

## **Urban models and concepts in Portuguese Tangier (1471 – 1661)**

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### Summary

Portuguese effective presence in Tangier covers a period that goes from 1471 to 1661. These two centuries cannot be seen as a homogeneous and continuous time, between the Muslim abandonment and the dowry to the British crown, but as reflect of different reigns with its culture.

The legendary history of Tangier, mentioned by Plinius or Mela, gave to the city a special aura, fulfilling any king's imaginary as the new Hercules. Afonso V played this role in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, investing on symbolic features of Tangier: the construction of a new palace, a gothic castle over the former *kasbah*, and a cathedral. On the other hand, Tangier suffered a drastic area shortening which formed the actual perimeter of the *medina*. João II, with a more realistic spirit according to his civil ideals, conducted the policy towards the defence of the port, walls and population.

The second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century brought a new interest over North Africa possessions, before the 1578 collapse. A modern citadel gives a new image to the city and affirmed it as stronghold once more. The subsequent dynastic union in the Iberia Peninsula by the Filipes is characterized by a new attention on urban and safety subjects in the city but lead to an increasing degree of negligence and the project of a new short cut in the city.

Therefore, Tangier under the Portuguese domination had diverse planning models that one can still observe in its present urban fabric or stratigraphy. Therefore, cartography, iconography, descriptions and local observation are the tools that allowed an accurate survey of the scarce remaining Islamic and Portuguese evidence, inducing a process of archaeology of urbanism of this city. Summing up, this paper analyses the theories of intervention on the city as mirrors of representative performance and its morphological consequences, from the surface reduction to its modern embellishment.

### Paper

#### Introduction (Illustration 1)

City after which the roman province of Mauritania Tingitana was named, Tangier was the main urban settlement of the Strait of Gibraltar to gather a classical mythology from the times when it was called Ampelusia. The *Naturalis Historia* by Plinius, the Old, places the palace of Anteu, his fight with Hercules and the garden of the Hesperides in Tangier<sup>1</sup>, whereas Pomponius Mela's *De Chorographia* describes its foundation by the giant<sup>2</sup>. This legendary past was still present in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century imaginary, giving to the city a special appetite for its possession. Apart from being a Muslim stronghold in North Africa or a strategic point between the Mediterranean and the Ocean, Tangier was also a recognizable symbol of power, glory and greatness. Understood this aura, we can say that its

conquest by the Portuguese in 1471 makes of Afonso V a sort of “emperor”, a prince of the Reconquest. The king was aware of the upcoming fame. His sadness for not having won the battle for the city, as its inhabitants had abandoned the city following the conquest of Arzila, and having to content him to the simple taking over the place, is a clear sign of the importance that Tangier played. Moreover, the 1437 and 1464’s vain attempts against the city strengths this idea<sup>3</sup>.

1471 would definitely put the city into Portuguese hands and for the next two centuries. By this time, Portugal held four places in North Africa (along with Ceuta, in 1415, Alcácer Ceguer, in 1458, and Arzila, also in 1471), which were quite close, reaffirming the country’s domination of the southern shore of the Strait, preventing Fez from its access, and discussing the gate of the Mediterranean with Spain and Granada.

However, Afonso V’s image of the city reveals that his modern personification wasn’t yet followed by architecture but already announced by urban layout. In fact, his planning policy begins a series of strategies that would change according to different reigns throughout the almost two hundred years of the Portuguese domination in Tangier, until its offering to the British as part of princess Catarina’s wedding dowry.

Today, we have enough chronological distance to point layers of concepts, which were probably, in each period, established in a more empiric and experimental way. We shall be looking for image, dimension, direction, public space, street and scale; but before plunging into these apparently abstract terms, let’s get to know the phased process of evolution occurred in the city.

