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Urbs and Civitas in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain

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WRITING IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY, Isidore of Seville, the famous encyclopedist and theologian, defined the term city in the following way: "A city [civitas] is a number of men joined by a social bond. It takes its name from the citizens who dwell in it. As an urbs, it is only a walled structure, but inhabitants, not building stones, are referred to as a city."[1] Put simply, Isidore was attempting in this definition to distinguish between the city as community (civitas) and the city as an urban architectural entity (urbs).

As rudimentary as this definition may appear, it is important for understanding the various ways in which cities were conceived during subsequent periods, especially the Renaissance. The idea of the city as urbs can be found, for example, in the writings of numerous architectural theorists of this period, many of whom, L. B. Alberti included, argued that a city's nobility was inextricably linked to the layout of its squares and streets as well as the design and magnificence of its buildings. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Giovanni Botero, in his essay, On the Greatness of Cities (1588), would make a similar argument, although this Italian thinker believed that a city's grandeur depended primarily on the number and importance of its inhabitants.[2]

This particular notion of city vied with another, espoused mainly by political theorists and theologians, who conceived of the city less in terms of architecture and demography than in those of community. Following Aristotle's definition of polis, these authors tended to define city as a res publica, a well-governed community or republic, and argued that a city's grandeur depended less on the quality of its buildings than the quality of its government.

In Spain, such ideas were central to the Siete Partidas, the famous thirteenth-century Castilian law code in which a town (pueblo) was doubly defined as "a place surrounded by walls" as well as the "communal gathering of men—the old, those of middling age, and the young."[3] They can also be found in the work of various theologians and political writers, starting with Fray García de Castrojérez and Francesc Eiximenis in the fourteenth century and later in the treatises of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arevalo (1404–70), Alonso de Castrillo (fl. 1521), and Diego Pérez de Mesa (1563–1616).[4] On a somewhat less theoretical plane, they are found in the work of Dámaso de Frias, a sixteenth-century lawyer from Valladolid, who defined city as "as a gathering of many families united in law and in custom for the purpose of providing all the things necessary for life." Frias, moreover, took issue with prevailing architectural theories when he wrote that the grandeza and nobleza of a particular city had little to do with the magnificence of its public buildings and squares. A city's nobility, he believed, depended primarily on the deeds and virtues of .

its inhabitants.[5] Frias, in short, expressed a notion of city that accorded precedence to people, not bricks, a position echoed in most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century histories of Spanish cities as well as in Sebastián de Covarrubias's dictionary of the Spanish language, first published in 1611. Borrowing almost directly from Isidore, his entry for *ciudad* read as follows:

> City. From the Latin noun *civitas* . . . A city is a collection of citizens who have congregated together in order to live in the same place under the same laws and government. City is sometimes understood as buildings; this corresponds to the Latin noun *urbs*. City can also refer to *regimiento* or *ayuntamiento* [terms equivalent to civic government] and, in the Cortes, to the agent [*procurador*] who represents a particular city.[6]

As Covarrubias's definition suggests, the notion of a city as a physical or topographical phenomenon—a space bounded by walls—existed but took second place to the idea of the city as community. By the seventeenth century, in fact, this particular conception of city achieved the virtual status of a paradigm in Spanish thought. It dominated and, in a sense, structured the way Spaniards wrote chronicles and histories of their native towns, and it directly influenced the way many artists and draftsmen depicted places to which they were closely connected. Cities tended consequently to be "mapped" according to criteria that often had little to do with "description," the term generally used to refer to the evocation of places, either in words or in images, with a modicum of topographical accuracy and verisimilitude.[7] Rather, the aim was to capture the very essence or soul of the city, the particular moral values believed to ennoble a city and to accord it a unique place in history, both human and divine.

