ESOPOTAMIA and Egypt with their connecting link along what Breasted has called the Fertile Crescent, that is the way around the north of the Syrian desert, seem to have been the early homes of the art of cultivating the soil, and there the art may have begun to develop even before the fifth millennium B.C. In this region there developed, further, the application of animal power to cultivation and the use of the plough, as also the art of irrigation. Cultivation thus became more skilled and more remunerative, crops more certain, settlement more permanent, craftsmanship and differentiation of labour more marked, so that exchanges and markets grew. Observation of the heavenly bodies gave a measure of accuracy to the calendar of cultivation and the forecasting of fertilizing seasonal river floods and thus encouraged ideas of the influence of sun, moon and stars on the affairs of man, with a more or less learned priestly tradition interpreting between the spiritual and heavenly powers on the one hand and communities of men on the other, and in course of time developing experience of arbitration and the maintenance of order. Thus grew various items of social expression, the ziggurat or tower of observation with its temple and priestly residences, and near it, under its protection, the market-place supplemented by habitations of traders and craftsmen. Where all these developments occurred together the one-time village grew into a city, and cities in the

1 An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 8th January, 1936.
region under consideration go back far into, if not beyond, the fourth millennium B.C. The city is thus basically a centre of many differentiated activities enriched by the creation within it of items of social expression with a strong flavour of religious ritual. To develop a city, then, there must have been considerable progress in the art of cultivation, the differentiation of labour, the maintenance of learning and order, the laying out and erection of monuments of social expression, a considerable food supply and a supply of varied materials for craftsmen's work and for exchange. A city was therefore not likely to grow easily in the 'new lands' of those early times, and the long delays which occurred in the spread of the idea of the city can therefore be, in a measure, appreciated.

During the first half of the third millennium B.C. there seems to have occurred a wide extension of the distribution of arts accompanying cultivation in regions that may in some cases have already known something of the use of digging stick and hoe, but had not as yet advanced far upon their way to the 'city of God'. What the factors of this spread were it is as yet difficult adequately to discern. The art of cultivation and its accompaniments, including the domestication of animals, were certainly well understood by this time in their early homes and so were in a sense ready to spread. The craftsmen of the cities, already interested in metallurgy, were apparently encouraging prospecting for ores; the minds of men were probably sufficiently freed from repressions of ancient tabus to look for new food-plants; metallurgy had promoted better carpentering and made better boats a possibility. It would be attractive were we able to add to this list of culture-acquisitions that of the general utilization of the horse, but the indisputable evidence for the horse as the helper of man comes later. It may well be, however, that by this time he was already in man's service on the grasslands and plateaux of inner Asia, his ancestral home. Indeed, the evidence of culture-kinship at that time between the steppes of south-east Europe, south Turkestan and China seems to suggest something of the kind.

Cultivation certainly spread with many accompanying arts to India and there developed the Indus civilization, for which
Marshall has described the city of Mohenjo Daro. Conditions on the Indus were sufficiently like those of the older homes of cultivation to make possible an analogous development, for which we must not over-emphasize hypotheses of transplantation at the expense of theories of parallel evolution.

For China we have the pottery described by Arne but, at any rate as yet, no evidence of the city, and in this connection one may remember not only the distance from south-west Asia but also the diversity of conditions. Crops and methods no doubt had to be adapted to Chinese conditions by prolonged effort. Basic ideas such as those of grinding and polishing stone, making flint and other arrowheads and so on spread to America, but Old World crops and domestic animals did not pass the cold north-east of Asia, so man in America combined a hunting-collecting life with something of the higher mentality that seems to have arisen with the development of the arts accompanying cultivation. Whether it was such people who later discovered and learned to cultivate maize in Mexico or whether there were subsequent intrusions from the Old World into the New that led to this discovery is a matter of controversy that does not concern us here. It is sufficient to say that, when cultivation and attendant arts did develop seriously in America, cities appeared there as well, though the plough and animal helpers were not part of men's equipment in Central America and Mexico.

Africa beyond the Sahara was so cut off by the desert which had spread its sterility long ere this that the spread of agriculture would probably have been limited in that direction even had there not been grave difficulties about adaptations of crops and animals. Cultivation remained in the digging-stick-and-hoe stage, and the use of animals for work did not spread in that direction, while even the art of shaping stone by grinding does not seem to have had any very general or varied success in inter-tropical and south Africa, though it did spread to some extent. Africa, south of the Sahara, thus remained long without cities, and owes such few as it now has, apart from recent European constructions, to later localised immigrations from the north.

