or to those of the local area.

A city is harder to define. Size, which might seem an obvious criterion, is in fact not so. Citizenship in the classical cities often extended to persons inhabiting the country around the built up urban complex. Agricultural villages might be more heavily populated than busy centers of trade. With respect to size, therefore, perhaps all that can be said is that the numbers should be sufficient to permit of a variety of occupations. A second, and also somewhat vague, characterization may be that a city is a community whose members live in close proximity under a single government and in a unified complex of buildings, often but not necessarily surrounded by a wall. Since, however, this definition would also cover villages, military camps, religious communities, or the like, a city may further be described as a community in which a considerable number of the population pursue their main activities within the city, in non-agricultural occupations. But other communities, like monasteries, or a small factory surrounded by the dwellings of its workers, might be similarly described. A fourth characteristic may therefore be that a city is a community which extends at least its influence, and often its control, well outside the area necessary to maintain its own self-sufficiency. This influence or control may be religious, military, commercial, political, or intellectual.

This paper need not concern itself with a special development of the city which may be called a megalopolis. A megalopolis is a city which has grown so large that it presents problems of urbanization quite

other than those to be found in the normal ancient or mediaeval city, which might be as small as five thousand people or less, and probably seldom larger than forty thousand, with an average of perhaps around ten thousand. Since the contemporary concern with urban affairs largely concentrates on the many modern megalopolises, there is likely to be confusion when the ancient or mediaeval city is viewed as if its nature and problems were the same as those which are so much in evidence today.

However, it seems reasonable to posit a type of community between the village and the city. This may be called for convenience a town. A town is larger and more complex than a village but it is still primarily local in its social, political, or economic significance. It does not extend its influence or control to any great extent outside of the agricultural area necessary to maintain its self-sufficiency.

Obviously these three types of community: village, town, and city, are not sharply distinct. The terms are simply definitions of general segments of what is a continuous progress in size and complexity of communities. Nevertheless, the first confusion arises in the topic here under discussion because both the writers in English who speak of the mediaeval town and those in other languages who use such words as *ville, Stadt,* or *città,* include under these general terms communities here defined as on the one hand towns and on the other cities. The same is, indeed, true of discussions of the classical city. Many ancient cities were in fact towns, and the city-state form of government characterized both types. Indeed Plato and Aristotle regarded self-sufficiency as the ideal for the city and looked on war and commerce, by which the city was opened to the outside world, as detrimental to its true nature. Nevertheless, it should be clearly kept in mind that in talking about continuity from the classical to the mediaeval city, the problem may be quite different in the case of such places as Rome, Paris, or London, from what it would be in, e.g. Turin, Rheims, or Chester, and that much of the discussion of the emergence of mediaeval towns deals with towns as here defined, not with cities. Indeed, most of the explanations for the emergence of mediaeval towns which were given earlier in fact apply to towns as just defined. Only a community whose emergence was due to long-range trade would fit the definition that a city extends its influence well beyond the area necessary to maintain its self-sufficiency.[5]

[5] Obviously mediaeval towns emerged in response to a variety of stimuli, as is set forth by Edith Ennen in a summary of the conclusions of her *Frühgeschichte* entitled "Les Différents Types de formation des villes européennes,"

A second source of confusion in considering continuity between the ancient city and mediaeval towns is that the city, as a physical, social, or economic unit, should be distinguished from its form of government. Historically cities have not necessarily been independent self-governing communities. Moreover, a city may be independent but still governed by a ruler or oligarchy, as were most of those in the ancient world before the invention of the city-state by the Greeks. Naturally any independent city may be called a city-state. But, as said earlier, city-state is used in this paper in its classical sense of a government of an independent city or town which consists of magistrates, normally elected annually, a council, either hereditary or composed of ex-magistrates, and an assembly of citizens, however restricted be the qualifications for citizenship and limited the number of citizens in relation to the total population. Most important, sovereignty in the city-state was not a prerogative of priests or rulers with divine sanction, or of some hereditary class or caste; it resided in the people, i.e., in the will of the citizens as expressed through their assembly.[6]

Le Moyen Age LXII (1956) pp. 397–411. This article is translated, but without most of the footnotes, as "The Variety of Urban Development" in Benton, *Town Origins* pp. 11–18, from which the article will be cited except for the footnotes, which will be cited as from Ennen, "Formation." Ennen, in *Town Origins*, p. 18, distinguishes between three types of mediaeval towns: big, i.e., those over 10,000 inhabitants, in which there was an interdependence of long-range commerce and handicrafts manufacturing for export; medium sized, with a more limited range of economic action, in particular restricted export trade and a mainly regional market and handicrafts; and small. For these last, Ennen cites the view of H(ektor) Ammann that the small town contained less than 2,000 inhabitants but were, nevertheless, not villages but centers which through their import and export trade participated somewhat in the economic life of the later Middle Ages. In "Formation," p. 411, Ennen gives no reference; the source does not seem to be the work cited on p. 403 in n. 11: H(ektor) Ammann, "Deutschland und die Tuchindustrie Nordwesteuropas im Mittelalter," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 72 (1954) pp. 1–63. Ennen's first type clearly are cities as defined in this paper and the second are towns of some economic development but of primarily local importance. Ammann's small towns appear to be places which were primarily centers for commercial interchange; perhaps what Ennen calls in *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 124ff, "burgs" and, pp. 130ff, "wiks," namely settlements of traders; see also Ennen, *Eur. Stadt* ch. 2: "Die neuen Ansätze," pp. 46–72, which deals chiefly with the development during the early Middle Ages of centers of commerce throughout western Europe. Thus Ennen's three categories of towns, in *Town Origins*, do not include truly agricultural villages.

[6] For the use of city-state in its restricted, classical, meaning, see Hammond, *City*, p. 2.

In origin the classical city was independent and, as already noted, as self-sufficient as possible. But this independence and self-sufficiency became impossible to maintain. The Greek cities joined together for self-defense in leagues or, in the Hellenistic period, were absorbed into territorial monarchies. Similarly, during the Republic, Rome gradually extended her sway over the cities of Italy and during the Empire over those throughout the whole Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, both Hellenistic monarchs and initially the Romans left local self-government to the cities, taking from them only the control of foreign affairs and requiring the payment of taxes and at times provision of men for the army. They used the cities as their primary instrument for government. Hence, although the independence originally characteristic of the city-state government was thus restricted, the cities in the Hellenistic monarchies and under republican and early imperial Rome can be said on the whole to have retained their city-state government. This became in general aristocratic or oligarchic, i.e., control actually passed to the rich and well-born.

However, during the second century the imperial government found itself forced to interfere more and more in the self-government of the cities in order to ensure the maintenance of agriculture, upon which the whole economy depended, and the payment of the increasingly high taxes necessary to support administration and defense. It is not necessary here to elaborate upon the social, institutional, and economic aspects of the impoverishment of the cities. Suffice it to state categorically that by the end of the fourth century, little remained of municipal self-government in either the eastern or the western parts of the Roman Empire.[7]

Nevertheless, the cities continued to fulfill social, political, and economic functions of basic importance for the administration and financing of the empire, and they continued to have municipal officials to carry out these functions.[8] The place of the popular assembly was taken by the council or *curia* but, as the government called on the cities for more and more services and taxes, the members of the *curiae*, originally called *decuriones* and in the Late Empire *curiales*, were expected to make up deficits from their own property and in conse-

[7] The introduction (Einleitung) to Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 11–26, gives a brief discussion of Roman urbanization in Gaul and the Rhineland, including its character during the Late Empire.

[8] For a description of cities and of urban administration, including the functions and condition of the *curiales*, during the Late Roman Empire, see A(rnold) H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284–602 A.D.*, Oxford, Blackwell, and Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964, pp. 712–766 (ch. XIX).

quence the government had to force them to remain at their posts.[9] Control of the cities came to be vested in imperially appointed officials.[10] Thus the popular sovereignty traditional to the city-state no longer found expression through recognized assemblies.

The voice of the people still made itself heard, and often effectively, in organized gatherings, frequently of the people assembled in theaters or hippodromes but occasionally simply in squares before public buildings.[11] Although such gatherings, and their shouted expressions of public opinion, began informally and spontaneously, by the Late Empire, if not earlier, they had become recognized as proper occasions on which the popular will could find valid expression.[12] This expression

[9] For the *curiales*, see also Roland Ganghoffer, *L'Évolution des institutions municipales en Occident et en Orient au Bas-Empire* (Bibl. d'Hist. du Droit et Droit romain IX), Paris, Lib. générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1963. See also for the eastern cities A(rnold) H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940 (reprint 1960) pp. 190–210 (ch. XII), especially pp. 209–210, for the loss of authority by the municipal *curiae* and the development of the civil responsibilities of the bishops.