#### The conquest by Afonso V (Illustration 2)

Nowadays, Tangier urban fabric still shows evidence of some layers of the different inputs, either by addition or subtraction, dating from the Portuguese presence. And that’s exactly a subtraction exercise which we are going to assist in the first period of occupation. The city was too big for the Portuguese to keep as a sustainable settlement. The impression of the city confirms the medieval descriptions by Al Bekri or Idrissi, Arab geographers, in which Tangier appears next to adjectives like old, big, rich, gracious and commercial. Count of Ericeira, last Portuguese governor, clearly refers the intention of reducing the surface of the city to a quarter in his history of Tangier<sup>4</sup>. So, we are in presence of an effective perimeter reduction established by new short cut walls that, eventually, defined the surface of the actual *medina*. This dimensional and military readjustment called *atalho* was about to become a routine, either in already conquered posts in North Africa, or in the following Muslim towns to be taken further south<sup>5</sup>. This behaviour hides a very pragmatic reasoning as far as a city evaluation is concerned and it is directly connected to military and defence matters. We had already observed that technique used in the attack camping site itself back in 1437<sup>6</sup>, when a similar action was taken to prevent the military garrison from splitting through a too long defence barrier.

Nevertheless, as we had anticipated earlier, the urban scale analysis wasn’t imitated by the architecture built under Afonso V. Apart from the fortification system adaptation and shortening, other religious and civil equipments from the Muslim Tangier were replaced by new symbols of faith and power. To help us recover a disappeared image of the city, the drawing in Braun’s work *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*<sup>7</sup> is a fundamental tool

and contribution to a better comprehension of the visual characterization of the city (Illustration 3).

The Portuguese cathedral, devoted to *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, was erected over the former main mosque, thus recovering the once Christian diocese, at last, and the bishop was the prior of *S. Vicente de Fora* monastery, in Lisbon. The iconography of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries still shows how the new cathedral adapted the morphology of the mosque, maintaining a large flat rhythmically roofed volume and the minaret profited to bell tower.

But the most important built presence of the new “emperor’s” city was embodied by the construction of a late-gothic castle over the *kasbah*. Controlling Tangier from above, the building is a tall, compact and towered structure, mostly blind at ground level but pierced on a first floor and topped by a tiled roof. In this case, the new castle imposed the demolition of the previous Moorish palace.

We can probably attribute these military and civil works to Rodrigo Anes, who was named builder of Tangier, along with Ceuta, Alcácer and Arzila, in 1473<sup>8</sup>. And though this constructor had been working in Santarém since 1444 before leaving to North Africa<sup>9</sup>, the new castle on the top of the hill is morphological close to late medieval constructions in other towns in north Portugal, like the palace of the Dukes of Bragança, in Guimarães<sup>10</sup>, or the palace of the Dukes of Barcelos, drawn by Duarte de Armas in his *Livro das Fortalezas*. In fact, this image is particularly interesting as far as these castles/palaces were ichnographically represented in the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the following, if we take a new look at Braun’s view. Both drawings feature military displays and details, reaffirming an image that it’s facing trouble to free it from medieval symbolisms in order to share the same rational thought used in the urban scale.

João II’s policy (cf. Illustration 2)

João II is the successor king in the Portuguese crown, under whom some navigators would cross the cape of Good Hope. If Afonso V was called “the African” due to his campaigns against Alcácer Ceguer, Arzila and Tangier, in this new reign North Africa possessions had to face an increasing importance of all the west sub-Saharan coast of the continent. Nevertheless, the city will register some internal movements that will conduct to a reinforcement of positions next to the port area.

Another castle was built over the port, called *Castelo Novo* (New Castle) because of the older upper one. The existence of this castle during João II’s reign (1481-95) is mentioned by Menezes when indicating the place of residence of a former governor after finishing his mandate and having to leave the upper castle. Manuel de Melo, the 3<sup>rd</sup> governor of Tangier between 1484 and 1487 could choose between a private house in the city or the *Castelo Novo*<sup>11</sup>.

This building stood in a lower level, emerging as the defensive and pragmatic structure to assure the protection of the provisions supplying from the metropolis, in case of siege. The construction emphasised the late medieval architecture produced either in Portugal or in these recent conquered territories. The donjon of this castle was typologically similar to the Arzila one (recently reconstructed), also represented in Braun’s view,

and close to some keep towers in other castles of Portugal as in Chaves, Beja or Estremoz.

The same iconography that has led us to these comparisons shows a fundamental structure to support the supplying of the city by sea: the *couraça*. It consisted on a long stretched bastion from the *Castelo Novo* to the water, topped by a round tower which managed to escape a land siege. Through this fortified "arm", the population could receive either water, food or munitions supplies. *Couraças* would become a regular equipment of these lonely Portuguese points in the coast of North Africa, because of the frontier character that their walls played and the constant attacks suffered by the kings of Fez or Morocco. In the neighbouring place of Alcácer Ceguer, one of the best examples of *couraça*, though partially destroyed, can still be seen.

