

The territory shaped: urban plans and urbanization policy in Portuguese America

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From the mid-18th century on, the number of images of towns and villages of the Portuguese colony in South America increased steadily and showed noticeably similar urban features. These images have been presented in current scholarship as evidence of the planned character in the urban initiatives under Dom José I (1750-1777). This article analyses how plans and drawings functioned in a number of urban settlement dynamics in the Captaincy of São Paulo between 1765 and 1775, while keeping in view a broader urbanization process in that century. The urbanizing policy is treated here as an action developed in a context of conflicts rather than as a project envisioned by metropolitan authorities or detached from the reality of the place.

Key words: urbanizing policy, urban plans, captaincy of São Paulo.

Le territoire configuré: plans urbains et politique d'urbanisation dans l'Amérique portugaise

À partir de la moitié du XVIIIe siècle, le nombre d'images des villages et de agglomérations dans la colonie portugaise de l'Amérique du sud a augmenté sensiblement, révélant de remarquables similarités dans les configurations urbaines. Ces images sont présentées dans le cadre de l'historiographie courante comme autant d'évidences du caractère planifié des initiatives urbanistiques sous le règne de José Ier (1750-1777). Cet article analyse le rôle joué par les plans et les dessins dans certaines dynamiques de formation de noyaux urbains dans la capitainerie de São Paulo entre 1765 et 1775, sans perdre de vue un processus d'urbanisation plus large. La politique d'urbanisation est ici traitée en tant qu'action développée dans un contexte conflictuel, plutôt que comme produit d'un projet délinéé préalablement par les autorités métropolitaines ou étranger aux réalités locales.

Mots-clés: politique d'urbanisation, plans urbains, capitainerie de São Paulo.

The idea that more precise urban guidelines or decisions might have guided the establishment of cities by the Portuguese in South America was rejected in the early interpretations on the topic. According to Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1988 [1936]: 76), in a pioneer essay on the cities founded in the colony: “No rigor, no method, and no action, all the time this significant abandon, that the word ‘negligence’ expresses...” On a turning point in the studies developed over the 1960s, Nestor Goulart Reis Filho (1968) analyzed an urbanization policy of the Portuguese Crown between 1500 and 1720, highlighting the work of military engineers; and in the first wide-ranging analysis on the towns established inland in the 18th century, Roberta Marx Delson (1997 [1979]) tried to demonstrate the extensive application of an organized model of urban layout. One of the paramount references for recent historiography is the increasingly affirmation of monarchy in the urban formation domain, along with progressive emphasis in geometric regularity of urban layouts, which ended up in the urban initiatives of Dom José I (1750-1777). Plans and drawings of urban settlements from that period are featured as evidence of the planned character of officials’ initiatives in the urbanization field. (Delson 1997, Moreira 2003, Reis Filho 2000a, 2000b, Teixeira e Valla 1999).

Significant studies have already examined means of regulation derived from the Metropolis Government for the constitution of urban settlements in the colony. However, the emphasis of placing on plans and norms the responsibility to configure villages and towns does not seem enough to understand the transformations in the territory and the creation of urban forms. A

more attentive analysis to the context where these images have appeared shows that aside from expressing urban instructions imposed by the Portuguese Crown, they also had other meanings in the process of defining urban landscape. Starting with some of these images and the written paperwork related, we try here to deal with the urbanization policy as an action carried out in a context of conflicts, rather than as a project envisioned in advance by Metropolitan officials or detached from the reality of the place. While keeping in view a broader urbanization process, we focused on the Captaincy of São Paulo between 1765 and 1775.

From backlands to territories

The first cities built under this code by direct initiative of the Portuguese Crown in its territories in South America date back from the mid-16th century. But it was only in the subsequent century that Luso-Brazilian cities started being effectively represented, at first idealized and diagrammed in maps and plans; later, in views, perspectives, and urban cross-sections according to the real observer's point of view (Marx 1996). Since the founding of the first city in 1549, Salvador, urban projects started to be prepared with more details from the third quarter of the 18th century on, even when creating urban settlements distant from the coastline (Reis Filho 2000).

From the mid-18th century on, the number of images of towns and villages of the colony increased steadily and presented noticeably similar urban features. Distant settlements were pictured with regular urban layouts, one or two rectangular central squares, straight streets with stipulated width and, in many cases, houses with gardens and in lots of standardized dimensions. Urban layouts guided by geometric regularity patterns and marked by architecture subordinated to urban planning frameworks, and squares as monumental focuses are also seen in the urban plans to reconstruct the district of Baixa in Lisbon, after the November 1755 earthquake, or to the construction of Vila Real, in Algarve, south of Portugal from 1773 on. This set of regular plans is expressive of the reformist policies promoted by Minister Sebastião Carvalho de Melo, Marquis of Pombal in 1769, under D. José I (1750-1777). In South American territories, the process of defining boundaries with the Spaniards brought considerable impulse to initiatives of urbanizing and reorganizing the territory in this period.

In the 18th century, the South American colony was the main possession of the Portuguese Empire overseas, but the occasional and irregular distribution of administrative settlements – towns and villages – provided difficulties for a more effective control. Also, the already advanced expansion of two Iberian fronts of colonization in South America had aggravated disputes for new territories. The Treaty of Madrid, signed between Portugal and Spain in 1750, established a new conception of sovereignty, whose principles were the recognition of effective occupation and the notion of territory delimited by natural boundaries. The basic tool to integrate backlands and contentious areas to the Portuguese Empire was granting town status to settlements, that is, creating official entities endowed with legal and administrative autonomy at local status. And new areas had to be defended, populated and mapped.

In the northern colony, in the vast border region of the Amazon valley, by the mid 18th century there were only four villages and two towns; between 1751 and 1782 around forty-five villages were granted town status (Araújo 1998). The presence of military engineers had been required to measure and provide information on the territory, in connection to the Treaty of Madrid, but bilateral demarcation efforts did not work as expected. Portuguese, German and Italian engineers at the service of the Crown were then commissioned to design plans of

fortresses, mapping and surveying, river and land routes, and also urban plans and views (figure 1).

