Topos in Utopia

A peregrination to early modern utopianism's space

by

Sotirios Triantafyllos

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ὅτι ἐν πλήθει σοφίας πλῆθος γνώσεως, καὶ ὁ προστιθεὶς γνῶσιν προσθήσει ἄλγημα

Ecclesiastes 1:18

To my parents, Lampros Triantafyllos and Maria Palamianaki, who gave their son a more utopian future through their selflessness, love and hard work.

«Αχ, σιωπή παντοτινή του Είναι σπλαχνοσύνη»

Ν. Καρούζος

Στην Άλκηστη

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List of Abbreviations

EIC	East India Company
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie

Introduction: The topos of utopia

The present book is based on my doctoral thesis elaborating on my argument that we can unlock a more historically accurate and nuanced understanding of the early modern utopia, its sources and function by focusing on its space.[1] In particular, I propose a re-examination of the period's utopian fiction and practice based on the Ptolemaic tripartite geographical and cartographical divisions of space into geos, choros and topos. By focusing on these divisions of space, as they were conceived by Ptolemy (100-170 BCE) in his *Geography* (c. 150 BCE) and consequently revived and further elaborated by his early modern successors, the cosmographers, geographers and cartographers, I aim to underline the importance that Ptolemy's model had on reconceptualizing the world as geographical space that was unified and normalised, notions that differed completely from the Classical and Medieval moralised model of the *oecumene* where its extremities housed exotic lands and races. This view ascribed to the cosmos' geography rigid frontiers and a periphery governed by extremities in direct opposition to the Christian European heartland's climate, ethos, geography, and population. Extremities that may have been seen by the Europeans as 'marvels' that should be visited or even taken advantage of but also as warnings on the limits of their geographic, economic and political expansion. Overcoming these deeply embedded in the *oecumene* model of the cosmos theological and philosophical divisions was a vital step for the establishment of a new kind of social dreaming, a new kind of utopianism that was demystified and disenchanted.

Moving on, to the main objective of the present work; the analysis of the utopian space, the Ptolemaic model is an extremely useful analytical category

[1] Due to the numerous times that the term 'utopia' is used in this work and its multiple meanings some clarifications are needed to help the reader navigate the text.
'*Utopia*' refers to the literary work by Thomas More published in 1516.
'Utopia' refers to the island and fictional country that More described in his homonymous work.
'utopia' and its plural form 'utopias' refers to literary works that followed the model set by More and described fictional better societies located in faraway lands.

due to the spatial divisions/categories it introduces and their wide dissemination, adaptation and use during the early modern period. Employing these categories in my analysis of specific utopias, heterotopias and intentional communities of the period allows me to underline the separate roles that the geographical, chorographical and topographical spaces fulfilled in either visions of imaginary better societies or spaces of otherness and of open potentialities. It must become clear that these spatial divisions were accompanied by correspondent cartographical ones that defined the way these spatial divisions were described and how they could be combined to produce a larger image of the cosmos. Finally, another theme that pervades this work is the strong connection that the early modern utopia established between its urban space and the town-planning and architecture of the real-world cities, a fact that I believe negates any criticism that relegates the utopian city to either a symbolic space or a mere decorative and fanciful element inside narratives that focuses mainly on political and social ideas.

Therefore, the cornerstone of my analysis is the role that the tripartite division of space into geos, topos and choros played in early modern utopias. The categories of geographic, topographic and chorographic are taken from Ptolemy's *Geography* but in the context of this study their meaning is to some extent idiosyncratic. Ptolemy separated geography, the description of the whole earth, from topography and chorography. Geography was quantitative and required complex mathematics in order to represent space on a large scale as accurately as possible, while topography and chorography were qualitative divisions of space concerned with the meaning and the unique features of smaller spatial partitions. Hence, they were usually described in a textual form and not through a cartographic depiction as was the case with geography.[2] Yet, the reason I call my employment of these terms idiosyncratic is due to the myriad meanings ascribed to them from the Renaissance, when Ptolemy's *Geography* was rediscovered, and onwards. Even if Maximos Planudes (c. 1255- c. 1305), a Byzantine monk and philologist, is credited with the re-discovery of *Geography's* manuscript around 1300, the work reached Italy only in the second half of the fourteenth century where it became the core theoretical text for the period's cosmography and geography. A remarkable choice considering the *Geography's* practical character