With Isidore's twin definition of city serving as a point of departure, this essay will briefly examine various plans and views of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish cities. I am particularly interested in making a comparison between two distinct but sometimes overlapping conventions or modes of urban representation. One, to put it simply, is the "chorographic" view, the city as seen by individuals who attempted to offer, in so far as the technical capacities of the era allowed, a complete and comprehensible visual record of a particular place. Chorography, according to Ptolemy, attempted "to describe the smallest details of places" as well as "to paint a true likeness of the places it describes."[8] Petrus Apianus, the geographer who was one of the Emperor Charles V's teachers, defined chorography in the following way:

> Chorography is the same thing as topography, which one can define as the plan of a place that describes and considers its peculiarities in isolation, without consideration or comparison of its parts either among themselves or in relation to other places. But at the same time chorography carefully takes note of all particularities and properties, as small as they may be, that are worth noting in such places, such as ports, towns, villages, river courses, and all similar things, including buildings, houses, towers, walls, and the like. The aim of chorography is to depict a particular place, just as an artist paints an ear or an eye or other parts of a man's head.[9]

Chorographic images of a city, then, were those that tended toward completeness and precision. Most commonly, they were the work of professional cartographers, engineers, and surveyors, but chorographic views were also produced by artists commissioned to document a monarch's travels or to give visual expression to the landholdings and possessions of an individual noble-

man. Although difficult to categorize, chorographic images of Spanish cities included both prospects and plans, many of which were expressly designed to be engraved or printed and distributed to a wide audience. Typical of such views were the drawings of various cities in France, Italy, and the Low Countries executed by the Flemish artist, Anton van den Wyngaerde, in the middle years of the sixteenth century. Van den Wyngaerde's Spanish townscapes will be discussed below.

The other mode of representation is what might be characterized as the "communal" or "communicentric" view of the city.[10] Although these views often shared some of the descriptive elements associated with chorography, they did not necessarily seek to convey, prima facie, a "true likeness" of a city. They tended rather in the direction of metaphor and sought to define, via the image of *urbs*, the meaning of *civitas*: the idea of the city as a human community or well-governed republic endowed with a character, history, customs, and traditions uniquely its own. Communicentric views, therefore, often had a didactic aim, typified in some respects by Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fourteenth-century allegory of *Good and Bad Government* in Siena's town hall, a fresco depicting an idealized city intended to serve as a political primer for the councillors of the Sienese commune.[11] Communicentric views were also frequently connected to local religious cults and practices along with the commemoration of historical events of local importance. It follows that communicentric views were intended, in the first instance at least, primarily for local consumption rather than for wide distribution. As such, these views seem to offer a clue to the various ways the inhabitants of a particular community visualized—and in so doing, defined—the city in which they lived. In this sense they may help us understand what Kevin Lynch

has described as a city's "public image," a term he defines as the common mental pictures of the local cityscape carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants.[12]

Underpinning this comparison between chorographic and communicentric views is my dissatisfaction with much of the existing literature on city views, particularly that which concerns the history of the genre's development in early modern Europe.[13] This history is traditionally presented as if it were both linear and progressive, moving steadily but relentlessly from crude to refined, artistic to scientific, portrait to plan, view to map. Generally speaking, this Whiggish schema is correct, but as this essay will suggest, it tends not only to oversimplify the multifaceted character of city views but also to ignore the extent to which their character was shaped by the purposes to which they were originally put.