In other regions, a wider range of Luso-Brazilian officials worked on the definition of urban layouts. Governors, magistrates and military officials interfered in the configuration of the villages, supervising the construction works, and imposed formal instructions through written orders and plans drawn either by themselves or their assistants. In Goiás, Governor José de Almeida Vasconcelos managed the establishment of village São José de Mossâmedes (1777), portrayed in a drawing by Sergeant Joaquim Cardoso Xavier in 1801 (figure 2) (Boaventura 1997: 193-196). In Mato Grosso, Governor Rolim de Moura was responsible for the implementation of the capital Vila Bela (1752), and, probably might have chosen the place for the Príncipe da Beira fortress in 1767 (Araújo 2000: 247, 319). José Xavier Machado Monteiro, then magistrate of Porto Seguro, in the state of Bahia, included plans he himself “sketched” of the villages of Alcobaca (1772), Prado (1764), Portoalegre (1769) and Vila Viçosa (1768, figure 3) (Flexor 2000). In Minas Gerais, a continuous effort of local authorities – civil and ecclesiastic – with or without the support of military engineers tried to enforce regularity to urban settlements in the 18th century (figura 4) (Fonseca 2000).

As the drawings for new towns suggest, some kind of basic knowledge and practices acquired during the military education would have formed a work method which was common to the agents involved in urban formation (Araújo 2000: 377). The language of geometric regularity reaffirmed design principles which had been used since the beginning of the Portuguese expansion and also expressed enlightened ideals of social order and courteous coexistence.

Plans and urban dynamics in São Paulo

The renovation of strategies posed by the Metropolis in the mid-18th century also brought changes for the territories in São Paulo located southeast of the continent, in the present states of São Paulo and Paraná. Among the steps for restructuring the administration of the territory promoted by Pombal, in 1765 São Paulo regained its status as captaincy, an autonomous administrative unit ruled by a general-captain. Its role was to work as a defensive barrier between possible Spanish advances from the South towards the mining regions and the capital city installed in Rio de Janeiro since 1763 (Bellotto 2007a: 60). The establishment of urban settlements ended up being one of the main concerns of Governor Morgado de Mateus (1765-1775) and caused changes in the lives of much of the population. Settled towns with organized street layouts were to be installed where previously were fragile hamlets – lodges situated along roads, Indian villages, rural sites and coastal communities (figure 5). Maps, drawings and travel itineraries began to be produced and to flow more frequently in the captaincy.

Among the urbanizing actions of this period, the best documented in drawings was Iguatemi fortress. According to the theory of “diversion throughout the West” defended by Governor Morgado de Mateus, the fortress was meant to cause the Spaniards to deviate part of their troops to that area, where the fort would be built in the western border, which would eventually weaken them up in the battles to the South. The Fortress was also designed as a focal point for occupying boundary areas and the basis for advances to the Paraguay River. Although a design of the stronghold is unidentified, it was acknowledged by sergeant-major Teotônio José Juzarte’s report that the captain of infantry of Rio de Janeiro, João Álvares Ferreira was sent to the Iguatemi fortress “as a kind of engineer” and “outlined” the fortress “according to the rules of the art [of creating fortresses]” (Juzarte 1769 cited in Souza and Myoko 2000: 75).

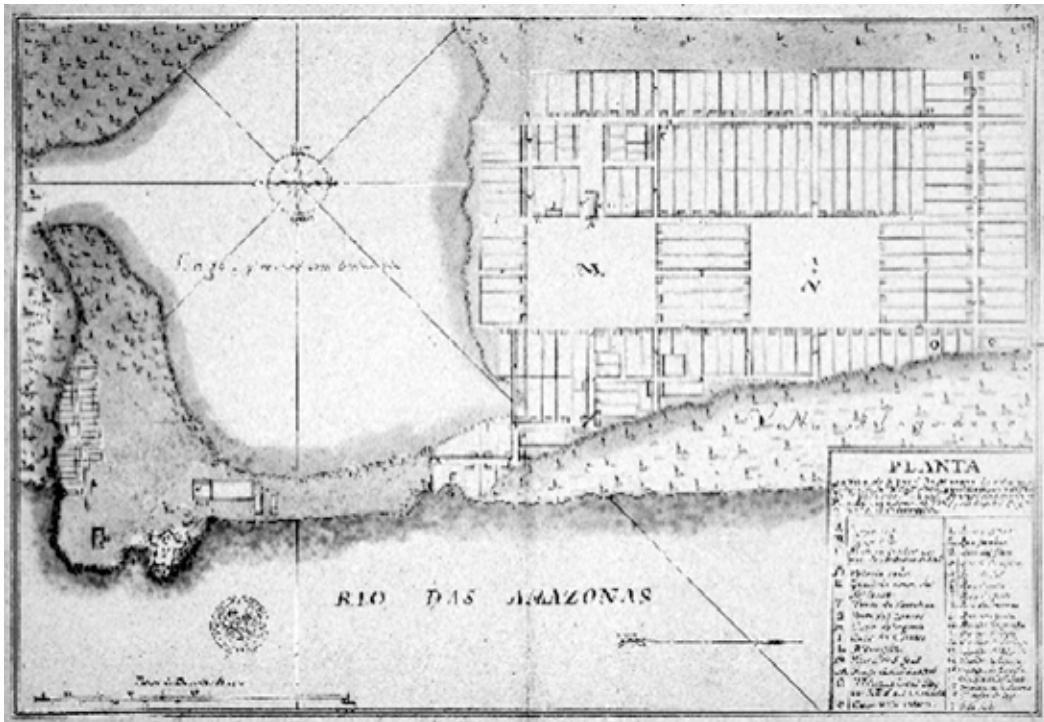


Figure 1
 Gaspar João de Gronsfeld. Planta da vila de São José do Macapá tirada [...] em o ano de 1761 pelo capitão-engenheiro Gaspar João de Gronsfeld (source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 309).

