Migration and way of living

Houses, public spaces and city-planning in the late Middle Ages in the east-Mediterranean area

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Migration and new medieval cities

During the late Middle Ages, between the 12th and 14th centuries, most of the centers now known as historic cities were rebuilt according to new principles. Thousands of cities, villages, and hamlets are planned by the thousands as "new towns" according to models that, despite the many variations occurring in European regions, follow common guidelines. Other, more ancient cities plan urban expansions that frequently double the area and population of the city. City designers elaborate plans that meet the most diverse needs. The founding deeds often describe the geometries to be used, the criterion for the construction of terraced houses, the rules for the allocation of lots to new settlers, the market norms: they spread in a wide area, the one in which the culture of Romanesque architecture or of early Gothic architecture became dominant.

Some city models are particularly known in the literature due to their extraordinary planimetric recognisability, which allows, even in the absence of direct documentation on the plantations plans, to identify proper city models. The new cities in Germany and Poland, the new ones in south-western France (Bastides), the new ones in Central Italy (Terrenove), the new ones in England, have been evaluated in the literature according to their peculiarities in the geometric

fig. 1 As E. A. Gutkind wrote in 1967 about a dead-end street in Malaga "a patio like living room for the inhabitants. Plants and flowers had to the intimacy of this open-air interior". The place is organized by a group of families as a common place with holy images (*Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*, New York 1967, p. 474).

[1] This paper is part of my communication *Migration and way of living. Kinds of cities in South Italy during the Middle Age, between north Africa, Spain and Italy* held in the scientific conference "Migracje w miastach Królestwa Polskiego, Pomorza i Śląska w epoce przedprzemysłowej na tle porównawczym" (Wrocław, 2–3 VI 2017). The wide bibliography on this topic is only resumed here, with reference on some classic texts as **E. A. Gutkind**, *International History of City Development*, vol. 1: *Urban Development in Central Europe: International History of City Development*, New York 1964; *idem*, *Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*, New York 1967; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*, London 1967; **E. Ennen**, *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters*, Göttingen 1972; E. Guidoni, *La Città europea. Formazione e significato dal IV all'XI secolo*, Milano 1978; *idem*, *Storia dell'Urbanistica. Il duecento*, Roma–Bari 1989.
A series of historical European towns atlases, more than 500, is edited under the supervision of the International Commission for the History of Towns. More in: *Lords and Towns in Medieval Europe: The European Historic Towns Atlas Project*, ed. **A. Simms**, **H. B. Clarke**, Burlington 2015. One of the last Polish contribution is *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 4: *Śląsk*, no. 17: *Ząbkowice Śląskie*, academic ed. **R. Czaja**, **M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa**, prep. **R. Eysymontt [*et al.*]**, Toruń 2016.

[2] See **M. Cadinu**, *I casalini e il progetto della città medievale*, [in:] *I Catasti e la storia dei luoghi*, ed. *idem*, Roma 2012. In European plantations "charters of plantation" often specify what taxes will be borne by the settlers who want to leave the new city.

[3] See **M. Bersford**, *op. cit.*, p. 235: "*ut castra et villae non depopuletur propre bastidam*" from Marciac plantation chart (1298).

[4] See **E. Ennen**, *op. cit.* In 1207 the brother of Richard decreed that "those who take burgages at Liverpool shall have all the liberties which any maritime borough in all our land has" (**M. Bersford**, *op. cit.*, p. 199).

design of the urban system; still, other guidelines are applied to the cities of Spain, Norman areas, and Byzantine Italy[1]. The great complexity of their historical and urban development is still the object of study today but, certainly, in all cases, it is necessary to evaluate the formation and renewal of cities as initiatives of great political and social importance: they are planned to host thousands of families from the surrounding countryside and distant lands. While migrant peoples are forced to move, others are attracted there on purpose, thus creating a relevant real estate market of international scope, favoured by the great increase in population that occurred between the 12th century and the first half of the 14th century.