CHOROGRAPHIC VIEWS

A CONVENIENT STARTING POINT for a discussion of chorographic images of Spanish cities is the unusual bird's-eye view of the Old Castilian town of Aranda de Duero, dated 1503 (figure 3.1). Comparable in time if not in quality to Leonardo da Vinci's famous ichnographic view of Imola, the circumstances surrounding the commission of this watercolor—a lawsuit arising from plans to cut a new street through the town center—helps us to understand its contents.[14] In this instance, the lawsuit reached the king's councillors who, needing additional information about the circumstances of the case, sent a certain Francisco Gamarra on an investigative trip to Aranda. Gamarra then commissioned a cartographer—we do not know who—to prepare a plan to help the judges to reach an equitable decision. The resulting orthogonal view of Aranda—the first of its kind for any Spanish city—is not entirely accurate. Its rounded shape, for
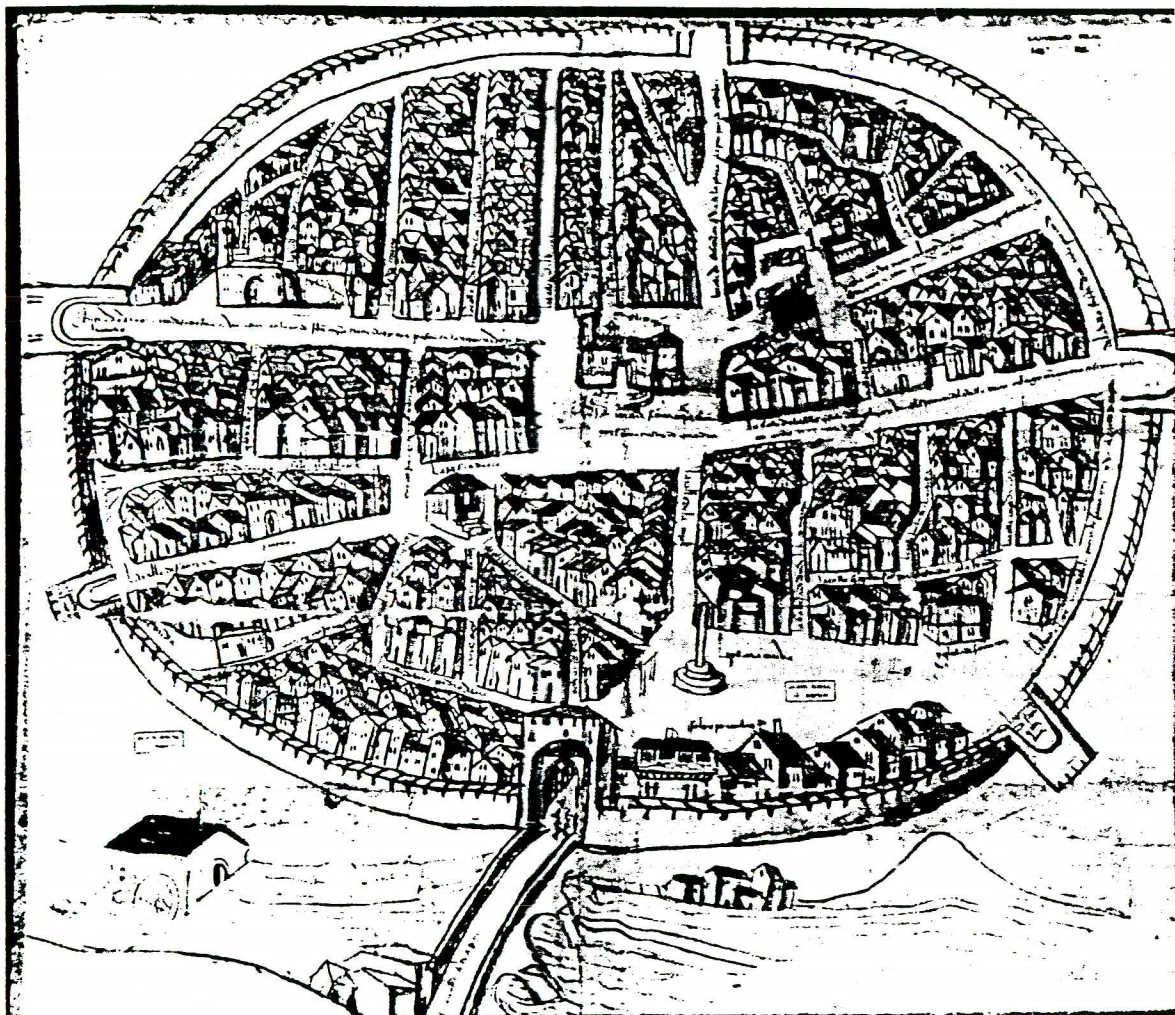
FIGURE 3.1. Anonymous. Aranda de Duero. Plan. 1503. Archivo General de Simancas. Mapas, Planos y Dibujos X-1.