[10] For imperial officials in cities during the Late Roman Empire, see Friederich Vittinghoff, "Zur Verfassung der spätantike 'Stadt'," in *Studien zu Anfängen des europäische Stadtwesen* (Inst. für gesch. Landesforschung des Bodenseegebietes in Konstanz, Vorträge und Forschungen IV), Lindau & Konstanz, Thorbeke, 1958, pp. 11–39.

[11] Examples of popular pressure on both the imperial government at Rome and on provincial or municipal governments are not infrequent in the Early Roman Empire. Popular agitation forced Nero to recall his wife Octavia when he first tried to put her away, Tac. *Ann.* XIV 60.5 (A.D. 62). Tacitus several times mentions the unruliness of audiences in the theaters of Rome, e.g., *Ann.* XI 13.1, XIII 25.4. Shortages of grain would occasion popular unrest at Rome, *Ann.* XII 43.1–2, XV 18.2, XV 39.2. Rumors among the people that Nero had set the fire which devastated Rome in 64 (*Ann.* XV 39.3) induced him to try to shift the blame to the Christians and to persecute them, *Ann.* XV 44.2ff. In the east, persecution of the early Christians was generally local and occasioned by popular hostility. Pontius Pilate yielded to the outcry of a Jewish mob, instigated by the priests, that he release Barabbas and crucify Jesus, *Mark* 15.11–15, *Matthew* 27.15–26, *Luke* 23.16–24; John's account, 19.14–16, mentions the mob but not Barabbas. When Paul preached at Ephesus, the silversmiths, fearful for their trade in images of Artemis, stirred up a considerable riot, *Acts*, 19.23–41. The crowd in the theater of Smyrna forced the proconsul and the high priest (Asiarch) of Asia to commit Polycarp to the flames, probably in the 160's, Eusebius, *Hist. Ecc.* IV 15.26–29.

[12] The cases listed in n. 11, and other similar ones in eastern cities, in which popular demands won concessions from governments at various levels, led Jean Colin to argue in *Les Villes libres de l'Orient greco-romain et l'envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires* (Collection Latomus LXXXII), Brussels/Berchem, Latomus, 1965, that such popular demands had quasi-legal validity to require officials to put into effect the people's will. His argument assigns more,

might be through a single representative or by organized, rhythmical "acclamations." The emperors or other officials would listen and even debate with the spokesman or with the whole crowd.[13] Naturally such meetings, particularly if the people did not get satisfaction, often developed into riots which the government had to suppress by force of arms.

A well-known instance in the west of such an expression of the popular will was the election of Ambrose as bishop of Milan, probably in 373.[14] Ambrose, at the time governor or *consularis* of the province

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and earlier, validity to such demonstrations than does the conclusion stated in the text and supported in the next note that in the Late Empire such demonstrations were formalized and recognized as valid expressions of the popular will, but not necessarily ones to which official satisfaction should be given. For mob pressure on governments see also briefly Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order*, Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 171–173, in a chapter on "Urban Unrest" which is chiefly about the measures taken by the governments to repress it.

[13] That popular outcry against the government in such places as theaters and hippodromes had in the Late Empire a recognized role is illustrated by a passage from the chronicle of Theophanes, which seems based on an official record, and which is translated by J(ohn) B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian I*, 2 vols., ed. 2, 1923 (enlarged and shortened in time span from ed. 1, 1889, with the title: *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene; 391 A.D.–800 A.D.*), London, Macmillan, 1923 (reprint New York, Dover, 1958). The passage, in II, 71–74, in an appendix to ch. XV entitled "A Scene in the Hippodrome," gives a dialogue between the circus faction of the Greens, apparently shouting in unison, and a herald or *mandator* who speaks for Justinian. The Greens wanted the removal of an unpopular chamberlain named Calopius. The discussion extended to other complaints against the emperor, and finally the Greens insulted the other faction, the Blues, who replied with one chanted shout. Bury thinks that this incident is independent from the Nika riot, discussed presently in the text. See also below n. 54.

[14] The meeting in the Cathedral of Milan appears to have been formally called to elect a new bishop, though the acclamation of Ambrose appears to have been spontaneous, not arranged by the orthodox Catholics or led by an organized claque. See F(rederick) Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2 vols., 1935, I, 66–69, in ch. III: "Ambrose made Bishop." In a note (pp. 70–74) to this chapter: "Some points of interest in connection with Ambrose's elevation," Dudden calls attention to the prominent role of the laity in episcopal elections during the fourth century. He also remarks that, despite several instances of the elevation of laymen directly to the episcopal throne, Ambrose seems to have been hastened in a week through the seven stages from baptism to presbyter, so that he could be consecrated bishop on the eighth day, probably 1 Dec. 373. It might be noted that Ammianus Marcellinus, XX 4.13–18, presents the elevation of Julian as emperor at Paris in 360 as an equally spontaneous demonstration on the part of troops

of Aemilia/Liguria, attended an election assembly in the Cathedral of Milan to keep order between the Catholics and Arians, both eager to get their candidate chosen bishop. After his introductory speech, a child's voice was heard to cry: "Ambrose bishop," and all the assembly, both parties, took up the cry. Ambrose did everything, including withdrawing from the city, to avoid the office but after some weeks he finally had to yield both to popular pressure and to a specific command from the emperor, Valentinian I.

Similar occurrences were more common in the east. At Antioch in

disgruntled because Constantius II had ordered them to the east, contrary to the terms of their enlistment. It may, however, be doubted whether in this case the outbreak was as spontaneous as Ammianus wants his readers to believe. In the first place, just before the outbreak, Julian entertained the officers at dinner (XX 4.13). Ammianus says that they left the dinner and later led the revolt, but of course it would have been easy for Julian at least to sympathize with them, if not put the idea into their heads of acclaiming him. Moreover, Julian was surrounded with a group of pagan advisers, notably the doctor Oribasius, and they may have urged upon the officers his acclamation in hopes that as emperor he would restore pagan worship; see Jean Bidez, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julian*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1930, pp. 177–186, particularly p. 186. Dr. Thomas G. Elliott has gone so far, in a still unpublished thesis submitted to Harvard University in 1971 and entitled "The Pagan Bias of Ammianus Marcellinus (Books XIV–XXV)," to propose that from the time of his conversion to paganism Julian had aspired to take the throne from Constantius II and that he himself engineered the acclamation at Paris. The military acclamation of emperors was, of course, much older than the civil acclamations discussed in the text above and in this note. As in the case of Julian, it may be doubted whether they were as spontaneous as the sources often present them to have been. For instance, Vincent M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Harvard Historical Studies XLIV), Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. 53–63, thinks that the acclamation of Claudius in 41 by the praetorians was rigged by officers discontented with Gaius but not eager to see a restoration of the Republic. Certainly the acclamation of Vespasian in 69 first by troops at Alexandria, then by his own army in Judaea, and then by the legions in Syria, was set up in advance between the various commanders; see Mason Hammond, "The Transmission of the Powers of the Roman Emperor etc.," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 24 (1956) 73–75. It is perhaps more dubious whether, as von Domaszewski suggested, the elevation of Septimius in 193 was originally engineered by Laetus, the praetorian praefect of Commodus; see Mason Hammond, "Septimius Severus, Roman Bureaucrat," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LI (1940) pp. 163–166; also Anthony Birley, *Septimius Severus: The African Emperor*, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971, p. 155 (bottom), where the possibility of previous arrangements by Laetus is suggested. Laetus had already been executed by Julianus before the revolt of Septimius, *SHA, Did. Iul.* 6.2, Dio LXXIII 16. In any case, Septimius took the initiative in getting himself acclaimed by his troops and in leading them on Rome.

387, news of an extra, and extra heavy, tax, incited a demonstration before the governor's palace.[15] This outbreak was perhaps initiated by the well-to-do, on whom the tax would have fallen. However, the two sources, Libanius and John Chrysostom, state that the people were aroused by groups of professional theatrical applauders. Such organized claques had existed since at least the Early Empire to applaud specific actors, who presumably paid them for this advertising. Nero is said to have retained several thousand people to cheer his performances. By the Late Empire, when demonstrations in the theaters or hippodromes had become occasions for the expression of the popular will, the claques acquired a political tone and function. While they might initially be employed by specific interests, as in this case perhaps by the rich tax-payers, ultimately their chanted acclamations had to conform to what the people wanted in order to get any support from them. When the governor of Antioch failed to give satisfaction, the claques led the people in serious rioting, in the course of which imperial statues and portraits were destroyed. The governor then turned troops on the crowd, whose enthusiasm had already waned so that they offered little resistance.