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In spreading Europewards in the third millennium B.C. the arts accompanying cultivation met diverse fates along different ways. A peasantry spread into and through Central Europe, facing cold winters, problems of soil-exhaustion and of crop-adaptation, and difficulties connected with widely extended forests. Along this way there developed villages, probably long of a transitory character in many cases, and the hoe seems to have been the cultivators' chief tool.

Near the Ægean shores the spread of cultivation had quicker and larger results. Here were chains of islands that helped navigators and fisherfolk to move without losing sight of land, and the regularity of the northerly Etesian wind in summer was another favourable factor. Hill-sites overlooking a port or roadstead afforded defensible places of settlement, regularity of climate and absence of extreme cold counted for something, the olive, vine and fig-tree were found or brought and gave important supplies, and the spring flowers of the heaths were a source of honey. Here, then, in spite of some difficulties about cattle food in summer, there was scope for the advance of cultivation, as well as for the use of the sea both for food supplies and for trade. The city developed.

On the peninsula south of the Dardanelles, the site of the later Troy (Hissarlik VI of the archaeologists) which was destroyed by the Greeks in 1184 B.C., already possessed a settlement that may be called a city (Hissarlik II) about 2700 B.C. The site appears to have gained in importance from the fact that here was an important crossing from the relatively fertile part of Asia Minor into Europe, as well as a peninsula with one flank outside and the other inside the most difficult part of the Dardanelles channel, to come up which, against the current, must have been a troublesome affair for small boats with few oars.

Phylakopi on the island of Melos and Knossos in Crete are other early settlements that rank as cities, and the idea spread to mainland Greece, where Orchomenos has claim to considerable antiquity, and, in any case, daughter cities of the Cretan civilization developed in the second millennium B.C. Of the development of the cities of classical times in the Greek region nothing will be said here beyond the fact that they drew food supplies
from afar and had ships which could make their way up the Dardanelles; and Troy ceased to be of prime importance, while Byzantium began its great history as a gate of the Black Sea as well as a crossing from Europe to Asia.

The fact that the date of the foundation of Rome is given as 753 B.C. and that Etruscan cities were not more than a couple of centuries older, if as much, suggests that the spread of the idea of the city westwards met with great delay and that it grew eventually largely by transplantation from the Ægean. What made the delay as long as 1500-2000 years we may never know; probably a multiplicity of factors operated. Sicily seems to have had a long period of inactivity in the earlier part of the second millennium B.C. We may ask whether Knossos had become interested in other directions, or whether some monopoly kept the westward sea-ways closed to all save a few exploiters, or whether the impoverishment of Spain, probably through a phase of aridity as well as perhaps through exhaustion of its best gold sands and tin sands, made the westward maritime trade in the third millennium decline in the second. In the last century or two of that millennium trade with Sicily and Italy did revive, and, probably helped by the better supply of rain in the last millennium B.C., led on to the growth of cities.

The fact that road engineering, coinage and legal codes became a great feature of classical civilization no doubt helped the idea of the city to spread, especially as mule and other transport now promoted exchange and, at need, the carrying of food which was also undertaken by ships.

The city, the road, the law spread together with the scheme of Roman imperial defence of the frame of the Mediterranean Sea, and it is thus from the work of the Romans that we have to trace many features of the growth of cities in Europe north of the Mediterranean, the theme of this essay. We must, however, realize that already before Roman arms made their historic conquests in western and north-western Europe, echoes from the classical world were reverberating through the west, as the La Tène culture (ca. 450 B.C. onwards) shows. Earthworks were being developed and in some cases seem to have become durable settlements of an agglomerated character, tending to-
wards the rank of towns though no doubt very poor as compared with cities of the Mediterranean and of the rivers of the Ancient East. Here were beginnings which might, and did later, in some cases grow into cities, in various ways in different regions.

In the south of France the sunny Mediterranean ‘window,’ east and west of the Rhone delta, was able to grow the olive, the vine could be cultivated far and wide, a truly Mediterranean life with Greco-Roman roots could and did develop, with cities that acquired the typical monuments expressive of Roman luxury, the forum, the arena, the theatre, the temple, the baths and so on. Nîmes, Arles, Orange, Narbonne, Toulouse are a few of these cities which have persisted, with some of their Roman monuments, to our own day, though no doubt they went through a period of poverty and decline 1 after the Roman Empire had fallen, and the advance of Islam via North Africa to Spain had transformed the Mediterranean from a lake of classical civilization and trade into a frontier, with Italy and Sicily for a time no longer a central arm across the friendly sea but rather a threatened outpost stretching out towards the hostile unknown.