[2] M. R. Curry, 'Toward a Geography of a World without Maps: Lessons from Ptolemy and Postal Codes,' *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 95/3 (2005), pp. 682-4.

and content, for example nowhere in it can be found a clear and detailed definition of the term chorography despite its frequent appearance in it, with Ptolemy limiting himself on saying only that it was ‘the detailed description of a particular place’.[3] Ptolemy’s limited definition, however, provoked and allowed various interpretations. Interpretations that were too eager to expand and enrich the term by incorporating in it the Platonic term choros and based on its similarity to the word chora (land), to synonymise it with region. The result was the establishment of a new canonical in modern geography usage of the term where chorography means the description of a region. Nevertheless, my intention is to avoid the anachronisms and the succeeding rounds of elaborations that distorted the meaning of the term and for this reason I adopt the term’s meaning as it can be found in the sixteenth-century cosmography and specifically in Peter Apian’s *Cosmographia* (1524). Apian uses the head as an analogy to describe the various divisions of space. For Appian the description of the whole head was the aim of geography while the description of the nose or an ear was the purpose of chorography.[4] In practice, chorography was concerned with the description of a smaller entity, a city, a castle or a building site.[5]

Still, having established a working definition of chorography even by analogy, I am forced to deal with another problem that arises from the similar meanings ascribed to chorography and topography, or by the reversed meaning that they had in certain geographical traditions. For example, in English works of the period like John Leland’s (1503-1552) ‘Itinerary’ notebooks the term topography is used to describe smaller spaces than the ones described by chorography.[6] My inverted, at least to the current usage, employment of these terms has to do with their function. In particular, topography aspired to the accurate description of the order of a place, and for this reason I am using it as a larger division of space than chorography. Therefore, I use it for the description of cities and certain urban areas where the understanding of the order, the meaning and the function of their plan is essential in order to understand the values of the proposed alternative sociopolitical paradigm. Consequently, I use chorography for smaller, isolated spaces due to the

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[3] C. Ptolemy, *The Geography*, ed. and tr E. L. Stevenson (New York, Dover, 1991), pp. 23-6.

[4] P. Apian, *Cosmographia Petri Apiani* (Landshut, 1524), Fol. 3.

[5] A. Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi and the Chorography of Early Modern Architecture* (London, 2014), p. 36.

[6] G. Backhaus and J. Murungi, ‘Introduction’, in G. Backhaus and J. Murungi (eds), *Lived Topographies and Their Mediational Forces* (Lanham, 2005), p. xx.

difficulty in relating them to other utopian spaces. This difficulty is derived from their uniqueness or insularity, which precludes any effort to inscribe them into an organic nexus with other spaces with similar characteristics. Moreover, based on the fact that chorography, as Ptolemy underlined, was concerned with the nature of a space and not with its size, I treat choros, the isolated space, as defined by practices and embedded with symbols, the space where rituals are performed. Meanwhile, topos in my view is heavily invested with experiences and as a result functions as a narrative that helps us comprehend the process that creates a place.[7]