As we can see, there was a special concern towards the waterfront of the city, played by this new pole of defence and vigilance that worked as a counterweight in the distribution of the different activities and sectors in Tangier. The traditional image of the Portuguese city, divided in an upper zone, *Alta*, and a lower one, *Baixa*, begins its process of characterization in Tangier. Over the hill, the castle is alone, representing the power of the crown in this "recovered" city from the hands of the unfaithful, whereas the cathedral prefers to install itself over the former mosque, which, on the other hand, had already been built over a primitive church<sup>12</sup>. The sacred place, the shelter of the epiphany, stood, leaving the main role of Tangier skyline to the upper castle.

However, we must wonder if the *Castelo Novo* wouldn't, in fact, be the centre of decisions, "condemning" the old castle, which had transformed a former Muslim *kasbah*. Next to it, there was an open space, which got the designation of *Chouriço*<sup>13</sup> (smoked pork sausage!), a green place for soldiers parade, population reunion or outdoor eating for sailors arriving at the *Ribeira* (the English would call it "cookyard").

#### From Manuel I to João III (cf. Illustration 2)

Manuel I's overseas policy would consolidate this planning idea, although there was a specific difference as far as North Africa outposts are concerned. In fact, in Portugal, between 1495 and 1521, several cities or towns were equipped with assembly houses and prisons and many pillories were placed, managing the judicial power but remembering the crown.

Here, the difference consisted on the direct administration of justice by the king, through the governor or captain. Therefore, such equipments did not exist and the power was totally vested to the *Castelo Velho*, the palace of the city and governor residence. Next to the castle there was an open space, place of reunion of the population when there were communications to be spoken by the governor from a particular window of the building. Remainings of these windows can still be admired in Alcácer Ceguer or Azamor, usually over a public use space where the military garrison or the inhabitants could gather to listen to the king's orders and rules.

So, the administrative pole kept its place in the upper city, as the commercial sector did in the *Ribeira*. Actually, during this period, important works were carried out in this area by Francisco Danzilho, and later measured by Boytac and Bastião Luís in the summer of 1514<sup>14</sup>, in order to guarantee that no surprise could turn up from the sea. Attention was

particularly paid to two major structures: the reinforcement of the outside of the *couraça* and, above all, the construction of a new bastion to protect the *Ribeira* gate.

Meanwhile, in the early years of the 16th century, the southern segment of the *atalho*, built some decades earlier, suffered an architectural improvement. Local observation makes us induce a morphological renovation related to other *atalho* interventions, as in Arzila or later in Azamor. The wall presents a serrated plan, with two inflexions to defend the flanks and announcing the bastioned architecture.

From 1521 and 1557, João III had the throne of Portugal, but little seemed to have been done in Tangier, though many intentions were expressed.

In 1541, Portugal lost Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guér (actual Agadir) and a descending line irreversibly began to be drawn in Portuguese North Africa. The first loss of a fortress to the hands of the eternal enemy caused an effect of evaluation of all the possessions, leading to the abandonment of three towns (Alcácer Ceguer and Arzila, in the north, and Azamor, in the south) and the city of Safim, all between 1542 and 1550. As a consequence of this policy, efforts of fortification were decided to occur in the remaining cities of Tangier and Ceuta, in the strait of Gibraltar, and on the establishment of a new modern fortress in Mazagão, in the Dukala region.

Nevertheless, even if the sources indicate us few registers of that enterprise, the description of André Rodrigues of his recent work in a 1546 letter to João III encloses precious information<sup>15</sup>. André Rodrigues was the builder of the city in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century and worked under Miguel de Arruda's supervision and instructions. In that missive, among other subjects, as the cleaning and stoning of the moats, he refers to the changing of a fountain, in order to make a way straighter and partially paved, and to the embellishment of three gates with fine masonry: two in the *Castelo Novo* and the gate of the city. Not only is it clear to conclude on the modern practise of street linearity, perspective and construction, as we can still find one of André Rodrigues' portal in the *medina*, nowadays. The gate under which we pass walking along Dar Baroud Street is, in fact, the surviving gate of the lower Portuguese castle.