Caesar’s commentaries show us how much longer and more severe was the struggle for the mastery of the part of France north of the region mentioned in the last paragraph. Campaigns and armed camps were the basic features in central and northern Gaul. Sometimes, as at Rouen, a Roman camp may have developed on the site of a pre-Roman settlement, but whether this was the case or no the lay-out of the Roman Camp was likely to remain significant for future generations and, in several cases, to form the germ of a city, as at Rouen, Sens, Tours, etc. In other cases, the settlement of pre-Roman peoples contributed more directly and seriously, especially if it were a sacred centre, as in the case of Chartres. The Roman system developed roads, and some towns seem to have grown at road centres, especially where fairs or markets had established themselves. We need to know more about this mode of town development, and Fogg 2 is contributing to this line of enquiry by observing in Morocco the characteristics of the Suq, i.e. the temporary or periodic

fair, often near the tomb of a saint, with booths that in some cases become transformed into permanent erections and may form nuclei of towns.

In central and northern France farming had a balance different from that in the south where olive and vine in large fields were characteristic, whereas farther north mixed farming with crops and stock together, and vines only in selected spots, has been and still is the feature. In the south many a landowner would live in the city and go out to his lands at need. Farther north

![Chartres](image)

**Fig. 1.** Chartres—prehistoric, Roman, and medieval centre on a hill brow over the Eure, on the once forested edge of the treeless plain of Beauce.

a rural population, living in villages near their fields and stock, would resort to the town for marketing. The civic tradition of the Mediterranean has remained strong in the south and may be contrasted with the rural tradition, the peasant feeling, of the north and centre. Even the bourgeois of the French provinces have remained peasants at heart.

The contrast between south and north has worked itself out in many ways. The areas of the southerly *langue d'oc* and the northerly *langue d'oil*, divided by a transition zone along the north side of the Plateau Central; the *pays de droit écrit* or Roman law in the south and of *pays de droit coutumier* or common law in the
north, with a division line near but not quite the same as that of
dialect; the southern provinces repletès étrangères for purposes
of customs dues, with their boundary rather to the north of the
above,—all bring out the persistence of the difference between the
south on the one hand, and the centre and north on the other,
until the Revolution of 1789. The contrast is evident also in
architecture. In the south the Roman tradition made the later
Romanesque building a vigorous fashion that hesitated to follow

![Diagram](image-url)

**Type of a Historic City on the Basis of a Roman Camp in the Paris Basin**

Fig. 2.—A diagram of the typical characters of a city of the Paris basin built on the
basis of a Roman camp. Note the central cathedral at the cross-roads, the
street within the walls, the castle at the corner, the fair ground and church of
S. Gilles across the river, the abbey at the side of the fair ground.

the north in its enthusiasm for the Ogival or Gothic style deval-
oped in and around the Île-de-France with good building stone
as one of its contributory assets. Indeed the Gothic is often
relatively unsuccessful where it does occur in the south of France,
though beautiful details may sometimes redeem to a large extent
buildings that, taken as a whole, must be considered poor; and
there are naturally cases, especially in parts of what were Anglo-
Angevin dominions, of fine Gothic work in south France, usually
work under northern influence. House roofs are low pitched
or flat in many cases in the south, but clearly gabled in the north,
with staircase turrets in the larger old ones.
The cities of central and northern France that go back to Roman times or beyond have, as has been said above, more than one type of origin and development, but in many of them there came to be a bishop, once the Christian religion had been metamorphosed to adapt it to the Roman tradition. Several cities with bishops managed to survive the post-Roman Dark Ages, and consequently, when a revival came in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was often a revival gathering round the bishop and his church, which became a cathedral and was considered a centre of general social expression as well as a place of worship, with the secular rather than the regular clergy dominant. The cathedral was thus built at the focus of the town, on the market-place at the crossing of the main streets of the one-time Roman Camp in several cases. Few towns of the basins of Seine and Loire have mediæval buildings expressing the corporate life of the bourgeois apart from the church, though these developed impressively in regions farther north and north-east where, on the other hand, the cathedral rarely stands at the original central cross-roads of a one-time Roman Camp.