So, the imposition of this artificial and idiosyncratic tripartite division is vital in my effort to dissect and understand the spaces of early modern utopias according to their functions. The analysis of the geographic space of utopia demonstrates how nature and society with the emergence of modernity were separated in these visions and how due to this dichotomy the early modern utopia was able to base its founding on the subjugation of nature and its improvement in order to build a better society.[8] Furthermore, geography is a useful analytical category when endeavouring to distinguish utopia from other forms and examples of utopianism like the Hellenistic Arcadia or the Medieval Cockaigne. Similarly, my analysis of topography (with its emphasis on meaning and order) permits an examination of both the cities of utopia and the ideal cities of the Renaissance not as static models of perfection but as working embodiments of the values and aims of the societies they housed. More crucially the uses of topography enable me to trace the dialogue between these fictional utopian cities and real cities of the period that simultaneously inspired them and were inspired by them. Additionally, the chorographic analysis of utopia offers an opportunity to examine spaces that had utopian or heterotopian character and function but were not integral parts of a larger utopian society.

Finally, Ptolemy's work had another more radical impact on the early modern geography and cosmography due to its offer of a mathematical model for the representation of earth that could be employed to normalise the new lands into a new unified spatial system that negated the exceptionality of lands that were included in the Classical and medieval geographical model of *oecumene*. The adoption and utilisation of the Ptolemaic model was inspired by the difficulty of

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[7] Ptolemy, *The Geography*, pp. 30-8.

[8] K. R. Olwig, 'Has 'Geography' Always Been Modern?: Choros, (Non)Representation, Performance, and the Landscape', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 40/ 8 (2008), pp. 1843-1861.

fitting the newly discovered Americas into the old model, but its acceptance was neither a simple process nor a blind act of appropriation. The survival of geographical concepts like the Antipodes until the late seventeenth-century indicate that the Ptolemaic model's adoptions was not an easy process, while Martin Waldseemüller's (1470-1520) modifications and improvements to it prove that it was not blindly accepted.[9] But it was instrumental in the conception of a unified space in which authors like Thomas More (1478-1535) and Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) could imagine and place their visions of better societies free from the metaphysical elements and the monster races of the old *oecumene*.

The attention that Ptolemy's work attracted during the period under examination was directly linked to the importance that study of space had already perceived due to the travels of Exploration and a new renewed attention to the urban space. Unsurprisingly utopianism followed suit, employing space as a source of inspiration and as an essential component in its articulation of alternative paradigms of social and political organisation. For example, the discovery of previously unknown lands in the Americas had acted as a source of inspiration for More and his successors, inspiring them not to imitate the newly discovered foreign cultures but to imagine and describe their paradigms of a better society as tangible societies situated on a distant land.

Of course, the role and nature of utopia's space has been examined in the work of many scholars, a result of the spatial turn in the humanities in the last decades of the twentieth century that renewed the interest in the spatiality of the early modern utopianism.[10] Among these scholars, the works of Luis Marin, Bronisław Baczko and more recently Chloë Houston stand out because they have examined the spatial dimension of either More's *Utopia* (1516) or of early modern utopianism in general, underlining the self-restricted textual character of early modern utopianism's space in the case of Marin and the relation between utopian and travel literature, in Houston's case. Baczko who, in his

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[9] G. C. Gunn, *Overcoming Ptolemy: The Revelation of an Asian World Region* (London, 2018), pp. 88; N. Chordas, *Forms in Early Modern Utopia: The Ethnography of Perfection* (Farnham, 2010), p. 50; V. della Dora, *Landscape, Nature, and the Sacred in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 15.

[10] E. W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London, 1989), p. 18.

Lumières de l'Utopie (1978) recognised the close links between literary utopia's urban space and real-life architectural models and urban forms, limited this to the modern period of utopianism, rejecting the topography of early modern utopias as symbolic and generic due to its platonic origins and obsession with symmetry.[11]

In addition to these approaches, others persisted in viewing utopia as static and its space as isolated. This criticism that was voiced mainly by Karl Popper and Northrop Frye, was part of a larger anti-utopian critique,[12] but it also echoed teleological, historicist narratives that perceived time as a linear march towards civilisation and prosperity, while they also relegated space to the role of a passive terrain.[13] Moreover, a misunderstanding of utopia's spatial character persisted in the idea that it was a perfect, model space and thus unreal. This view is shared even by scholars such as Michel Foucault and Houston who appreciate the role of space in the creation of utopia's alternative paradigm.[14] There is no doubt that literary utopia's space is fictional, but the view that it is merely a model, ideal space implies that it is a static space, a plot of land that the inhabitants of a utopia attend and maintain like a pleasure garden, having little or no importance in the function and form of the described society.