#### Times of changing (Illustration 4)

Further plans were, for sure, established during João III's reign. Plans that indicated a complete change of the military architecture present in Tangier, which, on the other hand, had already adapted former Islamic walls or towers. However, the complains about the miserable state of the fortifications and moats still in 1554<sup>16</sup> show that those ideas were only built during the following reign of Sebastião I (1557-1578), or his grandmother's regency till 1562.

It was in this epoch that a total reformation of the *Castelo Velho* was done. The first suggestion to transform the upper castle in an inexpugnably fortress was transmitted by project of André Rodrigues to queen Catarina in 1558, when sending her the plan of the city<sup>17</sup>. But Tangier had to wait until 1565 to feel safer with its new "mannerist" citadel, which broke the scale of the city, introducing a new military dimension built by modern bastions and ramparts, once more described by the count of Ericeira, D. Fernando de Menezes<sup>18</sup>. The magnificence of this construction led to a

curious comment by Sebastião I who exclaimed: "Thou must think the moors scare me, for thou haft done such a strong castle!"<sup>19</sup>.

Traces of this fortification can still be detected in Tangier urban stratigraphy, strongly disguised by last centuries' *medina* tissue invasion of the former empty spaces around the citadel. It was boxed against the original Portuguese perimeter, on the corner of the hilly area of the city, presenting three modern bastions to the interior of the city, and a fourth one, pointing out to northwest. It worked as a really redoubt and refuge for the whole population in case of enemy entrance through the weakest remaining walls. The rupture with the previous medieval architecture had began with the experience of Mazagão, also in North Africa, showing the new concept of bastioned construction in response to the recent piroballistic discoveries, and was followed by some forts in Portugal like S. *Julião da Barra*, defending Lisbon.

Meanwhile, other parts of the walled perimeter deserved concerns as the works on the maritime side, once more, were the proof: the extension of another *couraça* over the port<sup>20</sup>.

#### Tangier under the *Filipes* (cf. Illustration 4)

The death of Sebastian I in the battle of the three kings in Alcácer Quibir, in 1578, would lead to a succession crisis in Portugal, which ended with a dynastic union with the crown of Spain. In 1580, Filipe II of Spain became Filipe I of Portugal and for the next sixty years Portugal and its overseas territories lived under the rule of Madrid. After the disaster, the population of Tangier opened a new sea gate, as it was a tradition to close the exit gate of a king killed in a battle.

This period suffered from a bit of negligence although the governors remained Portuguese, almost until the restoration of the independence. The conclusion may be influenced by the British reports after their taking of the city because there are descriptions of works and receipt of materials for the benefit of Tangier. Between 1622 and 1637, during three consecutive governorships (Jorge de Mascarenhas, Miguel de Noronha and Fernando de Mascarenhas) several initiatives, focused either on public works or private property, were carried out. Huge amounts of wood enterering the city to repair the houses of the population, as well as rebuilding the castle tower and bell tower, mending the walls, redoing the sews of the city or digging new moats, are fine examples of how this urban nucleus was alive<sup>21</sup>. These works must have been conducted by Jorge Tavares, the builder of Tangier since 1607<sup>22</sup> till his substitution by Agostinho Marques in 1634.

During his time commanding the works of the city of Tangier, a relevant suggestion was made to the king who had sent António Pereira Lopes de Berredo to inspect the places in North Africa. By 1610, there was the intention of making a new *atalho* which would cut the city from the country gate to the sea gate, following a line that corresponds to the *Rue des Siaghins* and *Rue de la Marine*, today. The king ended up declining the proposal. One the one hand, the idea of another short cut reveals the isolation of Tangier and its state of constant defence but also a regressing importance of these African expensive strongholds. On the other hand, giving up the project meant that the value of the original conquering effort and the reputation of holding such a place still played a fundamental role.

Though December 1<sup>st</sup> brought the independence back to Lisbon, only in 1643 did Tangier returned to the Portuguese crown, to João IV. Until 1661, little time it would rest in Portuguese hands again as a consequence of being included (generously along with Bombay, by the way) in a princess' dowry to the English, as mentioned above. These last two decades were, once more, characterized by some working on the housing and, mainly, on the fortification system but with little impact on the urban morphology.