The main streets of the town, at right angles to one another if the plan of the Roman camp is preserved, will have names such as Grand’ Rue, Rue S. Nicolas if in some cases one leads to a river bridge that acts as a break in fluviatile transport, la Charroterie if one is a specially important way in from the country and later on developed the making and mending of carts. Sometimes a way out is deliberately made crooked to increase difficulties of attack; often a street runs a good way around just within the walls, a tactical military scheme.

The town was the abode of craftsmen and the centre of small industries catering increasingly for the needs of the surrounding rural population which came in on market days. Trades were gathered in streets such as the Rue des Orfèvres, des Chaudronniers, des Tisserands, au Lin, de la Corroierie, de la Clouterie, de la Tonnellerie, etc., sometimes alternatively named from churches or inns or an event or celebrity. A rue aux Juifs is found in many places. Near the river may be a rue de la Tannerie and a rue de la Foulerie. On the outskirts of the town, typically outside the old walls, may be a church that has been
an abbey, often of Benedictine tradition, also an old fair-ground with a church of S. Gilles on the side towards the country. Sometimes, related to these outlying features, one finds a rue des Forges, a rue de la Tuilerie, and so on.

The cases in which a church is a dominant feature of the town are legion, those in which a castle is the main feature are relatively few, though there were rather more formerly: castles have been more apt to disappear than churches of special focal significance, but the early nobility of France north of the Plateau Central seems to have had a predominantly rural rather than an urban tradition.

On the whole the French provincial city has a very characteristic facies, both in its appearance and in its life with bourgeoisie and paysannerie, intimately linked together, and a marked continuity of local life all through the centuries whatever waves of political change may have washed over the country. Small industries supplying a local market, shops that are handed down from one generation to another, markets of local produce are all far more characteristic than in Britain, where multiple shops and universal stores and imported produce play a much larger part nowadays; but even France is changing.

There are many other points that may be mentioned in connection with the historic city in France. If the city be in the west, where cults gathering around megaliths were important, it may have a hill of S. Catherine overlooking it, or a peaked rock or hilltop may bear the name of S. Michael, probably with a religious construction on it; these and other features look back to pre-Christian days; the Christian dedications barely hide old deities. Dedications to S. Martin may often be very early, those to the Holy Trinity may belong to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, those to our Lady especially to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If the city has been an ancient pre-Roman camp, traces of its one-time earthworks may persist, or may have been transformed into more elaborate ramparts in the Middle Ages, and they will then often have been changed once more, this time into boulevards.

The paucity of historic town-halls and guild-halls in French cities makes them contrast strikingly with those of Flanders,
Brabant and Germany. In part it may be traced back to the idea of the cathedral as a synthesis of social expression; in part it is correlated with the fact that from the seventeenth century onwards when the cathedrals were ceasing to represent the general social life, the central national administration gained increased hold over local affairs all over the country. Hotels-de-ville for the most part belong to the modern growth of administration.

Regional capitals like Rouen may have old parliament houses, transformed into courts of justice, as well as town-houses or palaces of the local nobility or of rich citizens like Jacques Coeur at Bourges.

A few comparisons with Britain may be added here. The number of British cities that preserve the main lines of a Roman Camp as basic features is small, Chester being the best known case. The continuity of the city on the same site from Roman times is not often fully proved and there is no case of the persistence of a bishop’s seat, so the church did not lead so directly in the redevelopment of town life after the Dark Ages. The cathedrals, in correlation with this, are rarely on the marketplace at the central cross-roads; our typical arrangement is to have the cathedral in a Close often separated from the city by a special gateway, and also ours are not so high as the French ones. A long market-place which is at the broadened confluence of two convergent roads is a widespread feature. A Norman motte or castle may be set on the old highway, which has then been made to curve around its bailey, as at Oxford. Proportionately, more cases occur in Britain than in France of a town growing around and under the ægis of a castle, and some, such as Devizes, show the influence of this upon the layout of the streets.

In both France and Britain there are numerous cases of the deliberate founding of towns (bastides) by royalty in the first half of the Middle Ages and these may show a chequer-board pattern of the streets. The Bastide was the subject of a special study by Tout,1 to whose work reference may be made. Salisbury is a specially remarkable case of an ecclesiastical foundation.