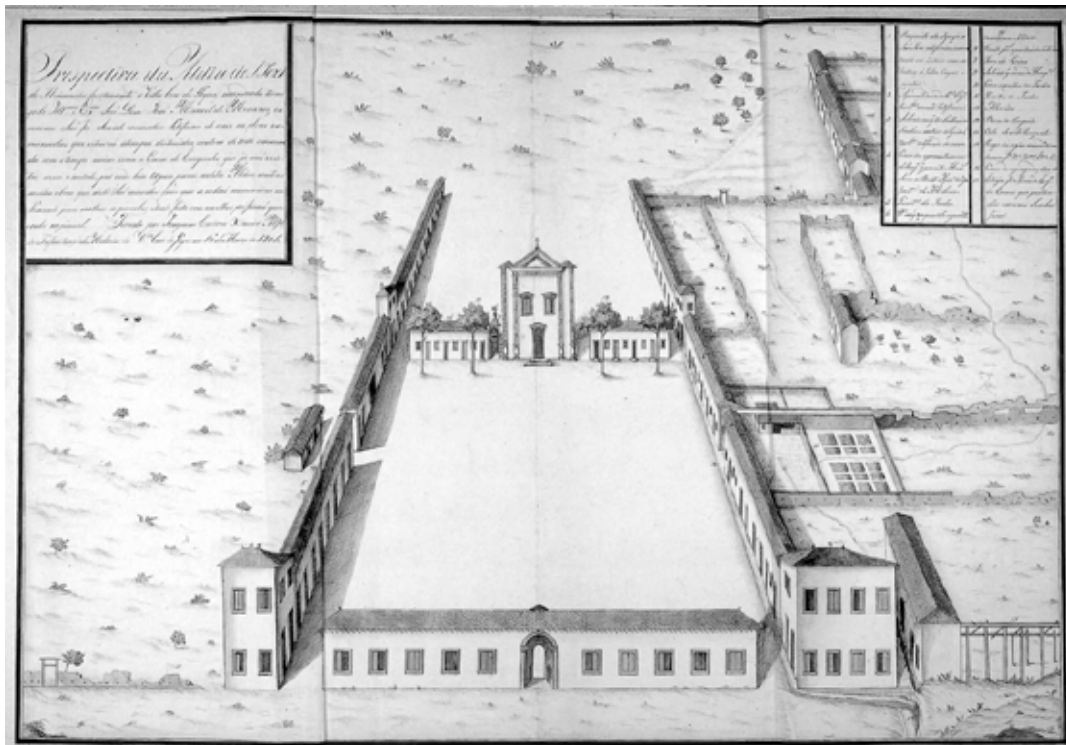


Figure 2
 Joaquim Cardoso Xavier. Perspectiva da aldeia de São José de Mossâmedes...1801 (source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 263).

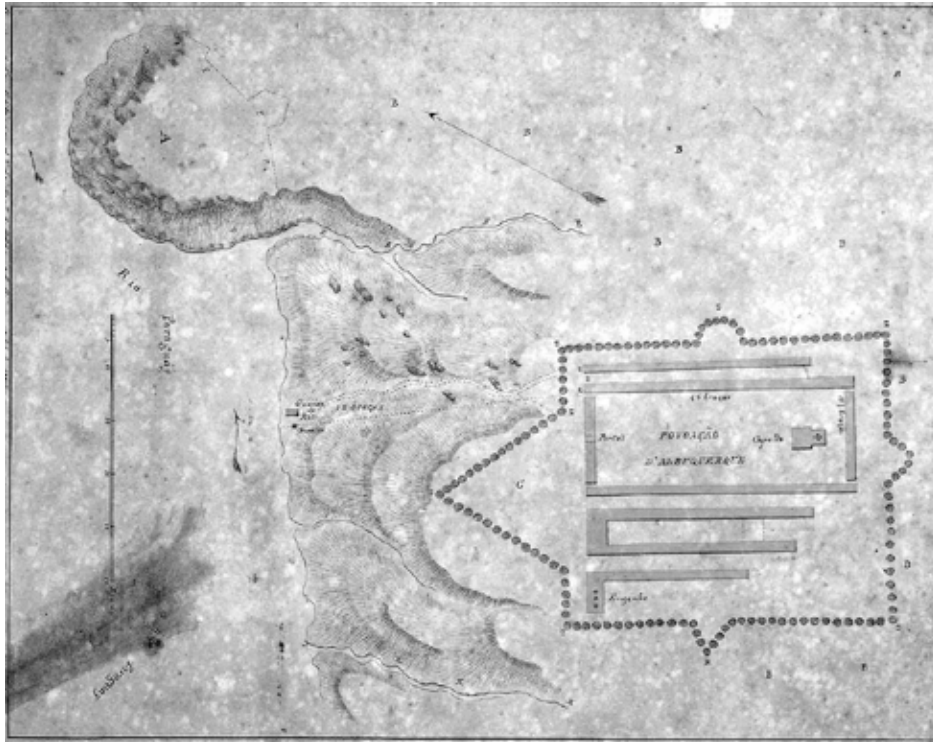


Figure 3
Vista interior da mesma povoação de Albuquerque, ca. 1797
(source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 269).