The most familiar instance in the east of a demonstration which developed into a real revolution is the Nika riot at Constantinople in January 532.[16] Both the major factions in the circus, the Blues and the Greens, combined to entreat from Justinian, who was presiding over races in the Hippodrome, pardon for two condemned criminals. When he refused, the factions jointly raised the cry of "Victory," *Nika*, and went out to spread destruction through the city. Finally they elevated a rival emperor. Justinian, shamed out of flight by his empress Theodora, used both bribery and armed force to quell the revolt. Some thirty thousand persons, again assembled in the Hippodrome, were slain. After the suppression of the troubles, Justinian punished a

[15] For the riot in Antioch see Robert Browning, "The Riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch," *Journal of Roman Studies* 42 (1952) 13–20. Browning gives references on p. 16 for theatrical claques, including their use in demonstrations against Christians. On pp. 17–18, he notes that the law codes recognize the validity of such acclamations, cf., e.g., *Cod. Theod.* I 16.6.1, an edict of Constantine recognizing the importance of acclamations in judicial hearings. Browning also discusses military acclamations, cf. above in n. 14. Browning concludes, pp. 19–20, that organized demonstrations became a recognized means by which discontented elements in the population could bring pressure to bear on the government at various levels. For a sort of dialogue between Julian and the Antiochenes in 362 see below, n. 53.

[16] For a good account of the Nika riot see Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 13) II, 39–48.

number of senators. Presumably, therefore, the outbreak was not entirely spontaneous or, if it was, senators eager to secure the removal of three corrupt ministers, notably the minister of finance, John the Cappadocian, and perhaps even to dethrone Justinian himself, took advantage of the popular discontent.

In short, when continuity into the Middle Ages or the Byzantine period is discussed, it is not to be sought in the survival of the institutions of the city-state, which had effectively vanished during the crisis of the third century, but of the authoritarian municipal administrations of the Late Empire. And the survival of civic spirit will be found, if at all, not in the continuance of any recognized form of popular assembly but in some feeling on the part of ordinary inhabitants of a community that they could express their concern for its affairs and their desires through mass gatherings, whether these were organized for a specific purpose or began spontaneously, and whether their conduct was peaceful or violent.[17]

Moreover, the question of continuity from the classical to the mediaeval city involves asking to what extent the Christian Church adopted its administrative institutions from those of the secular state or cities. Obviously certain parallels can be drawn. The major territorial divisions of the Church, those under metropolitans in the east and archbishops in the west, tended to coincide with the administrative subdivisions of the Late Empire.[18] Bishops continued to have their seats in cities, in the west even after the counts and other civil officials of the new barbarian national kingdoms had moved to castles in the

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[17] Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine *dēmocratía* and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) 287–314, argues that the role of the circus factions and of the "demes" in expressing public opinion in Constantinople was taken over by the craft guilds and that these played an important role, particularly during the eleventh century in various revolts and depositions. On pp. 289–290, he suggests a comparison between the political activity of the Byzantine guilds and those in both the western and the Islamic cities and the possibility that all three represented a common inheritance from Greco-Roman economic organization. He admits that this raises the question as between a common institutional ancestry and independent but similar reaction to like circumstances and needs. See also his brief remarks in his article "The Byzantine Legacy etc." (cited below in n. 60), p. 285, and also the bibliography on the guilds in his *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) p. 8 n. 25.

[18] For the organization of the Christian Church in the Late Empire see Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8) II, 873–894, in ch. XXII: "The Church." For the correspondence of ecclesiastical and civil administrative organization in the Byzantine Empire see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) pp. 8–9.

country.[19] The bishops of major cities, such as Alexandria, Antioch, and particularly Constantinople and Rome, claimed to exercise over other bishops the same primacy which imperial officials stationed in these cities had enjoyed.[20] Since by the Dark Ages, no western city survived to rival Rome, the bishop of Rome could successfully claim primacy over the western Church, not merely because of the charge to St. Peter but because of the century old primacy enjoyed by Rome as the center of the imperial government.[21] Thus the "Idea of Rome" survived not only the departure of the western emperors to capitals nearer the frontiers, but the collapse of imperial authority in the west and the emergence of the barbarian national states. In the west, the bureaucracies both of the popes and of the barbarian monarchs borrowed much from that of the Late Empire, which, of course, that of the Byzantine Empire perpetuated with changes.

At the municipal level the question of continuity from secular to ecclesiastical institutions is more difficult to answer. The Christians had inherited from the Old Testament the concept of a theocratic form of government. Likewise the rule of the Late Empire, under which the Church really came into its own, was at all levels authoritarian and climaxed in an emperor who for pagans was divine, or at least enjoyed

[19] For bishops continuing to reside in the cities of the west after the barbarian counts, etc., had moved to castles in the country see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 25–26. For the importance of episcopal authority in Byzantine cities see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51) p. 9.

[20] For a brief statement on the development of Church government in the early centuries, particularly the transition from presbyterian to episcopal rule, see M(arcel) Simon and A(ndré) Benoit, *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme antique* (Nouvelle Clio 10), Paris, Presses universitaires, 1968, ch. VII: "Les institutions ecclésiastiques," pp. 173–178; also for the archiepiscopal and patriarchal sees in major cities see Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (Pelican History of the Church 1), Penguin Books, 1967 (and reprints) p. 165.

[21] For the development of the Papacy, see Simon and Benoit (preceding n.), p. 178, and Chadwick (preceding n.), ch. 16, pp. 237–246. A still valuable collection and discussion of sources is James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (in Columbia Records of Civilization), Columbia University Press, 1927. This gives passages both for "The Petrine Tradition" (bk. II, pp. 211–216) and for "The Rise of the See" (bk. II, pp. 211–216); it carries this last down to the death of Pope Damasus in 385. The genuineness of the tradition of Peter's presence and death in Rome has been placed on a new footing by the excavation during the Second World War of his traditional burial place beneath the high altar of St. Peter's; for a brief bibliography on these excavations see Margherita Guarducci, *Pietro Ritrovato*, Italy, Mondadori, 1969, pp. 153–154. See also for a full discussion of all aspects of the Petrine presence in Rome, with a long bibliography, Daniel Wm. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome . . .*, Columbia University Press, 1969.

an aura of divinity, and for Christians was elected by God and ruled under his special protection. In consequence, although the early Church had been divided over the issue whether spiritual authority was vested in a group of presbyters, or priests, or in the single bishop, the latter view won out. Bishops derived their spiritual authority from God, not from any human source. Even though it might be admitted in the west that temporal sovereignty was independent of ecclesiastical authority and in the east that it might even be superior, such sovereignty was likewise held to be bestowed by God on the sovereign, and not to be granted by any organ of the state.[22] When, therefore, in the Late Empire local civil government broke down and people turned to their bishops, first for jurisdiction, then for food and other charity, and finally for administration and defense, the bishops acted not as agents of a popularly based city-state, or even of a secular ruler, but as representatives appointed by God to protect their flocks.[23] It should be noted that the assumption of civic responsibility by bishops was more necessary in the west, where the imperial government completely broke down, than in the east, where the central government continued during the Byzantine period to send representatives to the cities and also to use the Church and its organization as an instrument of government.[24]

[22] For the difference between the western and eastern churches in their justifications of temporal sovereignty see Chadwick (cited above in n. 20) pp. 165–166.

[23] For the breakdown of central civil administration and the rise of local episcopal power in northern Gaul, see Eugen Ewig, "Von der Kaiserstadt zur Bischofstadt: Beobachtungen zur Geschichte von Trier im 5 Jahrhundert" in Werner Besch and others, edd., *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte* (cited above in n. 1) pp. 59–73. Ewig traces the gradual severance of relations between Trier and southern Gaul and the consequent weakening of civil authority and an assumption of administration by the bishops. For the replacement of local autonomy in Byzantine cities by a combination of authoritarian ecclesiastical and civil (imperial) administrations see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited below in n. 51), pp. 7–8.