Moving populations, a few kilometers or hundreds of kilometers away, is a typical practice of this historical phase, functional to the design of the new territorial structures. An interesting indicator is the different degree of incentive offered to migrant families. In some cities, the assignments of building plots are very expensive, therefore obtainable only after a resolution from the highest political body; in other cases, the assignments of new parcels of land on which to build a house are decidedly cheap, within the grasp of a small family of farmers or artisans. In other cases, the "annual tax" is a symbolic one. In the cultivated lands, nothing is asked to the new settlers and they are encouraged with tax exemptions for a long period, often spanning up to ten years.

However, the commitment required to them all is constant and corresponds to their stable residence for 5 years, 10 years, or 29 years, terms which are fixed in the deeds for the assignment of their building lots. In this period, the new inhabitants are forbidden to leave the city to choose another one, perhaps more attractive because of its superior comfort, safety or the vitality of its commerce[2]. Sometimes, city founders regulate migration to new centers by the dwellers of other nearby villages, prohibiting it when it could lead to the abandonment of richly cultivated lands[3].

From these circumstances, it can be deduced that, in Europe, between the 12th and 14th centuries, the number of families that can freely roam the land and choose their new city had to be very high. Among these, many move to take advantage of new benefits granted from the lords, even of judicial nature. New settlers are promised a pardon for their crimes, usually excluding murder or especially violent acts. Others are guaranteed individual freedoms, benefits, market rights in accordance with specific conventions[4].

The power of the lords over the settlers' families in the countryside is still strong, though: at the end of the 13th century, the inhabitants of the small villages of a region of Tuscany were forced to migrate to new cities under construction: to guarantee the success of this initiative, the physical demolition of their former houses ensued. In these cases, the management and cultivation of the crops also changes. Living in the countryside, from the 12th to the 14th

[5] **C. Fabbri**, *Terre nuove fiorentine del Valdarno superiore: preesistenze, programmi, realizzazioni*, [in:] *Città nuove medievali: San Giovanni Valdarno, la Toscana, l'Europa*, ed. **E. Guidoni**, Roma 2008; A. Serra Desfilis, *Ampliación, defensa e imagen urbana: las murallas de Valencia en el siglo XIV*, [in:] *La città europea del Trecento. Trasformazioni, monumenti, ampliamenti urbani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Cagliari 9–10 dicembre 2005*, ed. **M. Cadinu**, **E. Guidoni**, Roma 2008.

[6] In Sardinia the *Castiadores* must monitor the fields after the Codice Rurale promulgated by Mariano IV d'Arborea in the second part of 14th century. See **B. Fois**, *Territorio e paesaggio agrario nella Sardegna medioevale*, Pisa 1990.

[7] The idea of Buon Governo in town and in the countryside is represented by A. Lorenzetti's frescoes in Siena. See **E. Guidoni**, *Città grandi, ricche, sicure, sante e belle. L'apogeo urbano della città nel Trecento*, [in:] *La città europea del Trecento...*

century, tends to be contrasted, in favor of explicit actions that favour urbanisation. The small peasant families living in the countryside of Valencia, as well as those of Sicily or Tuscany, are driven to the cities with the aim of gaining greater political and fiscal control over them. To encourage urbanisation, many small villages are abandoned. Families are allowed to bring with them their saint – the memory of their religious practice and their historical identity – with the agreement that a small church in the city will be dedicated to it. The need to stabilize the population of the new city of Terranova, in the northern area of Sardinia called Gallura, leads to the forced depopulation of many neighbouring hamlets[5].

It is manifest how the landscape and the land management models change in this period, precisely in relation to the position of the peasants' residence: the citizen works the crops in the countryside but lives within the urban perimeter. In the empty countryside, no one lives during the night, except, of course, those who are responsible for guarding and defending the crops[6].

Two major urban models compared. Houses and public space

Such a high number of newly-founded centers leads to an unheard of rationalisation of urban planning. Long parallel roads and orthogonal crossroads define the form of blocks aimed at optimising the use of the available land within the defended perimeter. The terraced houses are aligned with the maximum possible regularity, the width of the roads is fixed by norms and controlled by *boni homines*, city officials who punish with demolition every attempt of uncontrolled building by private individuals. The cities are divided into administrative sectors (for example, *terzieri*, *quartieri*, *sestrieri*) on which the municipal government exercises its power. Every part of the city, for the good of the community, is subject to precise rules that tend to define a homogeneous collective construction. The *Statuti* regulate building activities, heights, building materials, norms, and market schedules. The use of water is subjected to rigorous collective management. The European city is declined in numerous models, but all tend to define an ideal city, where the regularity of the urban planning and the extension of the power of control over all parts of the urban organism are synonymous with "good governance"[7]. The large central square, the market and the position of the building that represents civil power are the result of great skill in successfully conducting population programs, the result of a season of great political and territorial expansion. The *locatores* are engaged in the measurement and division of the land, in their assignment to new settlers, while the king's *seneschal* conceded the place and the liberties and the privileges to them.