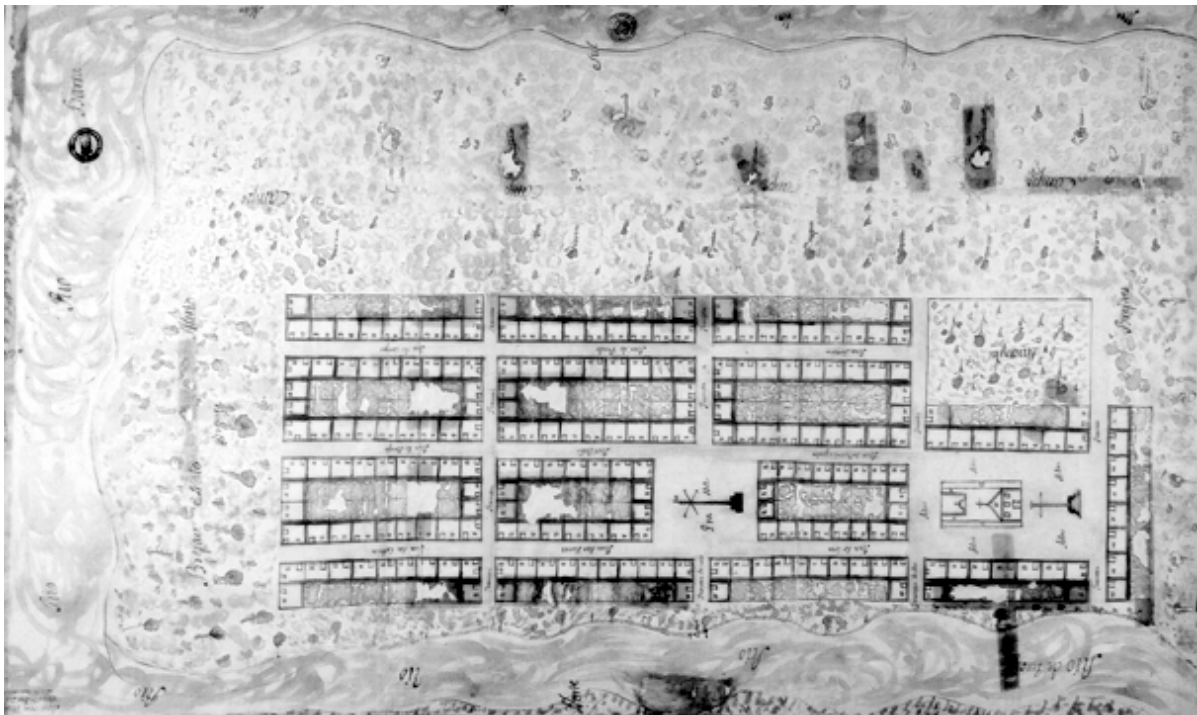


Figure 4
José Xavier Machado Monteiro. Vila Viçosa. [ca. 1760]
(source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 40).

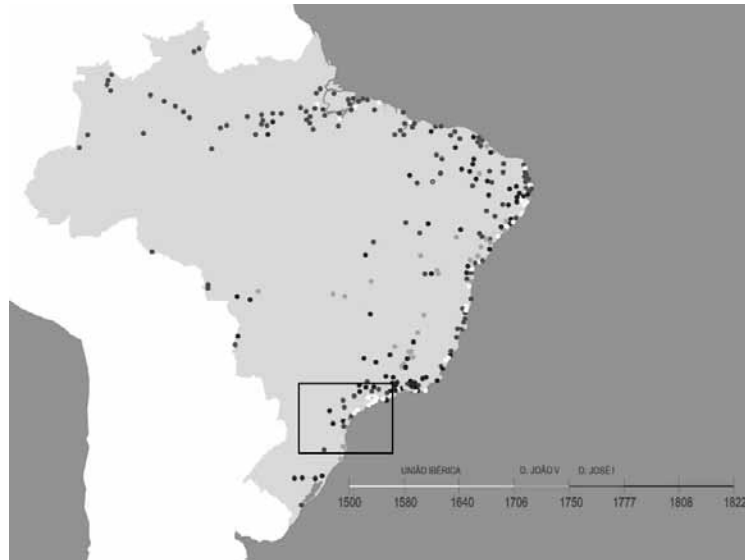


Figure 5
Towns and cities in Brazil between 1500 and 1822 and, highlighted,
approximate territories of the Captaincy of São Paulo
(source: the author).

A rare nameless drawing from the early stage of construction of the fortress was included along with letters written by the stronghold officials in the early 1768. The drawings represented the epoch of the construction of the wall foundations, and nearby land was being roughly trimmed to make way for the street grid (figure 6). Three bastions showed symmetrical and regular features, but along the Iguatemi River, the wall configuration became irregular and remained open. This drawing suggests a possible inspiration in academic schemes of fortification with bastions, but also allows assuming that some aspects of the fortress happened to be decided in the very site, without any concern to follow a more detailed and finished design.

In 1769, a year after the beginning of the construction, Sergeant-major Teotônio José Juzarte led an expedition of settlers and soldiers to the Iguatemi fortress. One of the drawings attributed to Juzarte is a plan of the Fort that shows its walls surrounded by an external landing, besides the delineation of the blocks (figure 7). However, according to Sergeant's report, the work had "just started" and people were allowed to leave or enter the fort practically "anywhere". He added that existing houses "were just a few, all built the same way with cob-walls and thatched roofs" (Juzarte 1769 cited in Souza and Myoko 2000: 76). Architecture features must have been mostly determined by techniques and skills of Indians, slaves and those "mamelucos", derived from the union of white men with the Indians, who were in charge of construction works.

In 1770, with the departure of Captain João Álvares Ferreira from Iguatemi, it was necessary to request an official engineer "to design and build the big amount that has to be done there." (Morgado de Mateus 1770a: 303-6). Other military officials in the fortress had to take responsibility for the construction works. But difficulties in getting supplies for that place, distant a two-month journey from the capital of São Paulo, the diseases among its settlers and the lack of resources rendered it difficult to manage the works. In 1770, it was considered to grant town status to Iguatemi, bearing in mind the number of inhabitants and houses "formed and placed in compliance with what has been determined" by Morgado de Mateus (Morgado de Mateus 1770b: 116-120). If this statement has not been a mere formality, then the governor also interfered in the configuration of the Fort.