Our chronological trip stops here, before the short period while the British held Tangier from 1661 to 1683, when they abandoned the city without giving it back to Portugal to avoid the humiliation. Short but intense was this period with a lot of works around the construction of new forts and a new mole<sup>23</sup>.

### Urban historiography

It's time to cross the historical background examined before with the existing cartography, iconography and photography in order to establish an urban historiography of Tangier during the Portuguese presence and, in some cases, the planning models or intentions detected. Drawn documents are abundant at the time of power passage from Portugal to Britain, but it's possible to recuperate older layers. We can particularly rely on Wenceslau Hollar's prospects of Tangier, executed between 1669 and 1673. Unfortunately, few physical marks of those successive periods are still visible and were revealed above, asking the archaeology of urbanism for help so that the Portuguese stratigraphy can appear (Illustration 5).

The first level of speculation concerns the reconstitution of the former Merínid perimeter of Tangier, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, previous to 1471, of course. The city was much bigger than the actual *medina* surface and the inland wall should have run from the *Kasbah*, parallel to what it's today the Hassan II Avenue, Place de France and Khalid Ibn Qualid Street, down to the beach. Several details concur to this conclusion: the area of the city almost quadruplicates (see endnote 4); the castle keeps its dominant position and a direct way out to the Marchan plateau; the aerial photos of 1925 still indicate an occupation mainly beyond that virtual line, as if the territory between the present walls and the former ones was a no man's land; that line wasn't unreasonably built in first place by the Caliphal dynasty but corresponded to an important defence limit, later used by the Portuguese and British to put advanced control barriers, watch towers or forts.

The *atalho*, whose walls correspond today to the west and south sides of the *medina*, reduced considerably this surface and can be clearly detected by its linearity, with long straight curtains of wall, very different from the more organic, counter curve follower Islamic typology. If the former wall was interrupted by three main gates: the *Castelo* (castle) gate, the Fez gate and the *Campo* (country) or *Vale* (valley) gate, the short cut just kept the *Castelo* and *Vale* ones (with its locations transferred, of course), as well as the existing *Mar* (sea) gate but creating a new gate in the upper castle, called *Traição* (treason), from where one could escape by sea from the city combats in case of enemy penetration.

This perimeter contraction led to a profound change in the sense of the city, pushing Tangier to the sea, for defence and accessibility purposes. The

sea was the gate to Portugal whereas the hinterland was the enemy territory. The new geometry housed the two major civil and religious equipments, both adaptations and transformations of Islamic buildings, as seen before. A round tower, now transformed in a public oven (Hadj Tahar), is possibly the only remaining of the first Portuguese castle/palace complex wall fence.

Afonso V's decisions in the city can be classified, as far as urban conceptuality is concerned, as architectural representation and renovation, through new equipments that would replace the former Merinid structures – castle, cathedral -, on the one hand, and as defence reorientation and survival – the *atalho* -, on the other hand. "Image" , "dimension" and "direction" redefined Tangier form: a new skyline contributed to a late medieval and European image of Tangier, whereas the perimeter short cut pushed the city to the water, the communication canal with Portugal and domain of superiority over the enemy, whose preferable field was land.

During the next three reigns, as demonstrated earlier, there were some introductions that helped answering a few important issues on administrative or fortification matters and to determine a second developing level. Among the *Castelo Novo*, the *couraça* and a new *Ribeira* bastion, only the first can accurately be reconstituted due to two important surviving traces: the Dar Baroud Street gate and a round tower on a corner of Amsrak Street. The gate is the one beneficiated by André Rodrigues years later and through a 1663 plan<sup>24</sup> it is possible to imagine how the building was composed. The construction of batteries from the British domination on and the recent commercial and industrial pressure over the port area destroyed the other structures added in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Some photos remain of the first *couraça*, directly connecting the *Castelo Novo* to the sea, but the *Ribeira* bastion is lost.

Meanwhile, the street layout of Tangier was centred on a main axis, the *Rua Direita* which put in communication the Valley gate and the port, passing by the cathedral. Apart from two wider spaces in each extremity, the street served a square in between, which was preserved until today as the meeting point of people and merchandise of the *medina* and known as *Petit Socco* (little market). Apart from this square, the *Chouriço* would be the only other clearly defined and preserved public space of the city throughout time, used for administrative and military purposes.