fig. 2 Martina Franca, Puglia, dead–end street. Photo: M. Cadinu

In some regions of southern Italy and Spain, as well as in other regions bordering the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, cities retain different rules and forms which, although not precisely documented, differ substantially from those of central European cities. In these southern regions of Europe, there is a greater closeness with settlement patterns spread along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, for example in the Maghreb and in North Africa.

The general form and the social organization define a typically Mediterranean settlement model: the towns and many cities are structured as small *medinas*, they have a labyrinthine street system. Public spaces are very limited and concentrated around market areas or at the edge of the city. All the houses are built around a central courtyard, with very limited or no openings towards the public road. Each of such houses occupies a gross area much larger than the one occupied by a terraced house, on an average quadruple or more.

In this kind of city, only a few main roads are under the strict control of the city authority. From these main roads, a network of secondary roads spreads, each of which is under the control of the

fig. 3 Quartu, Sardinia, court houses in the inner part of the town. Photo: G. Alvito, Teravista, Cagliari

neighbourhoods (*vicinati*), urban areas inhabited by social groups. They can be distinguished by cultural, ethnic, professional differences. Each neighbourhood keeps its own management autonomy and answers to the city authority. The neighbourhoods differ in having been aggregated over time around a first urban nucleus, configuring what can be defined as a "cluster" urban geography. Within each neighbourhood, the family groups, or the citizens linked by extended kinships, live in even smaller streets, defined as blind alleys or with common internal courtyards, a semi-private and closable place with respect to the external road, where specific activities take place and are shared special accessories such as a well or an oven; these multiple housing units often appear in notarial deeds as a single property[8] [fig. 1–2].

Differences in role and privileges within the general body of the city are established between the neighbourhoods (which could be improperly called quarters), sometimes even quite marked, which are preserved over time and coalesce in peculiar customs. Internal rivalries are the expression of economic interests, manifested in artisan guilds, or cultural diversity. In some Mediterranean areas, including European ones, religious traditions have favoured the preservation of this social structure, even if, over the centuries, what were new political and religious forms have changed through the years. In particular, in the villages and small towns, and even more in Mediterranean islands such as in Sicily, Sardinia or Malta, the peculiar legacies of those that can be considered medieval traditions are still being studied today. Important cities host Jewish communities in specific areas; in Tunis, an entire urban sector is inhabited by the Andalusians, welcomed within the city after the reconquest of their lands during the 13th century[9] [fig. 3–4].

[8] Called "*corrales de vecinos*" in Siviglia; in Alghero are called "*cort*", in Sassari also "*corticola*", "*currali*", "*campu*" (see **E. Guidoni**, *La Città europea…*, pp. 54–91; **L. Torres Balbas**, *La edad media*, [in:] *Resumen Histórico del Urbanesimo en España*, Madrid 1987, pp. 67–96; **B. Pavon**, *Ciudades Hispano–musulmanas*, Madrid 1992; **C. Fenwick**, *From Africa to Ifrīqiya: Settlement and Society*, "Al–Masāq" 2013, no. 1. **B. Pavon** (*op. cit.*, p. 95, reminds us that "*el corral es una voz muy empleada en documentos mozàrabes toledanos de los siglos XII y XIII. Los corrales medievales eran espacios a cielo raso de una comunidad de vecinos, tenìan planta rectangular con puertas para los porteros y apartamentos o viviendas de dos plantas, con pozo o pila e higuera en el centro del patio*".