example, suggests that Gamarra modeled his view of Aranda after some archetypical image of an idealized town. In its outline, then, the Aranda represented here is akin to a *typus* or conventional view of a town of a kind included in many medieval maps and portolans. As for the rest of Aranda, there is little reason to suppose that Gamarra altered or otherwise distorted the displacement of streets and buildings for pictorial effect or ideological purpose. Rather he endeavored to provide the judges with an unadorned but comprehensible plan of Aranda's streets and

FIGURE 3.2. Francisco d'Olanda. Fuenterrabía and San Sebastián. C. 1540. Source: *Os desenhos das antigualhas.*

principal monuments. Despite its conventional qualities, therefore, the view constituted a description offering a detailed representation of Aranda as *urbs*.[15]

Description of a similar sort was also the purpose of Francisco de Holanda's perspective view of the port city of San Sebastián and the accompanying view of the Spanish fortress at Fuenterrabía in the 1540s (figure 3.2). This drawing, appended to Holanda's Italian sketchbook of city views, was executed to help his patron, King John III of Portugal, further his understanding of

the latest European developments in fortification techniques.[16] Wherever he went, therefore, Holanda took pains to represent, as accurately as possible, encircling walls, bastions, and other defenses. In this instance, Holanda utilized perspective in order to reinforce the notion that his image of San Sebastián was indeed a "true likeness" of the city. Moreover, he utilized a low vantage point that allowed for the detailed depiction of the city's walls and other fortifications but which obscured the city's churches and other monuments, that is, the urban artifacts around which most sixteenth-century artists customarily constructed their views, often at the expense of topographical accuracy. In this instance, however, Holanda, instead of adhering closely to what the dictates of chorography demanded, included in the foreground of his drawing of the fortress of Fuenterrabía four figures, two of whom appear to be Romans while the others are dressed in Basque costume typical of the era. They suggest that Holanda, in addition to chorography, had other artistic and cultural concerns.

A different approach to the city as *urbs* appeared in the many woodcuts illustrating Pedro de Medina's *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Seville, 1548), one of the most comprehensive geographical treatises of its day. Medina, a cosmographer attached to Seville's House of Trade (*Casa de Contratación*), wrote it to help the future Philip II learn about "the things of this, your Spain," and presented it to the prince as "a manual or aide-memoire of the most distinguished and important jewels—'joyas'— that Spain possesses."[17]

These "joyas" were Spain's cities, and the book itself was a compendium of approximately four hundred fifty city-biographies that incorporated information about geographical location, agriculture and commerce, principal monuments, and historical events of local importance.

FIGURE 3.3. Segovia and Valencia as illustrated in Pedro de Medina, *Libro de las grandezas* (1548)

Approximately one-fourth of the entries were accompanied by a woodcut, but the scope of the enterprise prevented Medina from offering a true visual likeness of the cities he described. For the most part, therefore, the illustrations included in the volume had little to do with the cities described in the text. Rather these cities, as in so many other early sixteenth-century atlases and geographical books, were represented by means of a *typus* meant to convey the general concept of *urbs* and, along with it, the sense of the city as an independent, self-governing entity.

This lack of specificity, so different from the previous examples of Aranda de Duero and San Sebastián, explains why the views in Medina's book were interchangeable. In the book's first edition, two different images represented all of Spain's towns. The first, employed mainly for smaller towns, depicted a building surrounded by walls, an image that evoked the traditional understanding of a town as a walled enclave set apart from the surrounding countryside.[18] The second, reserved for larger, more important cities, incorporated a fortress evidently intended to serve as a symbol of governmental authority. In addition, views illustrating maritime cities such as Valencia included a reference to the sea, whereas those for interior cities included references to mountains or hills (figure 3.3). Otherwise, apart from a label indicating the name of

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the city in question, these images made no effort to represent a specific place. Within this repetitive and somewhat monotónous constellation only three cities—Granada, Seville, and Toledo—received anything like specific treatment; the others offered little more than a topos of urban life.[19]