This is evident even when the utopian cities and islands are examined by students of early modern utopianism, only to have their secondary status reconfirmed by being seen as mere illustrations of the ideas and the political programs that these works expressed.[15] This reveals another issue with the perception of space in the scholarship of early modern utopianism. When attention is given to space, the analyses provided have the tendency either to see it as a unified category that offered a crude summary of the ideals of the society that it

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[11] B. Baczko, *Lumières de l'Utopie* (Paris, 1978).
[12] L. T. Sargent, 'The Three Faces of Utopianism Revisited', *Utopian Studies*, 5/1 (1994), p. 21.
[13] N. Frye, 'Varieties of Literary Utopias', in F. E. Manuel (ed), *Utopias and Utopian Thought* (Boston, 1966), pp. 28-56.
[14] M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias', *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité*, 5 (1984), p. 42; C. Houston, 'Introduction', in C. Houston (ed), *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham, 2010), p. 1.
[15] T. Morrison, 'The symbol of the city: utopian symmetry', *The International Journal of Humanities*, 3/5 (2005), pp. 93-104.

housed, or when a dissection of the utopian space is undertaken; then architecture and urban planning are privileged to such an extent that are eclipsing any other partition of utopia's space, focusing on the category of 'ideal city' or to a certain utopian choros. Obviously, these approaches ignore the complexity of early modern utopianism's spatiality and the respective complimentary roles that different divisions of space fulfilled in the model societies that literary utopias described and intentional communities utilised.

In particular, Marin's seminal work about the space of *Utopia* due to the emphasis it gave on the untranslatable to charts and sketches 'space of the text' had a key role to the negative evaluation of early modern utopianism's space.[16] For Marin the space of the text could not have any association with the geographic and topographic realities of the period because More refuses to disclose the island's location in the dialogue between Hythloday and More and Giles in the latter's house.[17] This denial has for Marin a symbolic dimension, in that it limits *Utopia* to its own discourse, isolating its space from the real space outside it, preventing the reader to make any associations between *Utopia's* geography and the real one or from trying to locate it. For Marin the difficulty in interpreting the text in such a way that could provide the necessary information to translate More's description of the island or of Amaurote into a detailed city-plan and map serves as further proof of the textual space's isolation and merely discursive existence.[18] Marin applied this method to *Utopia's* topography and chorography deconstructing the textual descriptions of these spaces and trying to synthesise them into a pictorial representation of the island, his conclusion was that More's descriptions were cancelling the information that the text was giving us about the island and Amaurote. For example, the symmetrical walls of the city could not accommodate the number of the houses that More claimed. Neither could the streets and districts of utopia fit the communal buildings that More placed in them without ruining the symmetry that the descriptions attributed to their urban environment.[19] Based on these disparities Marin denied any reading of *Utopia's* space as realistic and as

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[16] L. Marin, *Utopiques: jeux d'espases* (Paris, 1973), p. 124.
[17] Ibid., 153.
[18] Ibid., p. 152.
[19] Ibid., pp. 163-68.

connected to More's contemporary space. Instead, Marin understood *Utopia* 'as a point by point negation or cancelling of historical England itself'.[20]