In 1774, in an increasing context of discrediting of Metropolitan authorities in relation to the “diversion throughout the West” strategy, military engineer José Custódio de Sá e Faria left for Iguatemi with orders to examine the state of the fort. A plan designed by Sá e Faria between 1774 and 1775, brings the distribution of the constructions in its interior (figure 8). The main aspects of the wall are similar to what had been featured in the drawing above mentioned, but exterior landings seemed to be late compared to Juzarte’s drawing, designed a few years earlier; they also noted some differences regarding the layout of blocks. In accordance with a document written by Sá e Faria in 1775, only a flank and part of a parapet of the wall had been built (Sá e Faria 1775). The fort remained unfinished until capitulating to the Spaniards in 1777.



Figure 6

Croqui das obras do Forte Iguatemi, 1768

(source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, AHU_ACL_CU_023-01, Cx. 25, D. 2432).



Figure 7

[JUZARTE, Teotônio José]. Planta da Praça de N. Sra dos Prazeres do tio Iguatemi..., 1769

(source: Reis Filho 2000: plate 266).

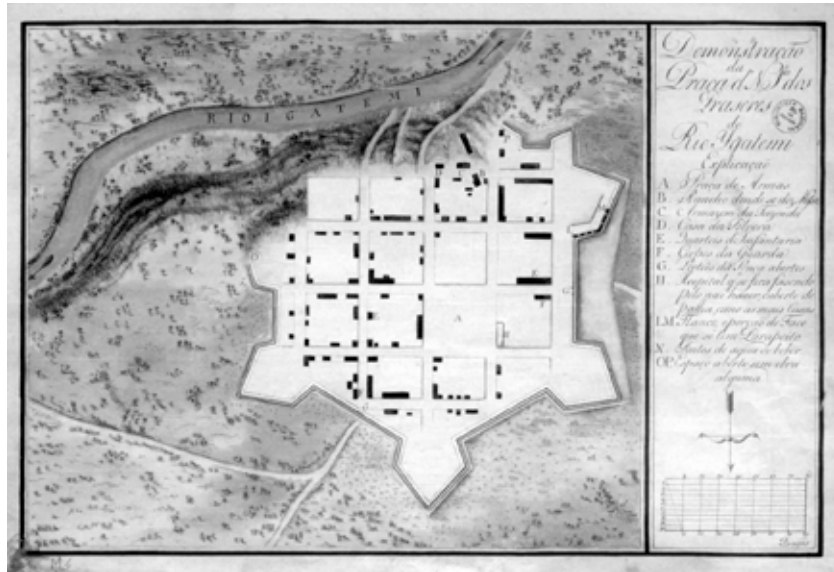


Figure 8

SÁ E FARIA, José Custódio de. *Demonstração da Praça de N. Sra. dos Prazeres do rio Iguatemi.* (source: SÁ E FARIA, José Custódio de. (Plantas da Praça de Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres), 1774-1775. Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Cart. 168420, fl. 4).

Among the remaining drawings of the settlements which were initiated during the Morgado de Mateus administration, there is also a plan of unknown authorship of the town of Lajes, dated from 1769 (figure 9). Lajes had been conceived as a strategic site on the main communication route to the South, the Viamão trail, aiming to avoid possible Spanish attacks and to build a settlement basis toward the West. Antonio Correia Pinto, farmer in the region, provided resources for the construction and paid for the initial costs, and in exchange received the rank of Captain-major. In addition to this title, he had also been promised an ennobling honor, the vestment of Knight of the Order of Christ. (Morgado de Mateus 1766: 35-39). In 1766, works for the formation of the village started, but the governor of the neighboring captaincy, Rio Grande de São Pedro, claimed that those lands were under his jurisdiction. A map sent from Rio Grande to the vice-king of the State of Brazil showed the position where Lajes was being built, and another site where the new settlement would likely to be “in a more comfortable position to appeal to the city of São Paulo”. The map also brought the proposal to build another village in the Captaincy of Rio Grande, along the route to the Uruguay missions. The establishment of settlements bordering the captaincies of São Paulo and Rio Grande suggests that both parties were trying to expand and consolidate their territories. Over the conflict, the chosen site for Lajes has changed three times.

In 1768, Capitain-Major Antônio Correia Pinto was instructed by Morgado de Mateus on how to proceed to establish the urban layout. The recommendation was then to “arrange the first houses in the angles of the blocks, so that backyards turn to the interior of the block bordering one another” (Morgado de Mateus 1768a: 211). Another condition required that the side of the blocks had to be at least 60 or 80 yards (around 65-86 meters) and streets were to be 60-span wide (13 meters). On the same day, Morgado de Mateus ordered Lajes population to make their houses in the village, in a site established by Antônio Correia Pinto, to whom the Governor “had given its plan” (Morgado de Mateus 1768b: 212).

The 1769 drawing of the village of Lajes (figure 9) featured two squares, one for the church and the other for the Town Hall. The 100-span dimension (22 meters) intended for streets is bigger than the 60 spans (13 meters) suggested by Morgado de Mateus; in turn, the side of the square – 350 spans – is in line with the recommendations – 300 to 400 spans (65 to 86 meters). The houses are interspaced at regular intervals and symmetrically distributed with respect to a central axis set by the church. The squares and main streets in Lajes would be prestigious spaces reserved for settlers of greater social distinction, largely belonging to the officer corps, as indicated by inscriptions found on the plan. Other elements were also recognized, however they were not subordinated to the same sort of arrangement with buildings around the square. At one end of the village, Captain-major Antônio Correia Pinto's ranch, a blacksmith workshop and a slave house conform another open regular space, and nearby there is a brickyard and a number of dispersed slave houses. Apparently, the 1769 plan would express a possible synthesis between expectations of inhabitants of higher social status and formal instructions imposed by Governor Morgado de Mateus. The drawing would serve to guide the urban layout, regulate the distribution of parcels and report the governor how things progressed. Morgado de Mateus sent the same plan to Lisbon to let them know about the works intended to establish the settlement.