[24] For the assumption of civil responsibility and authority by bishops during the Late Roman Empire, Prof. Giles Constable (Harvard) kindly suggests that the best treatment of the subject (a topic which, he feels, merits further investigation) is: Sergio Mochi Onory, *Vescovi e Città: sec. IV–VI* (Bibl. della Rivista di Storia del Diritto italiano 8), Bologna, Zanichelli, 1933. Mochi Onory's preface, pp. ix–xxx, summarizes his general argument; in the remainder of the book he documents in more detail the gradual development of the bishop's civil authority. He limits his study to Italy since, though Gaul and Spain offer parallels, the development in those provinces was not the same as in Italy. The general tenor of his preface suggests that in assuming civil functions the bishops and their clerical staffs replaced, rather than simply continuing, the previous civil functionaries. Thus this would constitute a break in the continuity of

Familiar examples of the civil role of bishops in the fifth century are those of Synesius, unwillingly made bishop of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica but nevertheless leading its inhabitants in defense of their city against Berber raiders, or Sidonius Apollinaris, equally reluctantly made bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in Gaul and then having to organize its defense against, and later its negotiations with, the Visigoths and Burgundians.[25]

Furthermore, even if the Church or the barbarian kings or later mediaeval rulers, bishops, or barons around whose castles villages or towns developed, continued to use terms derived from Roman bureaucratic or municipal practice, it does not follow that there was any real continuity of office or function. It is a common human trait to go on using old terms for offices which have wholly changed their character or to apply old terms to newly created offices. Moreover, the bureaucracies of the barbarian kings and their mediaeval successors as overlords usually had a personal relation to them, in the Germanic tradition. The Church preserved to a greater extent the classical concept of a bureaucracy which belonged to the community, whether city, church, or diocese, and which continued in being through successive changes of head. But in either case the passage of time, Christianization, barbarization, and new needs so altered whatever institutions may have survived from antiquity that change must be regarded as outweighing continuity in estimating the significance of any classical survivals for the emergence of mediaeval towns.

Physical buildings of the classical period had already begun to be damaged or not kept in repair during the confusion of the mid-third century. This was also a period in which walls were erected around many cities, particularly in the west, as defenses against barbarian inroads. These walls survived to a varying degree through the Dark Ages and more often than not served as the basis for, or the major

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municipal institutions. See also Vittinghoff (cited above in n. 10) toward the end. Jones does not discuss episcopal civil authority in ch. XXII: "The Church," pp. 863–937 of his *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8), and does so only briefly in his *The Greek City* (cited above in n. 9). For the eastern Empire see Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 13) II, 361–362, which is based on Justinian's legislation on the subject; also Louis Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin II: Les Institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, Michel, 1949, pp. 526–528.

[25] For Synesius' defense of Ptolemais, see *Real-Enc. der class. Alt. Wiss.* (Pauly-Wissowa) 2 Reihe 8 Halbb. col. 1363 under *Synesios* 1; for Sidonius as bishop of Clermont-Ferrand (Augustonemetum), see ibid. 4 Halbb. col. 2232 under *Sidonius* 1.

element in, later mediaeval city walls.[26] The best known example of a wall originally built during the crisis of the third century and which survives almost intact is that with which Aurelian (270–275) surrounded Rome.[27]

After the damage caused by the troubles of the third century, buildings were restored, or new ones built, during the relatively prosperous fourth century. However, when Theodosius prohibited pagan worship at the end of that century, although occasional decrees were issued to enforce respect for pagan temples as monuments, these were allowed to fall into decay or were looted for building materials.[28] During the sixth and subsequent centuries in the west, buildings which still stood were put to uses different from their original purposes and thus continued to be preserved.[29] An obvious change of use was, of

[26] For the origin and development of city walls in Gaul see Adrien Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule etc.*, Paris, Leroux, 1907.

[27] For Aurelian's wall around Rome see Ian A. Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome: An Account of its Architectural Development from Aurelian to Narses*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930.

[28] An older collection of imperial edicts against paganism is Maude A. Huttman, *The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism* (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University LX. 2, whole no. 147), Longmans, Green (for Columbia University), 1914. For edicts attempting to enforce respect for pagan temples because of their artistic value see *Cod. Theod.* LVI title 10 nos. 3 (Constantius and Constans), 8 (Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius), 15 (Arcadius and Honorius), 18 (the same), 19.2 (Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius II; temples to be put to other public uses). However, in this same title are stringent prohibitions against use of temples for pagan worship and orders for the destruction of temples and altars.

[29] A well-known older description of the transformation of pagan buildings to other uses during the Middle Ages is Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1893. Later archaeological investigation has, of course, somewhat modified his conclusions; see Leon Homo, *Rome médiévale, 477–1420 etc.*, Paris, Payot, 1956, pt. IV: "Au sein de la Rome médiévale etc.," chs. I–II, pp. 119–162. A recent book by Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, London, Faber & Faber, 1970, is historical and has no separate discussion of buildings. Since Byzantine Constantinople began as a Christian city and had a continuous history until the Turkish conquest, its buildings, though sometimes damaged or destroyed by fire or rioting, remained in use for more or less their original purposes until 1453. Here again, an older description, Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, Boston, Roberts Bros., 2 vols., 1895, is fuller on the buildings (in vols. I–II, chs. VII–X, pp. 288–674) than are, for instance, Glanville Downey, *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian* (The Centers of Civilization 3), University of Oklahoma Press, 1960, ch. I: "The City of Justinian and Its People," pp. 14–42, or Dean A. Miller, *Imperial Constantinople* (in New Dimensions in History: Historical Cities), New York, Wiley, 1969, in ch. I: "The City," pp. 1–21.

course, the transformation of a temple into a church, of which examples come readily to mind: the Pantheon in Rome, the temple on the height of Ortygia in Syracuse, the Parthenon in Athens, the temple of the deified Augustus at Ancyra.[30] In the east, such buildings might later become mosques, as did the Parthenon and the temple at Ancyra.

Many classical buildings served as quarries for later construction or were buried under accumulated rubbish until revealed by the spade of the archaeologist. Indeed, an impressive visual symbol of the decay of classical municipal institutions and urban spirit is the archaeological evidence for the encroachment of private buildings on public streets. This occurred even during the relative prosperity of the fourth century; e.g., a Christian basilica at Ostia was, probably during the fourth century, built in part on an earlier street.[31] This failure to respect public ways and to keep them clear and clean surely indicates that circulation within cities and communication between them was becoming less frequent and that municipal or higher authorities either would not or could not prevent people from regarding streets or highways as available for private use.[32]

A further argument against continuity might be that nascent medi- aeval towns in the west did not necessarily emerge on classical sites. In part, mediaeval towns emerged in areas where, although classical sites had remained in continuous occupation, it is likely that the Romanized population had either been wiped out, moved out, or absorbed by the barbarian invaders. This seems to have been true in England. The same appears to have occurred in the provinces along the upper and

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[30] For the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches, Dr. Clive Foss (below n. 51) kindly provided two references: Friederich W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 54, 1 (1939), pp. 105–136, which lists examples by various regions in both eastern and western (many fewer) Empires; and Alison Franz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965) 185–205, followed by 22 ills. on 8 plates. Miss Franz would date the chief three conversions, of the Parthenon, of the Erechtheum, and of the Hephaisteon (Theseon) as at least post Justinianic (pp. 201–205).

[31] For the basilica of Ostia see Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960, pp. 397–399; a revised paperback edition is in prepara- tion. Meiggs, at the bottom of p. 398, dates the basilica tentatively to the fourth century.

[32] Dr. Clive Foss (below, n. 51) found examples in the cities of western Asia Minor of roads built over during the fourth century. He notes that *Cod. Theod.* XV title 1, *de operibus publicis*, has much to say about the repair and maintenance of public buildings and that pars. 38 and 39 contain edicts of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius against erecting private constructions against public buildings or on streets.

middle Danube. This topic, mentioned earlier, will be resumed presently.

It is therefore in the regions where Roman civilization had become more deeply rooted and municipalization more thoroughly achieved that scholars look for evidence of continuity from classical to late mediaeval times. Spain, southern France (Provence), and Italy were overrun by barbarians during the fifth century but in them the barbarians respected Roman culture, came to terms with local populations, and made use of Roman cities for their capitals. Thus it is possible that in these provinces, the inhabitants of the cities were able to perpetuate their institutions with a minimum of interference from their new rulers and could still feel some civic commitment. It is therefore worthwhile to examine each of the areas of the western Empire separately to try to determine how far in each scholars have detected real survivals of classical municipal institutions and civic spirit.

The western half of the northern coast of Africa throughout the Roman period was grouped with the western or European part of the Empire. It contained, of course, a number of important cities which had long been Romanized, notably Carthage since its resettlement by Julius Caesar. These cities had already begun to decline in the fourth century, but the Vandals, when they overran North Africa in the early fifth century, on the whole respected them. Carthage, indeed, had a certain brilliance as the seat of the Vandal court and a center of Latin culture. However, the cities suffered from constant Berber raids; nor did the reconquest by Justinian in 533/4 do much to restore them. It did, however, shift at least the area behind Carthage, Tunisia, into the sphere of the Byzantine Empire.[33] The Arab conquest of North Africa which began in the seventh century both reinforced the shift of the area to the eastern sphere and also dealt a considerable blow to the cities.[34] After the Arabs destroyed Carthage in 698 and its harbor silted up, they moved from its site to a less significant city, Tunis, further inside the bay.[35] This they connected to the deep water by a canal and

[33] For cities in late imperial and Vandal North Africa, see Christian Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (publ. under the auspices of Service des Antiquités, Direction de l'Intérieur et des Beaux-Arts, Gouvernement général de l'Algérie), Paris, Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1955, pp. 313–316.