It is impossible to deny the depth and value of Marin's analysis, but his reading, by focusing on the shadowing of Utopia by More's contemporary England, and by choosing to deliberately deny Utopia's location in the New World, betrays an obsession with denying its value as a wider alternative social and political paradigm. The same can be said about his readiness to interpret the incompatibility of the textual descriptions, and Utopia's image as a manifestation of the ideological conflict that permeates the work. Marin ignores the period's conventions that governed the spatial description of topography and chorography and despite his recognition that More was a scholar and thus not trained in architecture, Marin fails to acknowledge that he was also a bureaucrat with experience in dealing with the everyday running of the city of London. Having a practical knowledge of the realities of an urban settlement made More willing to sacrifice the initial symmetry of Amaurote to include a source of fresh water or even to utilise a river for its fortification. The omissions of details in a textual description do not suffice to reject the pragmatic principles upon which Utopia's urban space was conceived. Nor the contradictions are enough to dismiss the real-world parallels that these plans had. For me they are evidence of More's break with previous traditions and forms of utopianism like the ideal city where the formalist adherence to the city plan left no space for consideration of the social and political problems that an urban community had to face.

However, Marin's dismissal of Utopia's geos and topos outside its own textual discourse led to *Utopia's* isolation, in his analysis, from wider discourses about early modern geography and topography, reinforcing the view of Utopia's space as static. This position essentially constituted a wider devaluation of space, that was treated (as Foucault bluntly put it), as dead.[21] In this work by examining the influence of the early modern geographical theories, the colonial project and of the urban theories of the period, I wish to dispute the view of the early modern utopian space as generic or self-referential and thus unable to function as an alternative model.

[20] F. Jameson, 'Of Islands and Trenches: Naturalization and the Production of Utopian Discourse', *Diacritics*, 7/ 2 (1977), p. 9.

[21] T. R. Flynn, 'Foucault and the space of History', *The Monist,* 74/2 (1991), pp. 165–186.

Admittedly the majority of the works that scholars of the field brand as utopias offer us a very narrow and brief window to observe their communities' space and this environment usually appears to be already improved and cultivated. Indeed, this finished product, which is severed from the outer world -as Utopia's space was for Marin- cannot be a program for social change. A more nuance view has been expressed by Lyman Tower Sargent who underlined the unique character of the literary utopias as prose works that describe non-existent societies which are firmly located in time and space.[22] An abstract conceptualization that by itself tells us very few things about the relationship these prose works have with space and how their creators and readers chose to shape and utilise it. I am afraid that Sargent's view takes us back to the relegated and secondary role that utopia's space was condemned to serve, either as décor that dresses up the ideas each literary utopia may espouse, or as an elaborate embodiment of the values of symmetry or its ideological contradictions that Marin seems to believe.

My claim instead is that the early modern utopia's space has a more complex relationship with the geographical, topographical and chorographical contexts of the period than that of an isolated island, severed from the rest of the world and limited to function as a generic spatial Otherness. Hans Seeber, for example, sees utopias as mirror images of the emerging national states with a well-articulated and plausible space that harboured the ambition to function as universal models.[23] Hence, my research by examining the influence of early modern geographical theories, colonial projects and various urban theories of the period, disputes the view that the early modern utopian space was merely generic or self-referential and thus unable to function as an alternative model.

Finally, it must be noted that in the aftermath of the travels of exploration, there was a changing and expanding world that for the early modern Europeans was open not just to multiple co-existing spaces but also, as Doreen Massey claims, to multiple temporalities where the European traveller could access spaces with 'origins and lives of their own'.[24] In the literary utopias that were

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[22] L. T. Sargent, 'Themes in Utopian Fiction in English before Wells', *Science Fiction Studies*, 3/3 (1976), p. 275.

[23] H. U. Seeber, *Globalisierung, Utopie und Literatur: Von Thomas Morus (1516) bis Darcy Ribeiro (1982)*, (Berlin, 2017), p. 123.

[24] D. Massey, 'Some Times of Space', in Susan May (ed), *Olafur Eliasson: The Weather Project* (London, 2003), p. 110.

emphatically placed in this post-Columbian world, scholars of utopia tend to ignore this fact, attributing agency only to the traveller, the figure that embodies both the author and the reader.[25] Therefore, in my effort to re-evaluate the role and importance of space in early modern utopianism as both dynamic and bound up with the early modern debates and quests about concrete political, social and urban reform, I start with the hypothesis that utopia's space was not isolated but was integrally linked to a continually re-ordered and expanding early modern world.