[9] An overview on Jewish settlements in middle age and modern age Italy in: *Architettura judaica in Italia: ebraismo, sito, memoria dei luoghi*, ed. **F. Fatta**, Palermo 1994.

fig. 4 Cordoba, Plaza de la Fuenseca, along Calle Santa Marta, renewed in 1808. Photo: M. Cadinu

Migrating to a foreign land and rediscovering your own way of living. Town-planning follows the expectations of the settlers

In the following years, during 1215–1216, seven hundred families left Tuscany, trusting Lamberto Visconti, the military leader of Pisa and the founder of a "new city" near Santa Igia, in southern Sardinia. This area was characterised by dozens of villages built according to the model we have defined as "Mediterranean", therefore shaped as medinas whose courtyard houses are built with bricks of raw earth.

The new Pisan city, the one that will become Cagliari, at the time named Castro Novo Montis de Castro, stands out as radically different from the "Mediterranean" model. Pisan citizens employ, so far from Tuscany, a city built according to their 12th century traditions: long elegant curved streets, terraced lots to be assigned to the citizens, a *platea comunis* at its center, near the town hall. The main road (*ruga Mercatorum*) is dedicated to merchants, another one to sailors (*ruga Marinarorum*), a fundamental social part in the construction of a military enterprise almost 300 nautical miles from Pisa, their homeland. The proximity of Pisa to the imperial power justifies the probable presence in Cagliari of German military designers: in the design of their new city, the Pisans copy the plan of Bern, founded less than twenty years before by the dukes of Zäringher. The success of the founding of Castro Novo Montis de Castro, the new Cagliari, rapidly shifts the models of the subsequent new Pisan colonies in Sardinia towards a city-planning similar to those adopted in Tuscany. New towns, such as Iglesias, Terra Nova (in Gallura) or Villamassargia display urban forms close to the taste of the new inhabitants[10] [fig. 5].

Transferring migrant populations to new territorial realities, with the construction of cities suited to the traditional way of living of their mother country, is a common colonial attitude. A phenomenon that, while particularly obvious in the 12th–13th century, occurs on many other occasions.

When in 1327 Alfonso IV, king of Aragon, conquered the city built by the Pisans, after long study sessions, he decided to transfer the new settlers to the houses that belonged to the Pisans. At the time, they looked like old houses, probably not so close to the Iberian model. Therefore, Alfonso IV plans about 3,000 new assignments, to accommodate the families that had expressed a willingness to migrate from Barcelona and Catalonia to Cagliari. New Mediterranean markets and the presence of mineral resources – such as silver – incentivise a refined action of "real estate marketing". The new inhabitants, according to the new document promulgated by the king, will be able to enjoy the same privileges granted to the citizens of Barcelona; to them is dedicated a small new town (Pobla Nova), endowed

fig. 5 Terrace houses in Iglesias, Sardinia. Here the adsignations of *casalini* (building plots) to new inhabitants was codified by the Statutes (1302). Who received the *casalino* had to build within a month. Photo: M. Cadinu

[10] In Pisa Magistrates belong to *Ordo Mercatorum* and *Ordo Maris*. See **M. Cadinu**, *Urbanistica medievale in Sardegna*, Roma 2001; *idem*, *Urban Planning and New Towns in Medieval Sardinia*, [in:] *A Companion to Sardinian History, 500–1500*, ed. **M. Hobart**, Leiden 2017, pp. 499–553.

fig. 6 In 1327 many migrant families took place in Cagliari coming from Barcelona and Catalonia. The square blocks near the harbor were planted and divided in terrace houses following the most modern urban models of that time. Every street was named after a Cat–alonian town (Cadastral map, 1 : 1000, U.T.E., Cagliari, about 1920)

[11] See **M. B. Urban**, *Cagliari aragonese. Topografia e insediamento*, Cagliari 2000, pp. 265–266.

[12] About 30 French villages are dedicated to St. Eulalia (see **M. Higounet**, *Hagioto-ponomie et historie. Sainte–Eulalie dans la toponymie de la France*, [in:] **idem**, *Pay-sages et villages neufs du moyen age*, Bordeaux 1975).