Up towards the castle hill, we can verify some regularity on the public space and block organization. Geometry seems to play a more important role, definitely renouncing the Islamic fabric and searching for a growing regular scheme, slope by slope till the castle. The base established here is still today the matrix of different neighbourhood communication, meanwhile perverted since Moulay Ismail times from 1684 on. The labyrinth is back, interrupting canals, "eating" the interior of blocks. Manuel I and successor's hygienic ideas and urban wills answered to a European population and a time need and capacity. When the British took over Tangier, the city was already considered inhabitable for their patterns and strong measures of enlarging houses, building higher and opening gardens were taken.

Summing up, from late 15<sup>th</sup> to mid 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the urban nucleus suffered a "public space definition" based on the street and square and inducing a "residential tissue regularization". Islamic cities only public spaces are divided in two categories: the market, the only open public

space within walls, and two enclosed gathering areas: the mosque and the baths. Perspective and alignment are fought in the street layout, privileging privacy and, thus, originating a labyrinth of street ramification from main axis to the house door. The Portuguese transformations, in this aura of European first abolishment of medieval obstacles, searched exactly the opposite: the street as the main element of the city, place of reunion, meeting and exchange, sided by representative façades, and linking important equipments.

1565 brings a substantial change in the planning strategy, once more based on military principles. Not forgetting last level achievements, we shouldn't forget the construction of a second *couraça* which, along with the existing one, gave the impression of embracing the port.

However, the new modern citadel was the equipment that would create a second city within the city, large enough to hold the house of the governor and the army residences. If we take a close look at the plan cited above, confirmed by another 17<sup>th</sup> century anonymous plan<sup>25</sup>, the shape of the fortification follows an anthropomorphic figure, clustered in the upper corner of the city. Its magnificence and scale didn't stay untouchable, though it continues to mark a frontier between two territories in today inner city, connected by two gates: *Bab El Assa* and *Bab Haha*. Two smaller bastions pointed to the outside, one of them known as *Bordj Kasbah* still exists. The bigger modern bastions are disguised by houses or almost lost, like the one in the *Gurna* neighbourhood, but the wall linking this area to *Bab El Assa* has a strong visual presence over the rest of the white *medina*.

After the initial 15<sup>th</sup> century measures of surface reduction, which led to what it is still the perimeter of the present *medina*, this Sebastian citadel impact was the second most important urban persistence. Even though, most of it is destroyed, hidden or disguised, we can still read this inner fortified ring in the fabric (actual *kasbah*), evidence of the strong "military renovation and embellishment" that Tangier had witnessed. "Scale" was ruptured and a new fortification language and style answered recent technology advances.

#### Last projects. Conclusion

The shortening proposal of a new *atalho* during the Filipe's domination, in order to shrink Tangier to the north, took the *Rua Direita* alignment. It would originate a profound change in the city configuration that would erase a part of the city forever, as the first *atalho* did, almost one century and a half before. The model of this sort of planning concept was already overcome in 1610 but it was with no doubts one of the most rational and defensive methods ever used. Consequences are irreversible and wipe out pages of a city history, making the reading of urban layers a difficult chore.

Plural theories of intervention were present throughout the almost two hundred years of Portuguese Tangier. From medieval symbolic affirmation (image, dimension and direction) and urban redefinition (public space and street) to modern militarist image (scale), the city was offered very representative architecture, influences from the metropolis or Europe knowledge. But the paradox existed when the same architecture was confronted with the urban experience. City design was experimental but rational and decisive for its survival. Measures were pragmatic when

looking for a specific answer whereas noble buildings searched a representative status and prominence. Those buildings are gone but morphological consequences in the urban scale are the most valuable cultural heritage Tangier could legate to us. Recent happenings during the protectorates in Morocco, when the city was an international zone, continue to feed the melting pot of civilizations and the charisma of the city, whose roots belong to the antique legendary universe.

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<sup>1</sup> PLINIUS, V, 3.

<sup>2</sup> POMPONIUS MELA, I, 5, 26.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on these previous Portuguese attempts against Tangier, see: PINA, Rui de - *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Duarte* (XXI to XXXVI), for the 1437 disaster; ZURARA, Gomes Eanes de – *Crónica do Conde D. Duarte de Meneses* (CVIII to CXII) and PINA, Rui de – *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Affonso V* (CXLIX to CLIII), for the 1464 assaults.