[34] For the Arab occupation of Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Roman North Africa, see Ch(arles)-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, ed. 2, by Christian Courtois (revised reprint by Roger Le Tourneau; from ed. 1, 1931), Paris, Payot, 2 vols. 1968–69, in vol. I, "Conclusion: La Survivance de Rome," pp. 277–279, and in vol. II, ch. I: "La Conquête arabe etc.," pp. 11–40.

[35] For the destruction of Carthage see G(abriel) G. Lapeyre and A(rthur) Pellegrin, *Carthage latine et chrétienne*, Paris, Payot, 1950, pp. 190–191. The

made it their political and commercial center, though their religious
capital was at Kairouan, further south on the edge of the desert. The
ruins of Carthage first served as a quarry for the enlargement of Tunis
and, much later, were exploited to build the Cathedral of Pisa in Italy.
In general, after Justinian's recovery of Cyrene and Tunisia and then the
Arab conquest of the whole area, west to the Atlantic, the fate of its
cities belongs to the urban history of the Near East, not to that of
western Europe.

To go to the opposite extreme of Europe, northern Germany had at
most received slight Romanization from venturesome traders or per-
haps from mercenaries who, after service in the imperial armies, had
returned to their homes. But according to Professor Ennen, the culture
of the Germans remained until the Late Middle Ages basically agri-
cultural, without cities, or at best with small trading posts (burgs or
wiks) and with a social organization based on kinship, i.e. on the family
and the tribe, and on loyalty between persons rather than of persons
to places.[36] Out of such interpersonal loyalty developed the guilds
of the later Middle Ages. Development of communities larger than
agricultural villages or trading centers was in part owing to the needs
of defense but even more to the increase of long-range trade, because
of which the centers became more ambitious market towns. The traders
themselves tended to come from further south and brought with them
concepts of urbanization from the Rhineland and northern Gaul. Thus,
as was noted above, if there were any classical influences at work,
these must be sought first in the Rhineland and northern Gaul.

In England the Roman cities had begun to decay in the late fourth
century, and the withdrawal of Roman troops during the early fifth
century left the Romanized Celts to their own devices.[37] The Anglo-

Arabs first took the city in about 692 but the Byzantines briefly recaptured it in
697. For the emergence of Tunis see p. 193. For the use of the ruins of Carthage
as a quarry for Tunis see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 2 Reihe Halbb. 14 (1943),
col. 1360 under *Tunis.*

[36] For the character of German society, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte* ch. 2:
"Die germanische Welt in ihrem Verhältnis zur städtischen Lebensform,"
pp. 37–83. The conclusion summarized in the text is partly on p. 84. For burgs
and wiks, see above at the end of n. 5.

[37] For the gradual desertion of British cities during the Late Roman Empire,
see R(obin) G. Collingwood and J(ohn) N. L. Myers, *Roman Britain and the
English Settlements* (Oxford History of England I), Oxford University Press,
ed. 2, 1937 (and reprints: only slightly corrected from, and with the same
pagination as, ed. 1, 1936) pp. 316–319 (Collingwood): "The Desertion of
Roman Sites." See also Sheppard Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman*

Saxon invaders, who began to arrive in the first half of the fifth century, gradually, and in the face of Celtic resistance, overran England and either slaughtered the Romanized Celts, or drove them into Wales and across the Channel to Britanny, or slowly absorbed them. Many Roman sites, such as London, Chester, Lincoln, and York, continued to be inhabited and possibly their scanty populations preserved for a while some Roman institutions or spirit. But the Anglo-Saxons did not adopt these, or indeed Roman culture. Moreover they moved the inhabited centers of other sites, as from Verulamium to St. Albans, or abandoned them entirely, as Calleva Atrebatum, where the small modern village of Silchester is three quarters of a mile from the exca-vated Roman city.[38] Roman culture was not reintroduced until after the Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England, which began in the late fifth century with the mission of St. Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory from Rome in 597.[39] Only about 634 did missionaries from Ireland, already active on the continent, begin to convert the north of England. Thus when Latin culture reappeared in the early eighth century, it combined continental and Irish elements, but in this revival municipal institutions and civic spirit had no part; learning was fostered in monasteries.[40]

The Danubian and Balkan provinces of the Roman Empire fell, in consequence of its division, into a European portion on the upper and Middle Danube, extending from Switzerland southeast through

Britain (in History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire), London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Harvard University Press, 1967, ch. 19: "The end of Roman Britain," pp. 360–383. In this chapter, the decay of the Roman cities before the Anglo-Saxon invasion and their lot thereafter are discussed on pp. 375 (bottom)–378 (top). These pages summarize an earlier article: S(heppard) S. Frere, "The End of Towns in Roman Britain," pp. 87–100 of J. S. Wacher, ed., *The Civitas Capitals of Roman Britain*, Leicester University Press, 1966.

[38] For the effect on Roman cities of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of Britain, see Collingwood and Myers (cited in the preceding note), ch. XXIV (Myers): "The Character of the Conquest," pp. 424–456. Myers doubts any survival of cities, except for physical ruins, or of Christianity. See also the articles and quotations in Benton, *Town Origins*, pp. 42–48.

[39] For the Christianizing of Anglo-Saxon England, see (Sir) Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England c. 550–1087* (Oxford History of England II), Oxford University Press, ed. 2, 1947 (and reprints; only slightly corrected from, and with the same pagination as, ed. 1, 1943) ch. IV: "The Conversion of England," pp. 96–129.

[40] For the revival of learning in Anglo-Saxon England, see Stenton (cited in the preceding note) ch. VI: "Learning and Literature in Early England," pp. 177–199.

northern Jugoslavia to a line roughly from Belgrade on the Danube to the northern frontier of Albania on the Adriatic, and a Byzantine portion south from the lower Danube through the Balkans to the Bosporus and Aegean Sea. In the European half, Roman cities had developed along the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic and around the legionary camps in the valleys of the Save and Danube. However, these cities had decayed during the Late Empire and were swept away by the invasions of the Alamanni and Slavs.[41] Thus in this area there appears to have been no continuity from the late imperial cities to those of the Middle Ages.

In northern Gaul and the Rhineland, the crisis of the third century had, as already noted, led to a shrinkage in the size of cities and to the protection of their central portions by walls.[42] Although the Roman sites continued in general to be inhabited after the barbarian invasions and to have some sort of urban life under the protection of their bishops, usually only a portion of the original walled area, which itself had been contracted from the classical extent of the given city, was occupied, or else there was a shift of habitation, which probably began in the last days of Roman rule, from the original centers to the suburbs, where Christians settled around the shrines of martyrs or other early

[41] For the fate of Roman cities in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia (the general area of Illyricum), see J(ohn) J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (in History of the Roman Provinces), London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Harvard University Press, 1969, ch. XV, iv: "The Slav Conquest," pp. 435–437. For destruction by the Alamanni, see Ennen in Benton, *Town Origins*, p. 12. In the original "Formation," p. 299 n. 5, Ennen says that full bibliographical references will be found in p. 561 n. 2 of E(ugen) Ewig, "Das Fortleben römischer Institutionen in Gallien und Germanien," Comitato internaz. di Scienze storiche, *Relazioni* VI (Florence, 1955) 561–598. The reports of the tenth International Congress of Historical Studies, held in Rome in 1955, were published in two forms by Sansoni at Florence, first as the official publication in 7 vols. by the Committee in charge, that cited by Ennen, and shortly thereafter as 6 vols. in the Bibl. Storica Sansoni. In this last, Ewig's article appears not in vol. VI but in vol. I (Bibl. vol. XXII): *Metologia, Problemi generali, Scienze ausiliarie della storia* (also 1955). It occupies pp. 549–586 as the third of four articles on "La sopravvivenza delle istituzioni giurdiche romane." These articles are concerned primarily with the survival of Roman legal institutions: in Italy, during the Middle Ages generally, in Gaul and Germany, and in the orthodox countries. Ewig discusses continuity in the cities on pp. 557–560 of this text (= VI, 569–572). In this text the bibliography to which Ennen refers is in p. 549 n. 2.