Utopia: origins and context

Utopia was published in a time that many events we associate with modernity such as Columbus' travel to the New World, the Protestant Reformation and the emergence of the printing industry took place.[26] This fact that led Fredric Jameson to theorise about the close relationship between utopia and modernity, understanding the former as a by-product of the latter, but also recognizing authors like More as promethean figures, who were inventors of worlds. Nevertheless, More was not the first to imagine and describe in the western tradition a better society. Neither was he, the first to be critical towards his own society. This place is usually attributed to Plato who, as the 'forefather' of the literary utopia's genre, bequeathed to his successors a version of an ideal state whose space could be described only as static and its role only as secondary. This fact should not surprise us, considering that given the cultural, ideological and economic constraints of his time, Plato could not imagine a better form of political organisation than the ancient Greek *polis* (city-state) characterised by the organisational principles of autarky and self-preservation.[27] Every interaction between the Classical city-state and its neighbours was based on an effort to achieve this difficult equilibrium between production and consumption. Thus, Plato imagined his ideal city in *The Republic* (*c.* 380 BCE) as a self-isolated and self-preserved stratified society

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[25] C. Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (London, 2014), p. 121.

[26] F. Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London, 2005), p. 1.

[27] T. F. Scanlon, 'Echoes of Herodotus in Thucydides: Self-Sufficiency, Admiration, and Law', *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte*, 43/2 (1994), pp.143-76.

whose spatial structures were equated with stasis and isolation.[28] Autarky was essential for the survival of the Classical city. Yet, it did not require a complete secession of a city from its surroundings, nor did it impose a form of quarantine. The Greek city-states traded with their neighbours, clashed with them and established colonies when their social and political equilibrium was in danger. Still, contemporary students of Plato's writings are quick to emphasise that Kallopolis, the ideal city described in *Republic* was a mental exercise aiming to define 'justice' and thus located on nowhere, landlocked within its own discourse.[29]

This reading of the Platonic ideal state despite its solid scholarly foundations should not be used as bulwark against more nuanced views. In particular, I believe that the study of other parts of the Platonic corpus can help us identify the true role that space had in the Classical utopianism. For example, in Plato's other utopian work, the *Laws* (360 BCE), where he was occupied with the establishment of a different ideal city called Magnesia, great care was given on the plan and urban organisation of the city. A care that cannot be easily dismissed as a literary convention or some form of metaphor for its celestial qualities due to Plato's choice to locate Magnesia in the very real space of Crete among other potentially antagonistic cities. Hence, this ideal *polis* was equipped with 'a history' and a realistically described spatial arrangement that required good laws in order to flourish and to guarantee the welfare of its citizens.

I felt that this brief comment on Plato's utopian writings was necessary because the ironic name that Thomas More gave to his ideal island, 'utopia' ('no place') has been too easily translated and interpreted as a nowhere, having an isolated, enclosed, and self-referential space similar to that of Kallopolis.[30] There is no question on Plato's influence on More and his vision.[31] However, More's model of a better society was closer in form to Magnesia than to Kallopolis, with a space that was not just a metaphor for his contemporary London or a mere embodiment of discourse but which was conceived and described in the same terms with the

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[28] M. Dikec, 'Space, Politics, and the Political', *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space*, 23 (2005), pp. 171-4.

[29] V. Moldovan, 'Utopia and the Utopic construction in Plato's The Republic', *Studia UBB Philologia*, LVII, 4, (2012), p. 24.

[30] K. Lochrie, *Nowhere in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2016), pp. 180-1.

[31] T. I. White, 'Pride and the Public Good: Thomas More's Use of Plato in Utopia', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 20/4 (1982), pp. 329-354.

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