Far livelier were the cityscapes of Georg Hoefnagel, the Flemish artist whose views of Spanish and other European cities circulated widely throughout Europe in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenburg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the first volume of which—three were eventually published—appeared in 1572. Hoefnagel was an excellent draftsman; artistically, his townscapes were among the finest produced in sixteenth-century Europe. He also took pride in the fact that he rendered his views *ad vivum*, a designation meant to suggest they were based on first-hand observation and therefore topographically correct.[20]

Despite these boasts few of Hoefnagel's Spanish views—all dating from the 1560s—offered a "true likeness" of the towns they purported to represent. They were not "descriptions," in the Ptolemaic sense, or even "portraits" in the sense of faithful representations of what Hoefnagel had seen, but rather "constructions" designed to convey the impression of exactitude and precision.[21] Hoefnagel also adopted a compositional scheme

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that generally subordinated the representation of *urbs* to the particularities of daily life. Accordingly, he generally relegated the city to the background of his compositions, where it appeared more often than not as an indistinguishable blur of rooftops, interrupted only occasionally by a church tower or some other identifiable (and accurately rendered) monument. In contrast, the foreground featured fanciful genre scenes illustrating some of the more unusual features of Spanish life. What was pictured here varied, but on the whole these genre scenes reflected Hoefnagel's attempt to make his views interesting for the readers of the *Civitates*, most of whom, presumably, lived in northern Europe.[22] These scenes were especially prominent in his views of Andulusia, in southern Spain. There he had an eye for typically Mediterranean commercial activities such as the *almadraba* or tuna fishery near Cadiz, or the impressively large storage jars (*tinajas*) in which the peasants of Antequera stored olive oil and wine—two staples of Mediterranean life. He also had a particular interest in the *moriscos*, remnants of Spain's Muslim population who, especially for an artist from northern Europe, must have been both strange and exotic. Hoefnagel was also on the lookout for unusual, peculiarly Spanish social customs, notably the *juego de cañas*, a type of armed joust, that dominated the foreground of his view of Jérez de la Frontera. Similarly, his view of Seville placed the city in the distant background in order to accommodate a foreground that focused on the public shaming (*vergüenza*) of a horned and cuckolded husband being paraded on top of a burro (figure 3.4).

According to Lucia Nuti, these genre scenes reflected Hoefnagel's "merchant's eye"—he came from a family of Antwerp traders—and belonged to a tradition of fanciful traveler accounts that began with Marco Polo.[23] More spe-

cifically, Hoefnagel's interest in Spanish folklore owed much to Christoph Weiditz, the Augsburg engraver whose *Trachtenbuch* (Costume book), compiled during the course of a visit to Spain begun in 1529, recorded both the costumes and customs of the Spanish peasantry.[24] Hoefnagel's interest in the social and cultural rather than strictly urban aspects of Spanish life also belonged to sixteenth-century Europe's "curiosity movement," a concern for any unusual social and natural phenomena. Occasioned in large part by the "discovery" of America, the movement was subsequently demonstrated in the formation of *cabinets des curiosités* as well as in Hoefnagel's own fascination with the diversity of species, bugs and insects included, inhabiting the natural world.[25] But whatever the precise inspiration of Hoefnagel's folkloric concerns, the genre scenes dominating the foreground of his townscapes suggest that the more unusual and exotic features of Iberian life interested him far more than the careful "description" of cities and towns.

For a somewhat less imaginative and definitely more chorographic portrait of urban Spain, it is necessary to turn to the work of Anton van den Wyngaerde (d. 1571), a Flemish artist who specialized in townscapes and urban views. "Of all the pleasures offered by the delightful and ingenious art of painting," he once wrote, "there is none I appreciate more than the representation of places."[26] Unlike Hoefnagel, Van den Wyngaerde was interested in the city as city, a predilection reflected in the series of drawings he prepared for Philip II, starting in 1561.