[42] For a detailed discussion of the shrinkage and fortification of the cities of Roman Gaul during the third century and the later history of their walls and extent see Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule* (cited above in n. 26); the author gives a summary statement in his introduction, pp. 4–11.

churches.[43] Ancient walls and buildings fell into decay until the Norman invasions of the tenth century led to the repair or reconstruction at least of the walls. The Merovingian kings continued to use old Roman cities for their capitals and administrative centers. However, the Carolingian monarchs kept their courts on the move and, while Aachen and Regersburg were their titular capitals, they preferred to occupy fortified castles. Even the counts or grafs whom they appointed as governors were assigned to territories, and although they might have residences in the cities they also preferred their castles.

Thus by the end of the Carolingian period, although Roman cities might still be inhabited and even serve as centers of commerce, there was little left of the late antique municipal administration or urban spirit.[44] Such cultural continuity as there was lay in the life of the Church. Bishops still resided in the old urban centers, which contained both their cathedrals and the administrative offices for their dioceses; that is, the communities were cult and ecclesiastical centers, not secular cities.[45] Moreover there was a vast change of character when such centers began to develop trade and handicrafts and self-government, i.e., when they began to emerge as mediaeval towns. Hence there does not appear to have been any continuity of municipal institutions or civic spirit from late antiquity in northern Gaul or the Rhineland.

There remain the three central and traditional areas of Romanized western Europe, namely Spain, southern Gaul (Provence), and particularly, of course, Italy. In these regions, as already observed, the barbarian invaders respected the Roman cities and population. Evidence has been seen for the survival of civic spirit, if not of municipal institutions, in the fact that when rulers or overlords began granting immunities and privileges, they did so not, as in northern Europe, to guilds

[43] For the history of the Roman sites in northern Gaul and the Rhineland from 600 to the end of the Carolingian era, c. 900, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 84–103. Ennen distinguishes between *civitates*, the surviving late imperial cities, and burgs, or fortified manorial castles, whether ecclesiastical, baronial, or royal. On pp. 103–106, she illustrates the shift of habitation in the Roman cities from the old centers to the suburbs where Christian shrines had come into being during the Late Empire. Her conclusions are summarized in Benton, *Town Origins*, pp. 13–14; see also briefly Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, p. 39 for Bonn.

[44] For the real break in continuity from the Late Empire in those Roman cities in northern Gaul and the Rhineland which continued to be occupied during the Dark Ages and Carolingian period, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 103–121; *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 43–45.

[45] For the continued residence of bishops in cities and their maintenance of a semblance of urban life in northern Gaul and the Rhineland, see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 25–26, 42–43.

but directly to the inhabitants of a given community.[46] Moreover, although in Spain and southern France, Roman municipal institutions seem entirely to have vanished — and it may be remembered that these areas were overrun in the eighth century by the Arabs, who remained for centuries established in southern Spain — in Italy the classical cities not only continued to serve as commercial or industrial centers but retained a considerable community solidarity.[47] However, even given the continuity of habitation and of civic spirit, it is reasonable to hold that the gradual transformation of municipal institutions in Italy as elsewhere, first at the hands of the Church and then under the rule of successive conquerors, Lombards, Normans, and Carolingians, represented an effective break in continuity from antiquity.

The emergent towns in Italy do not show such markedly different characteristics from those in northern Europe that they can be proven to have had a primary stimulus from classical survivals, rather than from the same contemporary causes which acted elsewhere: the development of trade and handicrafts and the consequent civic self-consciousness of the new social classes which led them to secure from feudal or ecclesiastical overlords recognition or rights of self-government. In particular, ports like Amalfi or Venice would have been encouraged in their municipal development by their contact with the few still active ports of the Byzantine Empire, notably with Constantinople.[48]

To conclude, in western Europe continuity of municipal institutions or of civic spirit from the cities of the Late Roman Empire was at most

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[46] For the difference that privileges were granted by overlords in northern Europe to guilds but in southern Europe and particularly in Italy to the inhabitants of a community taken as a single body, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 234–247, especially p. 241 (top).

[47] For continuity of municipal life in Italy, see Ennen, *Frühgeschichte*, pp. 223–224, and her summary remarks in Benton, *Town Origins*, p. 12 col. 2; also Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, pp. 31–33. In the original "Formation," p. 399 n. 2, as evidence for economic and social continuity in the Po Valley, Ennen cites Cinzio Violante, *La società milanese nell'età precomunale* (publ. no. 4 of the Ist. italiano per gli studi storici in Napoli), Bari, Laterza, 1953. This is primarily an economic study of the revival, partly under the stimulus of survivals from the Late Roman Empire, of trade and agriculture, and the consequent emergence of new social classes who transformed pre-existing communities into cities. There is no reference to the survival of municipal institutions or of civic spirit.

[48] For trade as the major element in the emergence of towns throughout mediaeval Europe see Ennen, *Eur. Stadt* ch. 2: "Die neuen Ansätze," pp. 46–72. She discusses the impact of trade with the Arabs on pp. 70–72 but apparently says nothing about trade with Constantinople, for which see Robert S. Lopez, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe II* (1952) ch. V: "The Trade of Medieval Europe — The South," pp. 300–303.

only one, and perhaps the least important, of the factors which may explain the emergence of mediaeval towns.[49] And it must be recognized that in many, if not most, instances what emerged in the Late Middle Ages were towns in the sense that that term has been defined above, and that there were few real cities until considerably later. Furthermore, if continuity there was, it was not any continuity from the self-governing classical city-state, which had ceased to exist under the oppressive and centralized autocracy of the Late Empire. Even the municipal councils, *curiae*, of the late Roman cities were merely agents of the imperial government, which appointed its own officials to exercise authority in the cities. Moreover, the institutions and civic spirit of the late imperial cities were slowly altered as first the Church and then the barbarians took over. And the changes which occurred during the centuries from about 600 to about 1100 were such as to make any real continuity illusory. Even in Italy, where continuity not only of habitation but of some sense of community is probable, it can hardly be supposed that had a citizen of, say, Milan of the fifth century, been translated to Milan of the eleventh, he would have found anything except a few ruins to remind him of the Roman city. In short, the emergence of mediaeval towns should be regarded as an instance of independent creativity in societies which had reached a certain level of economic and social development and not as an example of historic continuity.

It is of course true that as the mediaeval towns became increasingly large and extended their influence further, i.e., developed into true cities, their municipal institutions began to assume a classical coloring and the inhabitants commenced speaking of themselves and of their civic spirit in classical terms. But this assimilation represents one aspect of the revival of classical learning which, beginning in the Late Middle Ages, came to its flowering in the Renaissance. Here then there is not a continuity of classical elements but a reintroduction thereof. Cities,

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[49] Ennen, *Eur. Stadt*, p. 45, concludes, contrary to the argument of this paper, that: "Despite all shrinkage, I see in the Roman and Roman-Christian inheritance of the area between the Seine and the Rhine a spiritual force and positive material conditions which operated in the Middle Ages and which were of significance for the reflowering of an urbanism." But she admits at the opening of p. 46 that "The Roman inheritance is only *one* initiating force of mediaeval urbanism." It is concluded in the text above that even if a certain continuity can be traced, particularly in Italy, transformation of institutions and new attitudes toward life meant that this continuity was of little if any significance in the emergence of mediaeval towns either in northern Europe or in the Mediterranean lands.

like so much else in the Renaissance, adopted a classical veneer to clothe their indigenous character.[50]

The cities in the eastern part of the Roman Empire had down to the sixth century much the same history as did those in the west.[51] Local self-government slowly ceased under the encroachment of the imperial government from the second through the fourth century.[52] Municipal institutions, especially the councils, or *curiae*, become instruments for the collection of taxes for the central administration, and membership had to be made compulsory. Yet the cities still played an important role in local administration, as centers of trade and industry, and for the Church. Their inhabitants retained a lively sense of belonging to communities, as witness the hostile reaction of the people of Antioch

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[50] Professor Richard M. Morse of Yale University, one of the participants in the Conference (above, n. 1), kindly supplied an offprint of his article: "A Prolegomenon to Latin American Urban History" in *The Hispanic American Review* 52.3 (August 1972) 359–394. He traces two relationships between the classical urban experience and the emergence of cities in mediaeval Europe, particularly Spain, which in turn served as prototypes for the cities founded in the Spanish colonies. The first is significant for the discussion in the text above, namely, the intellectual impact of the classical urban experience and of classical discussion thereof (as well as of Christian doctrine) on late mediaeval and Renaissance urban theory and planning, pp. 364–370. The second, and less significant, relationship is the parallelism between some aspects of Roman and Spanish technique of colonization, pp. 371–373. This, of course, is not an instance of direct imitation but of similar reactions to similar conditions. Professor Morse goes on in pp. 373–394 to analyze the relationship between mediaeval cities in northern Europe and those in Spain and Portugal, which were also affected by Arab antecedents.