<sup>4</sup> MENEZES (1732), p. 34: “Parecendo-lhe depois, que a cidade era grande, e necessitava de igual presidio para sua defesa, a mandou cortar, e reduzir a mil vizinhos, tendo antes mais de quatro mil, que isto fazem as mudanças do tempo, e dos impérios; (...)”.

<sup>5</sup> For further reading on the *atalho*, please consult: CORREIA, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> PINA, Rui de - *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Duarte* (XXIII).

<sup>7</sup> BRAUN, George (1572) - *Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara)*, Tome I, Koln. This, as the other North African drawings (Septa, Arzilla, Sala and Tzaffin) are adaptations of originals of the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>8</sup> ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 33, fol. 211v.

<sup>9</sup> SOUSA VITERBO (1899-1922), I, pp. 39-40.

<sup>10</sup> Although the present building is much of an “invention” of the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction, the main morphological aspects, as dimension or volume, are believed to follow the original idea.

<sup>11</sup> MENEZES, op. cit., p. 45: “A este acto se é pela manhã sucede uma Missa Solene, sobem depois ao Castelo, onde o governador que acaba deixa o que serve, e se recolhe a uma casa particular que tem na Cidade, ou ao Castelo novo, que fica sobre a Ribeira.”

<sup>12</sup> METALSI (1996), pp. 62-69.

<sup>13</sup> *Relação de algumas cousas da Cidade de Tanger* (c. 1621) – BNL, cód. 7367, p. 194-196v.

<sup>14</sup> *Livro das medidas das obras de Alcácer, Ceuta, Tanger e Arzilla*, ANTT – Núcleo Antigo, n<sup>o</sup>769, fl.41-47v.

<sup>15</sup> ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, 1<sup>a</sup> parte, maço 78, doc. 52.

<sup>16</sup> *Letter of Bernardim de Carvalho to João III* – Tangier, 6th October 1554 – ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, 1<sup>a</sup> parte, maço 93, doc. 126.

<sup>17</sup> ANTT – Corpo Cronológico, 1<sup>a</sup> parte, maço 102, doc. 126.

<sup>18</sup> MENEZES, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> “ Vós deveis pensar que tenho muito medo dos mouros, pois fizésteis este castelo t\_o forte” (LA VÉRONNE, 1972)

<sup>20</sup> *Letter of Bernardim de Carvalho to Sebastião I* – Tanger, 31 Mars 1562 – ANTT, Gaveta 15, maço 18, n<sup>o</sup> 3.

<sup>21</sup> MENEZES, op. cit., pp. 133 to 153.

<sup>22</sup> ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Filipe II, liv. 18, fol. 205.

<sup>23</sup> For further information on the British presence in Tangier, please address to: LA VÉRONNE, op. cit, or “Villes et Tribus du Maroc”, vol. VIII, 1921.

<sup>24</sup> *Plan de Tanger, sur le détroit de Gibraltar, au royaume de Féz* – TALM (Tangier American Legation Museum).

<sup>25</sup> *Piano di Tanger situato nel str. Di Gibraltar* – BNF (Bibliothèque National de France), Ge. CC. 1262.

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## Illustrations Legends

### Illustration 1

Aerial photo of central Tangier (1925 – Direction du Patrimoine Culturel / Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication du Maroc)

### Illustration 2

Evolution of Tangier through Afonso V, João II, Manuel I and João III's reigns

1. Alcazar, then *Castelo Velho* (upper castle)
2. Mosque, then Cathedral
3. Possible Islamic wall perimeter
4. *Atalho*/ Portuguese wall
5. *Rua Direita*
6. *Castelo Novo* (new castle)
7. *Couraça*
8. *Chouriço* yard
9. *Ribeira* bastion and new *couraça*

### Illustration 3

George Braun - *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (*Tingis, Lusitanis, Tangiara*), Tome I, Koln, 1572.

### Illustration 4

Evolution of Tangier from Sebastião I until the Filipes

1. Modern Citadel
2. Cathedral
3. *Rua Direita*
4. *Castelo Novo* (new castle)
5. *Chouriço* yard
6. Project of *atalho*
7. Excluded surface in project

### Illustration 5

Actual plan of central Tangier, showing Islamic (before 1471) and Portuguese evidence in bold