Other recorded drawings of towns and settlements in the Captaincy of São Paulo in the period, are subsequent to the beginning of settlements undertakings. In 1776, in a critical context to initiatives by Governor Morgado de Mateus, Sá e Faria surveyed the forts at the seashore of São Paulo, which included sketches of Ararapira and Sabaúna (figures 10 e 11). These sketches did not originate final drawings, since the engineer departed to perform other tasks in Rio de Janeiro. On a survey of the seashore, carried out by military engineer João da Costa Ferreira between 1798 and 1799, for purposes of assisting in the control of coastal forests, a drawing of the village Guaratuba was included, as can be seen in detail on an illustration depicting the cove of the same name (figure 12).

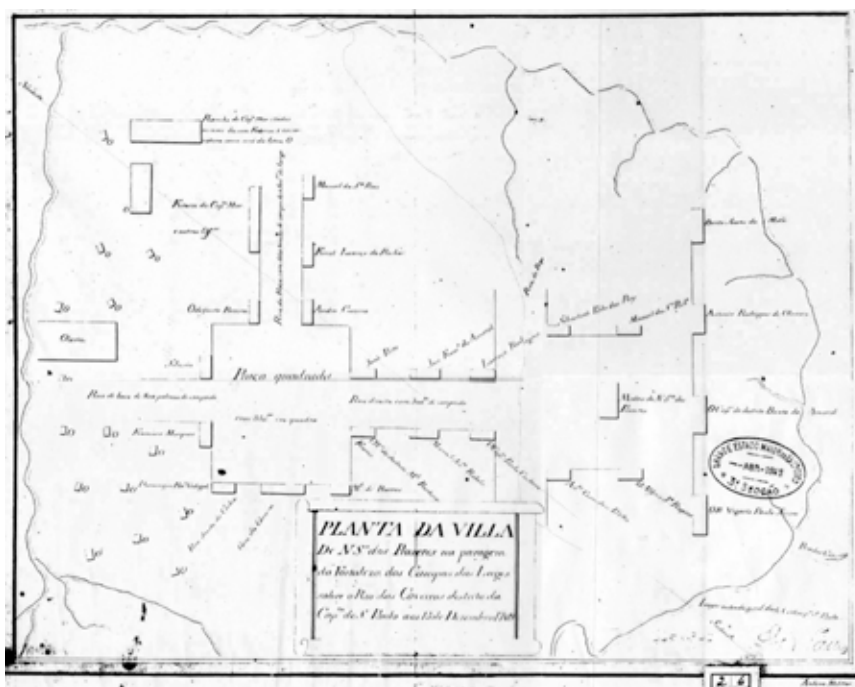


Figure 9
Planta da vila de Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres na paragem da Fortaleza dos Campos das Lages..., 1769
 (source: Museu Histórico Thiago de Castro).

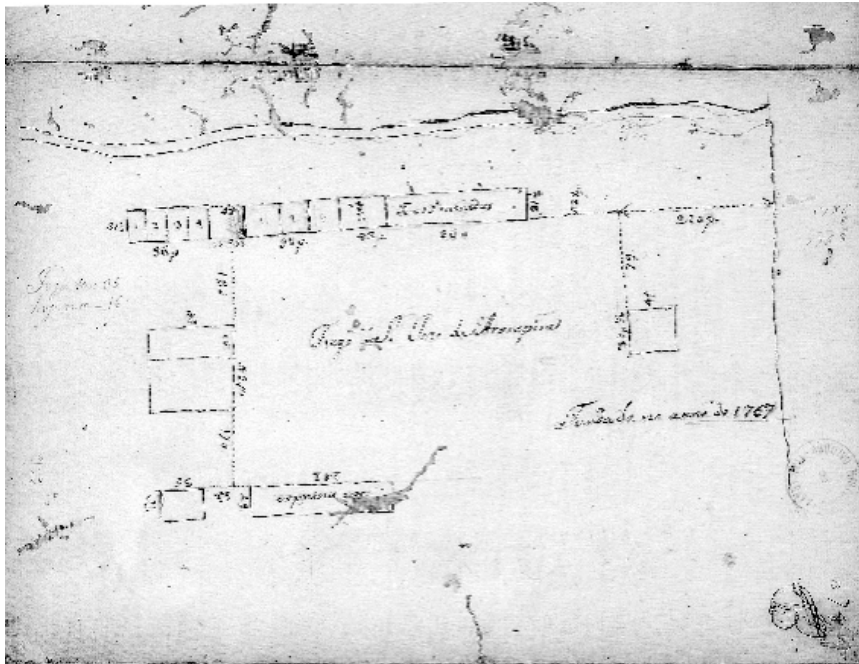


Figure 10
 Sá e Faria, J. C. de. Freguesia de São José de Ararapira..., 1776
 (source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 228).