[51] Dr. Clive Foss, of the University of Massachusetts in Boston, has much improved this paper by his comments thereon, by providing bibliographical references, and by permitting the use for the eastern cities of the arguments and conclusions of his thesis entitled "The History of the Cities of Western Asia Minor under the Late Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire," submitted to Harvard University in 1973; various portions of this should be published in the near future. Dr. Foss holds that these cities passed through vicissitudes which were generally characteristic of cities in the Byzantine Empire, especially throughout Asia Minor. Very important also for the late Byzantine period and the transition to the Islamic world is Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Century* (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California at Los Angeles, no. 4), University of California Press, 1971. This has already been cited as Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.*

[52] For the decline of municipal autonomy in Byzantine cities see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited in the preceding note) pp. 7–8, already cited above in n. 23.

to the emperor Julian when he resided in their city for part of 362.[53] He replied to their jeers in a sarcastic oration which he called "The Hater of Beards," *Misopogon*, because he pretended to be critical of his own austerity and of the beard which he wore as a devotee of philosophy. The easterners, far more than the westerners, became very vociferous and riotous about theological doctrine and factional churchmen.[54]

During the fifth and sixth centuries the eastern cities, under Byzantine rule, remained far more flourishing than did those of the west, abandoned to the barbarian monarchs. The classical sites continued to be inhabited, nor did the populations move out as they often did in the west, to settle around some important Christian shrine in the suburbs. For instance, at Ephesus there had arisen a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist on a hill north of the city, overlooking the old temple of Artemis. Although Justinian rebuilt this in magnificent style, the hilltop was not fortified until an uncertain date well after his reign. During the Middle Ages a settlement grew up on the slopes of the hill beneath the fortification but this does not appear to have become the chief center until about the eleventh century, by which time the old harbor had thoroughly silted up.[55] It has already been noted that although the bishops in eastern cities, as in the western, began from the sixth century to assume civil responsibility, nevertheless in the east the imperial government continued to maintain civil officials both in the cities and in the provinces, and in the themes which replaced them. However, after the reign of Justinian, who died in 565, not only had the civic spirit and self-government of the classical city-state been forgotten for many centuries, but even the late imperial

[53] For Julian and his speech to the people of Antioch, entitled *Misopogon*, see Bidez, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julian* (cited above in the middle of n. 14), ch. XI: "À Antioche etc.," pp. 277–280.

[54] For popular agitation and acclamations in eastern cities see above nn. 11–13, 15–16, and also Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (cited above in n. 8) pp. 722–723; he does not discuss theological quarrels. For the unruliness of the populations of Alexandria and Antioch see Louis Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin* (cited above at the end of n. 24) III: *La Civilization byzantine* (1950) pp. 11, 116, 118–119. Vryonis argues that in the Byzantine cities, the craft guilds became the vehicle for the exerting of popular pressure on government, see his article "Byzantine *dēmocratía* etc." cited above in n. 17. For the continuance of craft guilds in Islamic cities see Vyronis, "The Byzantine Legacy . . ." (cited below in n. 60) p. 285.

[55] Dr Foss hopes to publish separately the chapter of his thesis (above n. 51) which deals with late imperial and Byzantine Ephesus and from which the brief statement in the text above is derived. For the active life of Ephesus from the eighth to the eleventh century see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) p. 11.

municipal institutions and patterns of urban life had been thoroughly transformed into mere offshoots of the central imperial autocracy.[56]

The cities of the early Byzantine period did not, however, suffer the neglect and decay which overtook those of the west during the Dark Ages. The emperors of the fifth and sixth centuries succeeded in diverting into the Balkans those barbarians, notably the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, who came across the lower Danube. As this region became increasingly ravaged and unable to support new barbarian populations, these moved westward, lured by the riches and defense-lessness of Italy and the western provinces. The heavy fortifications of Constantinople, and the watergap constituted by the Bosporus, Sea of Marmora, and Hellespont (Dardanelles) kept them out of Asia Minor (Anatolia), and permitted the cities there to continue a relatively uninterrupted existence. However, the cities further south, in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, suffered from incursions first of the Persians and after the seventh century of the Arabs. These last rapidly spread over the northern portion of Africa and by the eighth century were estab-lished as far west as the southern half of Spain. They also pushed northward to occupy Syria and to harass Asia Minor. Raids both of the Persians and of the Arabs, which pushed deep into Byzantine territory, were an extremely important, if not the major, factor in the decline of the cities of Asia Minor during the middle and late Byzantine period. At the same time, the Balkans, already ravaged by the Goths, were occupied by various Slavonic peoples and from the seventh century by the Bulgars, a Tartar tribe.

Because of these external pressures and its own and internal weak-nesses, the Byzantine state was in an enfeebled condition from the seventh to the ninth centuries and its cities were very much reduced in size, number of inhabitants, and elegance of buildings.[57] In many cases the inhabitants moved up from locations in river valleys or plains to defensible positions on nearby hilltops. Thus the people of Colossae in southwestern Phrygia abandoned the classical site and took refuge in a fortress called Chonae.[58] Such moves were dictated by the need for security, not as in the west, by the desire to live under the protection

[56] For the continuing presence in Byzantine cities of imperial officials along-side the ecclesiastical organization see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) pp. 7–8, already cited above in nn. 18 and 23.

[57] Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) pp. 7, 11–12, argues that there was no general decline of cities in Asia Minor after the seventh century, contrary to the conclusions of Dr. Foss's thesis (above, n. 51).

[58] The statement in the text above about Colossae/Chonae and Hierapolis are based on Dr. Foss' unpublished thesis (above, n. 51).

of some saint's shrine. For instance, at Hierapolis, which had an easily defensible position on a cliff north of Laodicea (west of Colossae/Chonae), the inhabitants abandoned a famous suburban shrine of St. Philip to withdraw within the city walls. Beginning in the ninth century and for about two centuries thereafter, a stronger imperial government permitted in Asia Minor a return of some prosperity and activity to the moribund cities. But the late Byzantine Empire was constantly subject to invasion by Mongols, by Turks, first Seljuk and then Ottoman, and by the various crusades which crossed its territories. Indeed, the Fourth Crusade took and held Constantinople from 1204 to 1261. During these years the Byzantine power was maintained by several smaller states, notably that of Nicaea in northwestern Asia Minor. But even before the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople, the Mongols had begun to occupy both eastern Asia Minor and the Persian and Arab states in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Finally, during the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Turks undertook the final conquest of Asia Minor, which climaxed with the capture of Constantinople in 1463.[59]

In consequence of these successive invasions, the cities of Asia Minor, apart from such ports as Smyrna (Izmir) and Thessalonika (Saloniki), and of such important cities as Ephesus and, of course, Constantinople itself, remained the forts or strongholds surrounded by miserable settlements, to which they had already been reduced after the seventh century.[60] It is therefore safe to assume that any civic spirit or municipal institutions which lasted beyond the time of Justinian became completely moribund before the various portions of the empire fell into the hands of the invaders. In fact, it is likely that, despite the greater continuity and longer lasting prosperity of cities under Byzantine control as compared to those which passed during the

[59] A good survey of the Seljuk and Ottoman conquest of Asia Minor is given by Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) ch. II: "Political and Military Collapse of Byzantium in Asia Minor," pp. 69–142. He places the turning point at the defeat of the Byzantines by the Seljuks in the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 and he blames this defeat on the weakening of the Byzantine resistance by an internal conflict for power between the bureaucrats and their emperors in Constantinople and military pretenders from the provinces. The discussion in the text above is also based on comments by Dr. Foss (above, n. 51) and on the similar discussion in Hammond, *City in the Ancient World* (cited above in the text par. 6) pp. 341–344, with bibliography on pp. 543–549.

[60] For lists of cities in Asia Minor destroyed or abandoned in consequence of the invasions of the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks see Speros Vyronis, Jr., "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 23/24 (1969/70) 265–266 (the whole article occupies pp. 251–300).

sixth century to barbarians in the west, the final conquest by the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was made easier by the apathy of the oppressed and reduced urban populations, just as had occurred in the west eight centuries earlier.

The Arabs not infrequently occupied the Byzantine cities which they captured, but they also founded wholly new ones.[61] For example, in Egypt Alexandria, because of its commerce, continued to be a city in the terms defined earlier in this paper and is still so today. But Cairo, at the head of the Delta, was a new, purely Arab foundation on the site of a Roman fort. It lies some twelve miles north of the ancient Egyptian city of Memphis and some six miles west of the sacred center of Heliopolis. Similarly, in Mesopotamia the Arabs did not occupy any of the older capitals, but built a new one, Baghdad, on the Tigris in the narrow neck of land between the rivers which connects ancient Assyria in the north with even more ancient Sumer in the south. Baghdad is some fifteen miles north of the Parthian capital of Ctesiphon, which lay just across the Tigris from Hellenistic Seleucia. The much older capital, Babylon, lies even further to the southwest, on the Euphrates. In North Africa, the shift of population under the Arabs from Carthage to Tunis has already been mentioned.