[13] See **J. Arce**, *España en Cerdeña. Aport-acion cultural y testimonios de su influjo*, Madrid 1960; **M. Cadinu**, *Il nuovo quar-tiere aragonese sul porto nel primo Tre-cento a Cagliari*, [in:] *La città europea del Trecento...*

[14] See *La terra ai forestieri*, ed. **G. Salice**, Ospitaletto–Pisa 2019.

with all the Iberian features, close to the port and to the existing vil-lage called Lapola. The documents of the time list the names of the new streets, all dedicated to Catalan towns: Carrer de Barchinona, Carrer del Lleyda, Carrer del Villafrancha (de Pedralbes), Carrer de Gerona, Carrer de Valencia; it is highly probable that, although this circumstance cannot be proved through documentation, migrants from their respective cities were directed to a street which bore the name of their original city. The parish church will be dedicated to Santa Eulalia, patron saint of Barcelona, and the Carrer de Senta Eulalia will be dedicated to her[11]. It has been a much-beloved dedi-cation for medieval city-builders and church-builders for centuries, with an extraordinary diffusion in the territories of southern France, particularly in Languedoc, but also in Gascogne[12]. Even the units of measurement are imported, in this case from Montpellier, from where the square block model used for the subdivision of Pobla Nova also comes[13]. Similar traditions are transmitted to the modern age[14] [fig. 6].

Leaving the city and migrating again

At the end of the years prescribed by the original convention, families are free to move to new cities. We must imagine that, for all families free to do so, Europe in the late Middle Ages is a scenario of remarkable fluidity and continuous change. Thousands of new villages and cities arise, productive regimes and economic opportunities change for artisans. Some markets decline and others emerge with surprising rapidity, favouring the movement of populations and goods.

In this context, many of the families do not own the land on which their house stands. They receive their land parcel as a lease, and then physically dismantle their home and transport it elsewhere, taking away tiles, beams, furnishing structures and accessories. A tradition that, in Europe, fades in the late Middle Ages, but survives in colonial areas, even very distant ones, such as the United States, even today[15].

The market square, a place of meeting and exchange. The *fondaci*, houses for foreign merchants

Market rights are granted when a new city is founded, for it is the place where meetings and exchanges are held during annual, monthly fairs or, in the most important centers, every day. The market becomes the meeting and exchange place between the locals and travelers.

The speed and intensity of commercial relations, especially through navigation between the port cities of the Mediterranean, facilitates something greater than the simple movement of goods. Merchants traveling between the 10th and 13th centuries, with their goods, are preceded by precise commercial agreements between the cities, whose ports grant them access in exchange for taxes relative to the types of goods. Each city makes written agreements with the ports in which it intends to trade. These agreements are followed by foundations of *fondaci* (foundouk), genuine institutions where merchants have free and mandatory hospitality. The *consul*, an accredited citizen in the city that hosts incoming merchants, guarantees the safety of his fellow countrymen working in trade[16]. Marseille, Pisa, Venice, Amalfi, Naples, Palermo, Cagliari, Oristano, Genoa, Tunis, Bari, Bonifacio – just to name a few of the main business destinations – build with their own funds a warehouse for each city they host and entrust it to the foreign consul; it remains city-owned for centuries. The Pisan Fondaco of Naples, together with the merchant loggia, was returned to Pisa by Conradino de Hohenstaufen in 1268, then restored and restructured according to the will of the Pisan consul but at the expense of the government[17]. They had such structures

[15] See **M. Cadinu**, *I casalini...*, pp. 319–320.

[16] See **H. C. Peyer**, *Von der Gastfreundschaft zum Gasthaus. Studien zur Gastlichkeit im Mittelalter*, Hannover 1987; E. Concina, *Fondaci. Architettura arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*, Venezia 1997.

[17] See **F. dal Borgo**, *Raccolta di Diplomi Pisani* Pisa 1765, p. 201: "*et fundacum Pisanorum de Neapoli restituimus et concedimus et damus Pisanis expensis Curie reaptanda ad voluntatem Consulis et Consilii Pisanorum vel maioris partis eorum Terre Ecclesia etiam Sancti Petri que est prope vel iuxta dictam Loggiam edificetur; et quod dictum Fundacum ematur per Curiam nostram a Nobilibus de Brancaccis vel aliis, quorum esset, vel dabimus inde eis salvum restaurum a Curia nostra; et postmodum concedimus Pisanis...*". See also: G. Del Giudice, *Codice diplomatico del Regno di Carlo I e II d'Angiò, ossia Collezione di leggi, statuti e privilegi [...]*, Napoli 1869.