On both sides of the North Sea houses show the so-called

crow-step or the curvilinear gable fronting on the street or square, a widespread feature of German burgher houses in trading cities. On both sides of the North Sea and the English Channel pantiles are widely used for roofing purposes.

In Britain there are differences between east and west due not only to these and other continental influences playing upon the country, but also to the differences between the more corn-growing and the more stock-farming regions with their diversity of traditional background and resources. In Britain, again, the influence of mediaeval agricultural development may be seen in the towns, e.g. in Wiltshire and Northamptonshire, or it may be the fifteenth-century growth of the wool trade, e.g. in the Cotswolds, Somerset, the Fen Country, and parts of Norfolk, that has chiefly left its mark on town and village, in churches and houses. Further, the growth of local social life after the spread of root-crops and the Revolution-Settlement of 1688, with power in the hands of the local gentry, is abundantly expressed in the stately eighteenth-century houses which adorn the ways out from many towns and contrast with the picturesque timber-frame buildings chiefly of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often nearer the town's centre in the Midlands and on the borderland of Wales.

In fishermen's settlements, often enough attached to and yet half separate from a town, are to be found, in both Britain and France, narrow lanes leading out to a beach, sometimes to a gully up which the sea may come a little way from the harbour. Cases are known in which a post at the house-door served for tying up the fishing boat. The separateness of fishing communities in many cases is a notable social feature with a number of causes, among them the value to the fisherman of having a wife 'in the tradition' trained to take responsibility when he is away, to face anxiety, to prepare and sell the fish.

Towards the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Romance speech, i.e. towards and in Flanders, Brabant, the Rhineland and parts of Burgundy, the historic city is apt to take on other characteristics that are indicative of the power of the mediaeval burghers, both as rulers of the city and as members of a craft or commercial group.
The Hotels-de-Ville so well known at S. Quentin, Ypres, Brussels, Louvain, Audenarde, etc., the Beffroi picturesquely exemplified at Beaune in Burgundy, the fine guild halls of the Place Royale at Brussels all illustrate this point and offer a contrast to conditions in the Paris Basin, where king and church overshadowed the bourgeoisie that, beyond its borders, played off one master against another, bought or seized trading privileges and was apt to gain immunity of a kind at the cost of loans to fighting nobles and churchmen. In these cases the major civic centre is apt to belong to the burgesses.

Along the Rhine and Danube the old frontier camp-cities of the Roman Empire are the major feature,—Köln, Bonn, Koblenz, Bingen, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, Basel, on the Rhine; Regensburg and Vienna on the Danube. Here there is little break of continuity; here as in parts of France bishops and archbishops kept alive at least fragments of the Roman heritage across the Dark Ages, and church building was again a great feature of the early mediæval civic revival. On the Rhine, and in the capital cities of Trier and Aachen, west of that river, building in the Romanesque style is at times more elaborate than in Britain or Northern France and owes a good deal to Mediterranean ideas acting across the Alps. Again, there is here less enthusiasm to replace Romanesque by Gothic; many a Romanesque church persists even if it has a Gothic sister beside it, as so notably at Trier. The Gothic style underwent some changes, especially increase of height of its windows, in its spread to German-speaking lands, but on the Rhine the church is less the social focus and more purely the ecclesiastical centre, and the cathedral is not so often quite centrally placed at the original main cross-roads. The power of the burghers is evidenced in Rathaus and Guildhalls and they have known, on occasion, how to get the better of both ecclesiastics and warriors. The city of traders and craftsmen is a solid fact; the city fathers have often held and administered the city’s common lands, gained the increment of site-values for the city treasury, and directed later growth of the city and even the entry of the railway into it, but many of the so-called embellishments of the Industrial Age are almost as painful in Germany as in Britain. In the Low Countries
and in north Germany and Denmark Gothic architecture had to adapt itself to brick.

It was with the civic revival after the Dark Ages that the Germanic areas east of the Rhine and north of the Danube arose above primitive rural simplicity and the strength of the Rhenish urban tradition has had enormous consequences, for it was through the growth of cities at this time that these areas entered into the fuller life of civilization. The civic idea has thus been in a peculiar degree a power shaping German life.