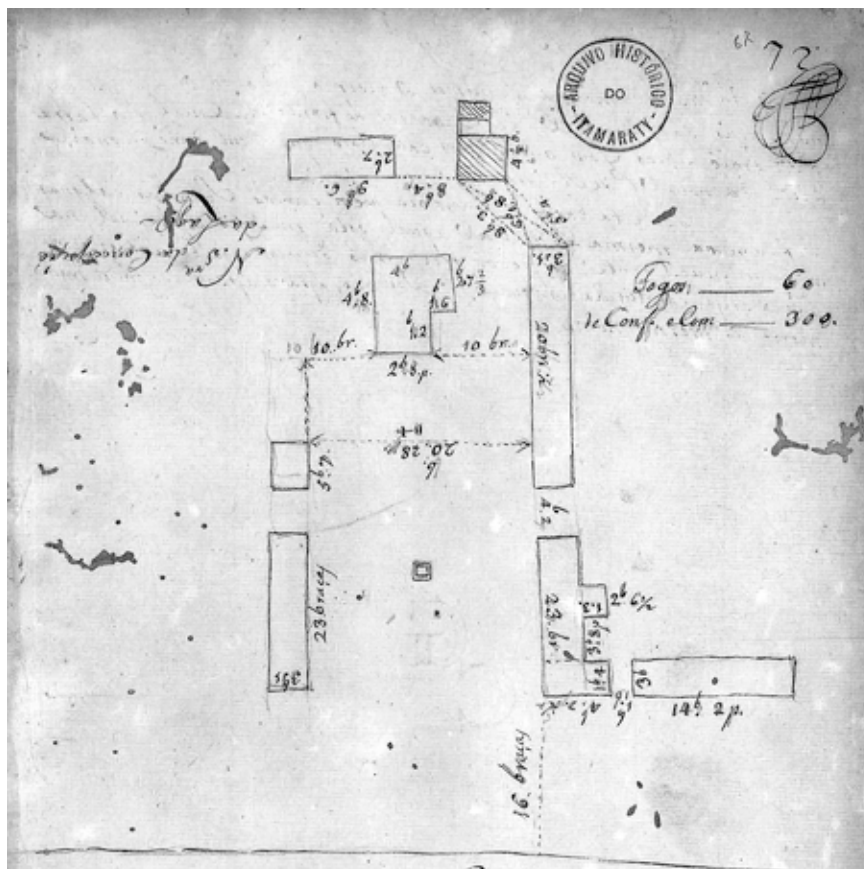


Figura 11
 Sá e Faria, J. C. de. Nossa Senhora da Conceição [de Sabaúna] da Lage, 1776
 (source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 229).

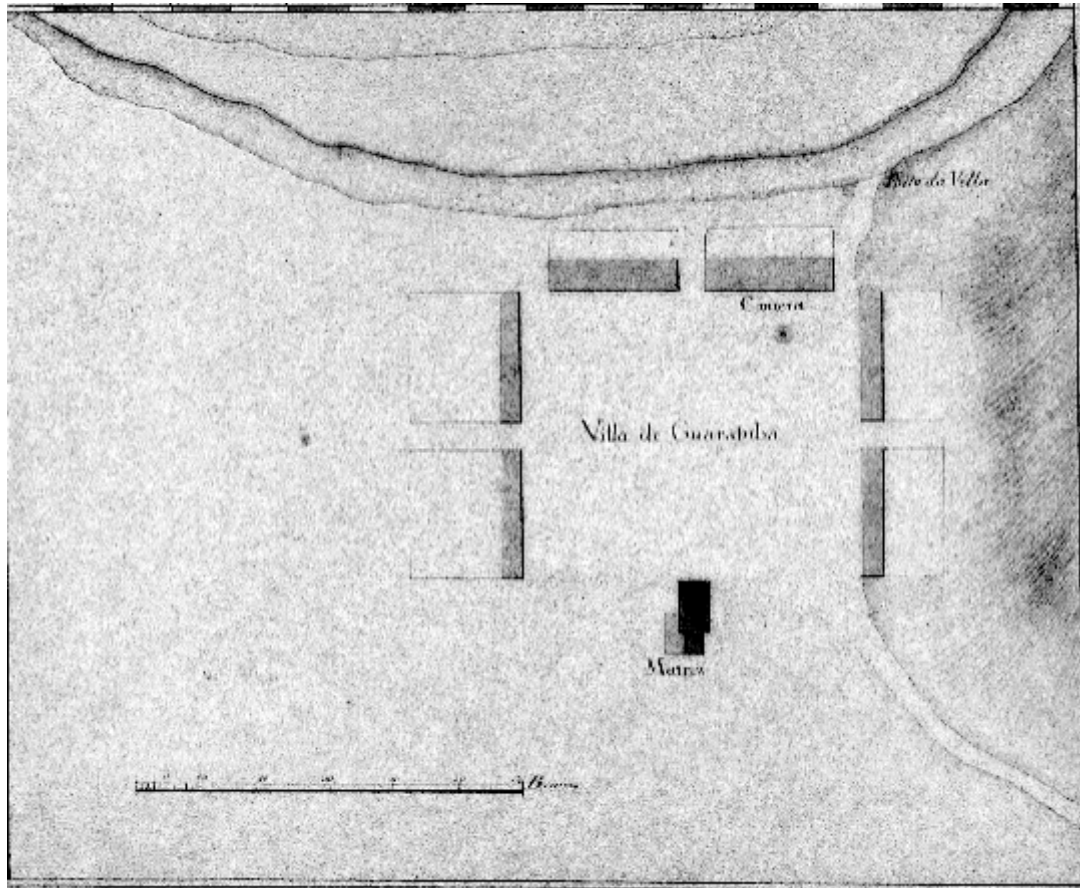


Figura12.
Ferreira, J. da C. Vila de Guaratuba
(source: Reis Filho 2000, plate 242).

Ararapira, Guaratuba and Sabaúna can be concisely described as a rectangular square, where the church stands out, and continuous groups of houses around the free space. In these schematic plans, there is a tendency for a centripetal and cohesive urban shape, contrasting with the open unlimited spaces and the dispersion, which were ordinary traits of traditional land occupation. The effect suggested in plan caused by a unitary complex and dominated by the church would not manifest the same way in volumetric composition. For a real observer, the links of the construction in a single complex would not be perceived with the same clarity as those seen in a floor plan. Perhaps there might have been an unsuitable appropriation of scholar models of urban layout (Teixeira and Valla 1999: 263). On the other hand, one cannot rule out a possible compromise to the notion of indigenous spatiality characterized by large open spaces (Delson 2001). It was also considered the purposeful intention to value the empty space defined by groups of uniform features to emphasize the representation of monarchical power (Araújo 1998: 175). Indeed, emptiness stands out as the organizing principle of constructions.

One can also hypothesize that the emphasis on the square space would be related to the purposes of cartographic production on settlements that were created or renovated. Mapping colonial territories might serve military interests, but also had the major meaning of taking symbolic and visual possession of spaces that should be inserted within a concept of an orderly and unified empire (Craib 2000). In that sense, affirmation of cohesive and monumental aspects in urban depictions might convey an attempt to create an image associated with the incorporation of those settlements to the Portuguese Empire.