[18] See **M. Cadinu**, *Il recupero dei foun-douk urbani e le trasformazioni in atto tra Marrakech e le città del meridione europeo*, [in:] *Houses and cities built with earth. Conservation, significance and urban quality*, ed. **M. Achenza [et al.]**, Lisboa 2006.

[19] See **M. Cadinu**, *Fondaci mercantili e strade medievali. Indagine sulle origini di Bosa*, [in:] *Bosa. La città e il suo territorio. Dall'età antica al mondo contemporaneo*, ed. A. Mastino, A. Mattone, Sassari 2016.

in many Mediterranean ports. The *fondaco*, a large courtyard built according to a very well identifiable international model, houses the goods and the merchants; it is a comfortable place, structured as an autonomous entity with respect to the surrounding city, endowed with many of the comforts that a traveler would like to find on his arrival after a long journey: a bathroom, the oven, a place of prayer, many rooms arranged around a rectangular courtyard, with only one well-guarded access. The planimetric typicality of the fondaco, as indeed the hotels' one in modern times, follows uniform standards in all countries. Built outside the city walls, in connection with the main communication routes, they are lined-up in a series and form urban sectors now recognisable only in the North African cities, where the *foundouk* were dozens. The identification of these structures, still possible in particular if they have maintained public functions over the centuries or have been granted to religious institutions or turned into hotels, allows important advances in the evaluation of the historical and urban development of the medieval centers[18] [fig. 7–8].

The most influential maritime cities, such as Genoa or Marseille, generate a migratory movement that involves many citizens, artisans, and investors in all sectors. In Byzantium, an area of the city, Pera, hosts a genuine Genoese neighbourhood; the Genoese also obtained in 1164 in Sardinia from the Judge of Oristano the permission to build a village of 100 houses for their families. There, they were granted the spaces for building a church, a cemetery, ovens and other apparatuses of essential urban commitment. The Marseillais were granted *fondaci* in Oristano and Bosa, where they were engaged in coral fishing (in 1251 and 1254)[19]; the Genoese also were granted a permanent space and special privileges in Bonifacio, in Corsica. The Genoese were Malta, in a succession of political fortunes since the 12th century and, at a time, when the local population, of Arab

fig. 7 In Granada the Corral del Carbon / Alhondiga Vieja, first part of 14th century, was a merchant place built after the *foundouk* model. Photo: M. Cadinu

fig. 8 In Santa Vittoria, a village near Osilo (Sardinia) a single little square, dug into the rock, is the market and the meeting place in front of the church. Photo: M. Cadinu

ROSIGNANO
CASTELLINA
MELA
Volterra
TERRICCIO
COLLEMEZZANO
BELLORE Belora
RIPABELLA
VADA
MONTESCUDAIO
VILLABUONA (1340)
GUARDIASTALLO
CASALE
16 comunità con diritto
di un «casalino»
nella nuova fondazione del 1340
BIBBONA
BOLGHERI
SEGALARI
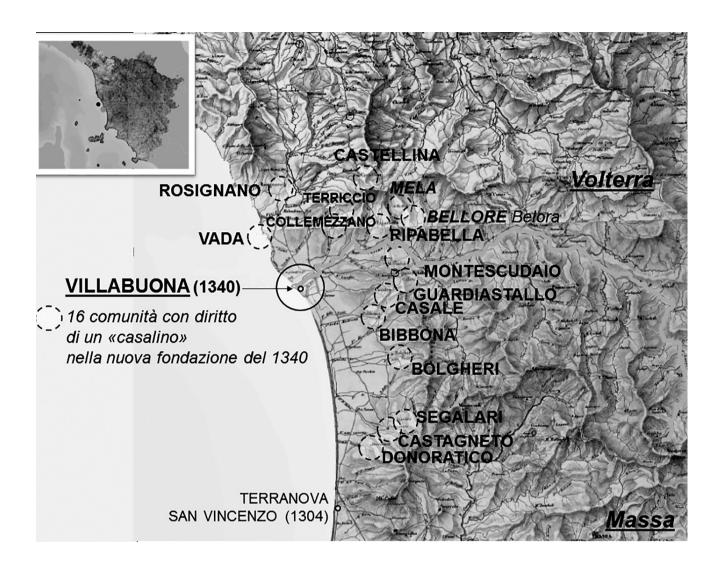CASTAGNETO
DONORATICO
TERRANOVA
SAN VINCENZO (1304)
Massa