Some cities were founded largely by missionary ecclesiastics, e.g. Münster, Würzburg, Bamberg, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Paderborn, Fulda and others, and they characteristically gathered around a central church that might be within, or related to, a fortification. It is typical of a number of these cities that they and the country round about them remained loyal to the Catholic Church even through the changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they have tended until modern times to be Catholic islands in a Protestant sea. Other cities grew more especially under the domination of a nobleman's castle, though here again there were cases, as at Nürnberg, in which the burghers got the upper hand, and chartered privileges were assured to them. The privileged cities of South Germany were a leading feature of the mediæval Empire.

The physical geography of the country played a considerable part in giving city-evolution in Germany some of its notable
features. In the south the large basins of the upper Danube, the Main and Neckar, favoured the growth of fairly large political units, Bavaria and Württemberg. In the north what was to become the Prussian plain was long kept back by climatic difficulties in agricultural development as well as by struggles between German and Slavonic-speaking peoples and by the diversion of attention and energy to the fisheries and trade of the Baltic Sea. The north was thus for a long time a region of transit rather than a germ of a large local unit; its towns concerned with struggles between German and Slavonic cultures often have a figure of a lion or one of Roland, the epic champion, on the market-place. Between north and south, between Hannover, Braunschweig and Magdeburg on the one hand, and Frankfurț-a-M. and Würzburg on the other, is the country called by German students the Mittelschwelle, old broken mountain country reshaped in many parts by vulcanicity and everywhere cut into by a secondary set of rivers that have found their way down along fault lines and related structural features. The Mittelschwelle is thus a complex tangle of valleys, whereas, for German unity, it should have been something analogous to the Paris basin focussing on the ancient, and yet perennially vital, metropolis of France.

There were many other factors that hindered the development of German political unity. Here we are concerned only with the fact of the long delay until the nineteenth century when it occurred concurrently with industrial development. With the many small states is correlated the development of ever so many court cities, some, like Mannheim and Karlsruhe, deliberately planned out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With declining political ambitions there was diversion of attention of princelings to the arts and especially, in recent centuries, to music and learning. Threads of culture thus wove themselves into a city life that had made the Rathaus its focus of expression in a land in which the city was ab origine the accepted sign and symbol of the emergence of men from barbarism. One other factor of city development must be mentioned. The physical geography is such that, given an effort for civilized life in the region, there must be large agglomerations at or near the sites of many of the cities. They are at emergences from valleys of
the hill country or in some other clearly marked relation, Braunschweig, for example, at the practical limit of water traffic. Therefore though many have varied in size and fortune from time to time they have tended to retain importance on a large scale throughout, and in many cases to grow very markedly in modern times. The contrast between them and the large industrial cities of northern England, which were of small account before the eighteenth century, is thus very striking. One must also remember that their modern growth came later than that of most English industrial centres, and by that time the faults of the English towns had become only too evident, but many a

![Nürnberg](image)

**Nürnberg**

_Fig. 4.—Nürnberg—Castle city becoming a free city._

mistake was made in Germany too. The German cities often have a Jewish area, and recurrent outbreaks of Anti-semitism have been a weakness that must be set against their more valuable cultural characteristics. The Jewish element has been a valuable contributor to civilization in Germany, where it provided an element of objectivity in communities apt to be totalitarian and thus neurotic.

Church cities and castle cities, cities like Limburg-an-der-Lahn, dominated by church and castle together, cities like Frankfurta-M. that seem to have gathered around a market-place—but Frankfurt has traces of Roman life behind it—court cities of the many princelings are among the standard types. Braunschweig,
or Brunswick, with a ninth-century fortress, Dankwarderode, at a river crossing, and a landing-place where goods were transferred from boats to mules or wagons, also had a village near by, now incorporated in the city and known as Altewiek, and other elements such as the Hagen, added a little later. It thus gives the impression of a structure more composite than that of a good many other German cities, though Nürnberg is also clearly made up of an older castle city, in two parts, north of the Pegnitz, and a rather newer one to the south, the north and the south each with

its town-church as a central feature. Soest is another composite historic city, made up in this case of distinct village-nuclei that have fused. In the north, on and near the Baltic, the Hanse towns reveal somewhat later, and perhaps more deliberate, efforts. A site at the head of an estuary gives protected water and creates difficulties for attacks from the sea. At the same time, in a lowland, it allows the laying-out of water almost, if not quite, all around the city, an important contribution to defence. A fortress may guard the quays, but it does not indicate the repression of burgher power by the nobility, for here the supremacy of the burghers is very clear. At Lübeck the cathedral is at the far end of the city and the centre is dominated by the Rathaus and the town church. Palaces of merchant princes and
charitable establishments for aged seafarers and sailors’ dependants are other features of a Hanse town, and several have two or three parallel main streets running through them. The Hanse town, specially rich in crow-step and other ornamental gables, and laid out with a water girdle, is indeed a characteristic development of north German civic life. Rostock shows very particularly its growth through fusion of distinct nuclei.