Mohammedanism began as a city-oriented religion.[62] Nevertheless, Arab society was based on tribal kinship, not on classical traditions of citizenship. In some cases, indeed, the Arabian conquerors did not actually occupy the cities which they captured but built walled quarters outside of the walls, in which they continued to live under their chiefs. Arab states did develop capitals distinguished for trade, wealth, number of inhabitants, and culture; it is only necessary to recall Baghdad under Harun-al-Rashid around 800, or Cairo, or Cordova. By and large, however, although under the Arabs cities continued to be inhabited and served as commercial or industrial centers, and although Byzantine buildings continued in use, as in Damascus, nevertheless the cities of the Arab world had no municipal institutions of their own and little real civic spirit. Even more than in the later Byzantine period, cities were simply dependencies of the rulers to whom they belonged

[61] For a bibliography on the Islamic city and opinions for and against any inheritance from the Byzantine city, see Hammond, *City*, pp. 544–546. The chief proponent of continuity has been the French scholar Claude Cahen, in works there cited.

[62] The urban origin of Mohammedanism (Islam) was argued by F. Benet, cited in Hammond, *City*, p. 546, and by Prof. Paul Wheatley of the University of Chicago in his paper at the Conference (above, n. 1).

and who appointed officials to govern them. It is safe to assume that little survived in them of the classical city or city-state.[63]

The Seljuk Turks were, like the Arabs, urban-minded. In Asia Minor, such cities as Ephesus, Miletus, and Magnesia on the Hermus continued to have some prosperity despite the disturbances of the times. The Ottoman Turks were much more strongly oriented toward the country. In their conquest of Byzantine territory, they preserved some cities to serve as capitals and as centers for trade and industry; notably, of course, Constantinople. But on the whole they neglected the cities and settled on the land, much as had the Germanic invaders centuries earlier in the west. Many cities were reduced to villages or totally abandoned; main roads were often routed to pass them by. The Turkish empire may be regarded as non-urban, and the question of continuity from the classical world to later times arises only in the case of such major centers as Constantinople, Damascus, or Alexandria. Certainly, even in such age-old centers, Turkish rule eliminated any tenuous memories of classical civic spirit or municipal institutions.[64]

Further north, Slavonic and Bulgarian invasions had ruined the cities of the Balkans, nor did the Turks, when they occupied this area, do anything to revive them.[65] Descriptions of the lowly state of Athens under Turkish rule, which lasted until the War of Greek Independence

[63] Professor Abu-Lughod (above, n. 1) criticized the treatment in this paper of the Islamic city. She emphasized elements of material continuity from the Byzantine city, such as buildings, in cities like Damascus. It is, however, the argument of this paper that such material survivals are not evidence for the survival of urban institutions or civic spirit. A change of inner character took place behind the façade of surviving externals.

[64] For survivals from the late Byzantine Empire into the Ottoman world see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51) ch. VII: "The Byzantine Residue in Turkish Anatolia," pp. 444–497, which enlarges his earlier article, "The Byzantine Legacy etc." cited above in n. 60. He concludes that the residue was preserved chiefly by Christianity, which was reduced by triumphant Islam to a second-class religion of the lower, agricultural population. In consequence, what survived was a form of "folk culture." Even though the Turks initially adopted Byzantine administrative procedures and the like, they Islamized these and eliminated the former Byzantine upper classes and their high culture, except for the Phanariot class of Greek merchants, chiefly in Constantinople. Richard Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sassanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influence* (The L. A. Mayer Memorial Studies in Islamic Art and Archaeology III), Leiden, Brill, 1972, has not been seen but the notice indicates that it deals wholly with continuity of motifs in art, not with continuity of institutions. The adaptation of artistic motifs may well be a case of the use of traditional external forms to cloak a new approach to art.

[65] For the destruction of Balkan cities by the Slavs and Bulgars see Vryonis, *Decline of Med. Hell.* (cited above in n. 51), p. 7.

in the 1820's, are familiar. Beyond the Balkans, Byzantine influence penetrated deeply into Russia, particularly as respects religion and culture. But it does not appear that the emergence of towns in late mediaeval Russia owed anything to Byzantine precedents, even to that of Constantinople. By then, Constantinople had become such a unique city that it far outshone anything which the Russians could hope to achieve. It seems, therefore, that the impetus for the emergence of towns in Russia came from the west, as traders pushed commerce further east and in so doing developed market centers as they had earlier in northern Europe.

To sum up, the beginning of the decline of the classical city and city-state in the Roman Empire may be observed as early as the second century. The breakdown of central government and the barbarian and Persian raids of the mid-third century seriously weakened the cities both in the west and the east. Material prosperity returned when Diocletian and Constantine reunited the empire and reorganized its defenses. But the authoritarian government which they created to enforce the collection of taxes and the maintenance of supplies and of manpower which were necessary to ensure the continuance of unity and security meant the end of municipal self-government. After the *de facto* division of the empire on the death of Theodosius in 395, the imperial government of the western half grew rapidly weaker. It proved incapable of protecting its territories from barbarian occupation. In consequence the western cities and their institutions withered between the sixth and eighth centuries, during the European Dark Ages. In the east, the Byzantine emperors managed to ward off the Gothic invaders from across the Danube and to hold the Persians at bay along the frontiers of Asia Minor and Syria. Thus the Byzantine cities had a longer continuous existence and, at least initially, greater prosperity than did those in the west. This is not to say, however, that anything significant survived of the classical city and self-governing city-states under the autocratic Byzantine rule.

The eastern cities fell to invaders at different moments in different parts of the Byzantine Empire: from the seventh century in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, and also in the Balkans; gradually in Asia Minor during the following centuries as Seljuk and Ottoman Turks pushed further toward the west. Although the cities of Asia Minor did enjoy a slight revival of prosperity from the ninth century, this constituted only a pause in their decay. The Slavs and Bulgars largely destroyed cities in the Balkans. The Arabs and Seljuk Turks did preserve cities but imposed on them their own ways of life and

forms of government. The Ottoman Turks neglected or abandoned most of the cities in their territories.

The towns which emerged in Europe in the later Middle Ages gradually secured for themselves self-government and independent municipal institutions. According to the argument of the present paper, this revival owed almost nothing to classical survivals. In Russia, the establishment of towns appears to have been due to the activity of traders from the west, not to any Byzantine influence. Obviously the sites of many Greco-Roman cities, both in the west and in the east, have been occupied steadily down into modern times; some have maintained their status as capitals or important centers. In such cities populations may have been reduced in numbers during the early Middle Ages but were never wholly displaced by invaders; crafts and some trade continued; classical buildings still stood, and classical street plans might be respected; simple administrative functions went on; and pagan religious practices were taken over by Christianity or by Islam. A complete break with the past can be claimed only where there was a fairly thorough elimination of the inhabitants of the cities. Nevertheless, this paper has argued that so far as the cities are concerned, these elements of continuity were far less significant for the future than were the elements of change: change in religion, in ways of life, in institutions, in points of view, and even in populations. Thus the transition from the Greco-Roman world in the west through the Dark Ages to the emergence of mediaeval towns and in the east through the later Byzantine Empire to the triumph of Islam constituted for urban history a major, if not a complete, break.

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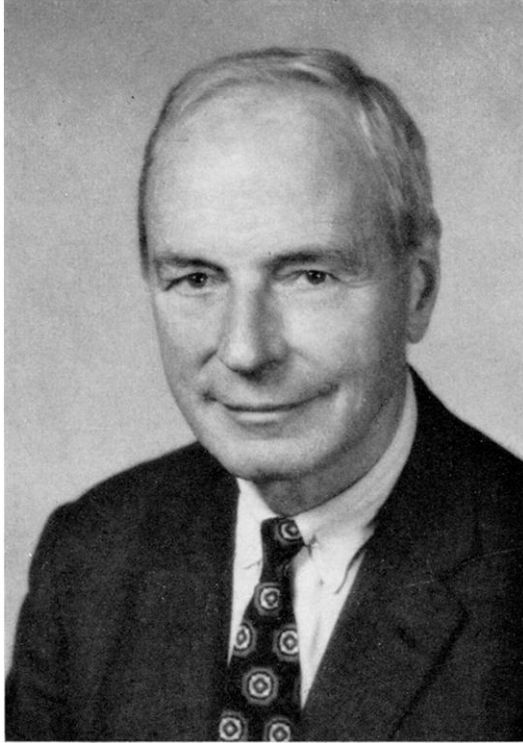
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