fig. 9 Villabona, Tuscany, the 16 villages whose was permitted in 1340 to receive an house in the new plantation on the south side of Cecina river, to control the street from Pisa to Rome

culture, was pressed by the processes of Christianisation. The commercial interests on this important island are massive and, in 1314, the Bardi, a Florentine family of bankers, were granted a headquarter in Malta[20].

Migration from cities to the coast. Tyrrhenian plantations of Pisa, Siena, Orvieto

The political crises that follow the naval battle of the Meloria in 1288, in which Genoa defeats Pisa, lead to the start of a series of actions and reactions in the Italian municipalities that are aimed at guarding the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The municipality of Pisa in the early 14th century intervenes to enhance the control of the coast south of the city. Along the coastal road towards Rome, some populated areas are reinforced or founded ex-novo, in particular the landings, such as

[20] See **A. Luttrell**, *The Making of Christian Malta: From the Early Middle Ages to 1530*, New York 2018, pp. 589–601.

Vada, and passages to the rivers' mouths. The plantations are carefully designed and planned, up to the selection of the families that will have to live there. Terranova San Vincenzo, in 1304, was built around a tower and a small church placed on a river mouth; the new parcels of land are aligned along the road and assigned to the citizens of Biserno, whose castle was destroyed and became uninhabitable. Not long after the founding of Villabuona (1340) at the mouth of the Cecina river, following the restructuring of the nearby port of Vada in 1339, south of Pisa, which was reinforced with a palisade on the sea. The new small plantations of Villabuona is an interesting example of internal migration, carefully planned with the aim of allowing the citizens of Pisa, but also the representatives of 16 villages located in the nearby hills, the military and, above all, fiscal control of that important territorial passage. According to a meticulous description of the foundation drawing, the first 12 houses are assigned to them, lined up on both sides of the street: the houses have a courtyard behind

fig. 10 The Plan of Talamone (1306) represents the terrace houses to be assigned to the settlers, the city walls, the church in front of the sea and every other part of the planned city (Archivio di Stato di Siena, Pianta dell'abitato di Talamone, Capitoli, 3, cc. 25v–26r)

[21] See **L. Galoppini**, *Storia di un territorio alla foce del Cecina*, [in:] *La Villa Romana dei Cecina a San Vincenzino (Livorno). Materiali dello scavo e aggiornamenti sulle ricerche*, ed. **F. Donati**, Ghezzano 2012; F. Redi, *Centri fondati e rifondazioni di quartieri urbani nel medioevo: dati e problemi sulle tipologie edilizie nella Toscana occidentale*, "Storia della città" vol. 52 (1989); **M. Cadinu**, **R. Pinna**, *Azioni urbanistiche pisane per il controllo del litorale maremmano e dello spazio tirrenico (1290–1313)*, [in:] *La Maremma ai tempi di Arrigo. Società e Paesaggio nel Trecento: continuità e trasformazioni*, ed. **I. del Punta**, **M. Paperini**, Livorno 2015, pp. 94–111.

[22] See **L. Banchi**, *I porti della Maremma senese durante la repubblica narrazione storica con documenti inediti*, Firenze 1871, pp. 17–36.

them and a vegetable garden, thus belonging to a Mediterranean model rather than a "Pisan" one, and form an original "tax citadel", dwelled by notaries and representatives of neighbouring societies, protected by ditches and new bridges along the river[21].