Towards the east the spread of the city idea encountered the problem of diversity of speech; the rural folk east of the Elbe and, still more, east of the Oder used Slavonic languages. They had not developed cities in east-central Europe before the Middle Ages nor was local trade highly developed, as may be understood from the fact that, to this day, the peasantry in many parts still make at home a great deal that, farther west, would be bought by them in the market towns. Scattered over the plain were earthworks serving as refuges in time of need, and, as these were often on specially defensible sites, they were apt to become nuclei of cities when the latter began to develop.

Here again, as in the Germanic area east of the Rhine, it was the development of cities that marked the emergence of the people from barbarism; here again churchmen and warriors were to the fore in the founding of towns. But this case differed from that of the Germanic lands, because here both churchmen and warriors were apt to be German-speaking while the surrounding people spoke Slavonic. Moreover, by the time cities were growing in Slavonic areas, trade had greatly developed and the trading groups of German speech had become fully self-conscious. The efforts of churchmen and warriors were thus often followed by an effort of merchants to organize a German colonial merchant-city in relation with the church-and-castle-centre that had already developed, often on the site of an ancient earthwork. The Slavonic people drawn into the town were apt to remain somewhat apart from the centre that German influence had founded, and the self-consciousness that was stimulated on both sides is further emphasized in the fact that the Jewish quarter is usually specially separate.

Breslau on the Oder, where its stream is braided and an island in the river offered a valuable site, owes much of its importance
to its position near the old-time language frontier. The island became the ecclesiastical centre and has retained this character with elaborate fortification as well. The chequer-board pattern of the German merchant city, south of the Oder branch that isolates the Cathedral island from it, is still very marked, and here are the Rathaus, the town church (S. Elizabeth), as so often just off the centre, and more fortifications, with later additions to the old city beyond them, again fortified, and then the modern growth beyond. Strictly, however, Breslau hardly illustrates the castle-cathedral unit separate from the merchants' town; it is rather a separateness of ecclesiastical and commercial elements that occurs here.

Krakow with the Wawel containing the castle and cathedral separate from the merchant city gathering round the great square and the town church, Prague with the Hradčany including castle and cathedral on one side of the river and the merchant town on the other, Poznan and others with analogous features, all, between them, illustrate the points just raised.

The difficulty of a proper degree of unity-in-diversity within the city as well as of understanding between the city and countryside is very apparent in this zone. There may have been German, Slav and Jewish quarters at least in the cities. Sometimes, as at Braşov (Kronstadt) and other cities in Roumania, we find a German city as it were transplanted into a far country, with a native town near by; sometimes, as at Cluj (Koloszvar, Klausenburg), the German town has been considerably modified by Magyar and Roumanian efforts.

There are in east-central Europe generally marked indications that this is a zone of minorities, a zone in which group-self-consciousness had developed sufficiently, ere such ideas as that of the city arrived, to make understanding between the diverse elements difficult. The modern increase of that group-self-consciousness, connected with the spread of printing and education, and expressing itself politically, has seriously increased difficulties of old standing. The idea of the nation with a unity of culture and language that had had such success on the English plain and in the Paris basin naturally spread eastwards, and in east-central Europe found diversified and often intensely self-
conscious groups clinging to different cultural heritages living side by side, even in different quarters of the same city.

The historic Russian city, best exemplified in Moscow, with the Kremlin, containing cathedrals, palaces and barracks and outlined by fortification and the merchant city near by, may be purely an extension of the idea of the city as developed in east-central Europe. But it may also owe something to the Oriental idea of the Imperial or Forbidden City. The story of city development in Russia is in fact rather a special one and it will not be worked out here. Nor will the matter of the spreading agricultural town of the Hungarian plain be followed up. These and many other lines of thought could be developed to bring out still further the great diversity of the ways in which men have expressed their ideas of civic life in that part of Europe which owes the notion of the city mainly to the spread of Roman culture, whether through the work of imperial Rome itself or through the heritage it left to the Middle Ages.