Drawings in written documents

Albeit acknowledged drawings are quite a few, written documents bring further reference on how plans and perspectives worked in the urbanization process of São Paulo Captaincy. As seen in a note in his *Diário do Governo* (Government Diary), Governor Morgado de Mateus ordered “plans to get good direction of streets and pleasant perspectives of the new settlements” (Anon., 1768?: 17). He recognized that drawings were valuable resources, as he mentioned in a letter to his wife D. Leonor de Portugal talking about his son’s education: “Do not forget to make them teach José [Antônio de Sousa] Latin and also how to draw, whose art has been more valuable to me than any other” (Morgado de Mateus, 1765 cited in Bellotto, 2007b: 214).

In 1765, Morgado de Mateus suggested that he himself had drawn a draft for the urban layout of the new settlement Guaratuba, along the southern coast: “I outlined the shape of the streets and squares; and the site where to put up constructions so that they would be healthier and get good exposure to sun rays” (Morgado de Mateus 1765: 159-160). He was also concerned with the “healthy and free-of-corruption environments”. (Morgado de Mateus 1772: 110). The intent to create a configuration to make a “healthy” city can be related with writings from other architecture writers. In Chapter 6th of the *Treatise on Architecture* by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (2007 [ca. 25 bC]: 95-103), the arrangement of squares and streets in a fortified area was related to inhabitants’ health, considering the influence of the winds and the course of the sun. The governor might have known Vitruvius’ *Treatise*, for this was one of the books incorporated to his library in São Paulo, previously belonging to the Jesuits’ school.

However, even before the initial works for new settlements, the captaincy administration had to handle the issue of recruiting settlers, contesting the control of the land, and seek for cohorts able to contribute with construction costs. Settlers were Indians removed from the private administrators’ or the religious tutelage and they were also poor free men, who previously used to live from uncertain tasks, itinerant farming or occasional activities. The official policies wanted to conciliate repression to the so called vagrants with their active employment in the settlement. But many dwellers disbanded from the new villages. According to Afonso Botelho de Sampaio, the Governor’s right-hand man: “I’d rather you make me build twenty fortresses than settle a village, because those who are supposed to go there are posing so many difficulties...” (Sampaio 1767).

The enforcement of formal details to the urban layouts was part of an effort to discipline implantation and construction works. In instructions to Captain-major Lourenço Ribeiro de Andrade on the establishment of new settlements near vila Curitiba, Governor Morgado de Mateus has ordered:

...get the couples to found a church in a dry, pleasant and obstacle-free site, open up a quadrangle square, define the straight streets and lanes with the rope method, shaping wide blocks so that the houses have backyards; place stakes right away and demarcate the first houses on the corners of the streets, so that the land may soon be configured in its straightness to be more pleasant to the dwellings... (Morgado de Mateus 1767a: 104-106).

After assembling the families of settlers on a specific site, works should start with the construction of the church. The layout of the square and streets would precede other buildings and the rope method [*cordeação*] would assure the straight alignment.

On the same day, similar instructions were passed on regarding the seacoast settlement of Guaratuba, adding it would be sent “a prospect of the appearance of the houses, so that all of them would be made with the same floor plan and the land would be more pleasant” (Morgado de

Mateus 1767b: 107-109). Instructions stating the houses should be erected “along the alignment and with a pre-determined shape” were also given by the time of discussions to transfer the Mojiguaçu community, located to the North of the Captaincy, to a new site (Morgado de Mateus 1769: 292).

These orders suggest the intent of lending the façades some regularity, which might as well be associated with an aesthetic attribute. On the official discourse, urban layouts have been considered agents for imposing social patterns for some sort of civilized interaction. When São José dos Campos was granted town status, it was considered necessary “to arrange the streets layout with formality of civilian people, rather than the way they have lived so far with the brutality of the gentile” (Moura 1767: 407-411).

Over the process of installing new settlements, written documents and drawings emphasized some order and principles of geometric regularity, though imposition of rigid models for urban layouts does not seem to have occurred. A letter signed by Governor Morgado de Mateus addressed to his aide Afonso Botelho de Sampaio is significant as regards to how drawings should be used in urban implantation:

I send you the plan of how blocks should be shaped in new settlements; you are supposed to increase or decrease whatever you considerer more convenient, because the way I explain in the mentioned plan, territory is well shaped in its entirety, and I remain forewarned that in the future streets do not curve as they are used to doing (Morgado de Mateus, 1769b: 58-59).

This drawing is likely to indicate the way to form blocks from the building of houses on their corners, in accordance with other written instructions already mentioned. The same plan would serve as a model reference for more than one layout and, over the practical establishing of new settlements it might be expanded or reduced; in any case assuring the geometric regularity of urban structure. On a letter sent to Curitiba Council officials, over the intent of “founding or augmenting towns and settlements”, there was also mention to the dispatch of a plan that could be used to orientate the implantation of more than one settlement. (Morgado de Mateus 1767c: 137-138). These drawings seem to be quite fluid, and could be used in a variety of situations, also dependent on the action of the agent in charge of implementing them.

It can be argued that, over the 18th century, “planning was more written than drawn. (Flexor 2002); on the other hand, it has also been noted that the use of written language diminished gradually as graphic language consolidated (Bueno 2001: 270). In turn, Walter Rossa states that “regulated urbanism”, as promoted by the Portuguese Crown, used drawing not as a model, but as a concept or “pre-drawing”, founded in mathematical knowledge that linked Algebra and Geometry. (Rossa 2002: 380).

Over this brief analysis of the role of drawings in the urbanization of the Captaincy of São Paulo, it was possible to note that, along with written orders, plans and views served the purpose of imposing a certain degree of control on the development or urban shapes, both before the start and also along the construction works. Those drawings did not have closed sense and might interact with the requirements of specific circumstances of urban implantation. Thereby a planning stage was not configured as noticeably distinct from a construction phase. Many depictions of urban centers had the role of reporting the progress of works, presenting themselves as ideal images that combined elements checked out in situ with formal imposed instructions. The emphasis on the geometric regularity of the layouts would contribute to integrate the diversified reality of regional situations in a coherent and unitary urban culture.

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