Siena, searching for a maritime base, planned between 1303 and 1306 the city of Talamone, near a seaport purchased by the Cistercian Abbey of San Salvatore del Monte Amiata. The foundation plan displays straight roads and squares, radically different from those of its mother city. The road network, very modern in conception and with the properties assigned during the design and construction phase – as noted in a precious map made in 1306 – could have been the first element of weakness of the new city, fated to have a difficult existence. However, some families had the advantage of increasing their maritime commerce with Sicily, also thanks to the mediation of Venice, in particular regarding the trade of fine fabrics. The Sienese citizens, living far from the coast and lacking their own fleet, continued to carry out a majority of their trade by land, to France and England The way of living offered by the city of Talamone, built on a hill overlooking the sea and surrounded by swamps, salt marshes, and stagnant waters, must have seemed particularly hard to the Sienese; in 1304, the Potestà of Siena was Manente of Iesi, an Adriatic city near Ancona: the Sienese relied on an alliance with this city and Genoa to give a new hope and perspective to the colony. A gradual decline led to the substantial failure of the new port city, which was a dream to the Sienese, and became proverbial and immortalised in the verses of Dante Alighieri[22]. The crisis between Pisa and Florence, on the occasion of the descent of Emperor Henry II in Italy, inaugurated a fortunate alliance with Florence, whose merchants were granted favorable access to the port of Talamone. A further incentive to the population was given by the resolution of 1305 to plan 100 arable farms to be assigned to the citizens who had built a house within the walls; some of these came from other cities. The fact that residence was made mandatory for citizens at least 20 years old indicates that many, interested in the land rather than the port, had occupied the position with minors. The risky maritime position had been sacked by the Genoese and the King of Sicily by 1328 [fig. 10].

Orvieto, in competition with Siena, progressively expands its territory until it reached and controlled, in 1304, the ancient city of Orbetello, whose pre-Roman megalithic walls constituted the defense of the port and of the adjacent salt pans. On the 16th of January of that year, Orvieto grants all residents of Orbetello the same freedoms, immunities, and franchises as the citizens of Orvieto, with the clear intention of encouraging migration to the new colony.

Pisa completes its control of the Tyrrhenian coast with the plantations of Terranova, in Gallura, on the island of Sardinia. Sardinia is the focus of enormous Pisan interests, projected towards the Mediterranean trade and, in particular, towards North Africa. Terranova,

carefully planned inside a gulf and partly on the ruins of the Roman Olbìa, has a design inspired by the most modern Tuscan foundations, such as San Giovanni Valdarno[23].

Conclusions

Building cities and colonies, encouraging the migration of their citizens or farmers and sometimes forcing entire social groups or villages to change residence, is one of the great programmatic activities on which the construction of a very high number of new towns is based. The transport to distant territories of their own housing traditions, urban planning models and social organisation guarantees the success, at least in the start-up phase, of the new plantations. The long European political history, marked by border shifts and the decline of important political powers, often leads to the cancellation of the most important traces of these cultural phases. Important traces of these remain, especially in areas that are politically stable, but also in the peripheral areas, if compared to the main cities. The study of toponymy, of construction techniques and housing design, of the architecture and the shape of streets and blocks, is very useful in framing the original phases and in distinguishing the variations that have occurred over the centuries. Europe and the Mediterranean, where migration between nations continues throughout the modern era, are the result of a centuries-long transmission of mercantile experiences and also exchanges of technicians and specialised craftsmen. The ties and many of the common values of our civilisation are still based on these long-lasting relationships.

Słowa kluczowe

założenie urbanistyczne, *terranova*, okolica, *corrales*, *fondaci*

Keywords

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Summary
MARCO CADINU (Università degli Studi di Cagliari) / Migration and way of living. Houses, public spaces and city-planning in the late Middle Ages in the east-Mediterranean area

Migration inside Europe from one region to another, between the 12th and 14th centuries, within the same country or to distant and unknown lands, is one of the freedoms that plenty of ordinary citizens can afford. With their families, they follow the fortunes of new plantations, promoted by the thousands with the aim of rationalising the use of the territories, of conquering new lands for agriculture, of opening new commercial routes. Bishops, kings, communes, and lords are the promoters of an extensive practice of urban re-plantations. Other plantations follow the political events and the victories of nations over their adversaries: military conquest is, therefore, the prelude to strong migratory movements. However, those who promote new plantations are very attentive both to the city-planning design and to the regulatory regime granted to new settlers. An error on these plans can lead to the loss of appeal for a new city, with negative consequences on their political and economic strategies. Disappointed or disinterested settlers move their residence and migration project to new cities. Therefore, new cities must be attractive to those who, coming from far away, will appreciate an urban space close to their own way of living.