The circumstances surrounding this important commission and its relation to the Spanish monarch's other geographical projects have been examined elsewhere.[27] Yet it should be noted that the commission, in addition to whatever it says about Van den Wyngaerde's artistic merits,
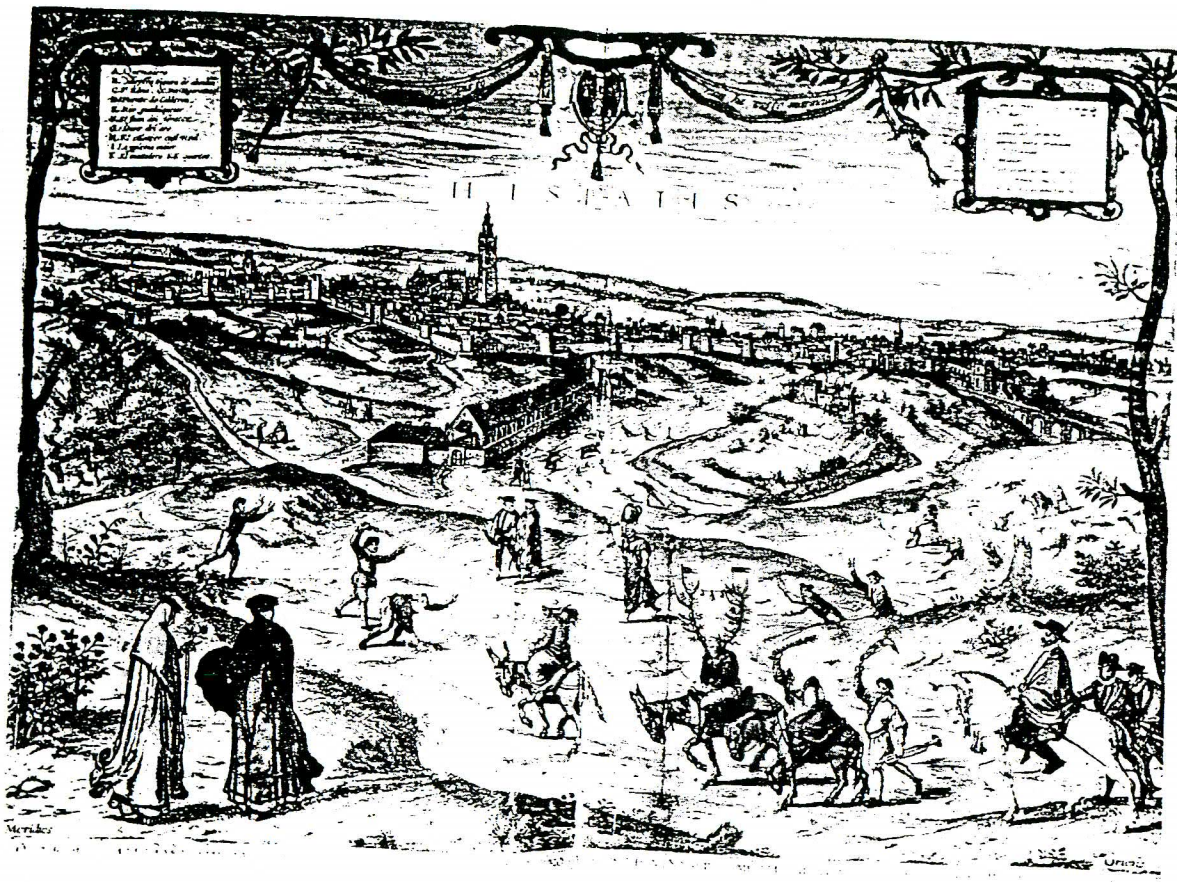
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FIGURE 3.4. Georg Hoefnagel. View of Seville. Originally published in Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572)

FIGURE 3.5. Anton van den Wyngaerde. View of Valencia. 1563. Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

reflects Flemish cartography's reputation for excellence in the mid-sixteenth century as well as the many cultural and scientific contacts that existed between Spain and the Low Countries during an era when the latter still formed part of the Spanish monarchy.[28] It is not surprising then that Philip looked to one of his Flemish subjects in order to obtain what one document specifically referred to as a "painted description" of Spain's principal cities and towns, evidently in the hope of publishing some sort of a city atlas pertaining

to his Iberian realms. For this purpose the king arranged to have Van den Wyngaerde's original drawings sent to Antwerp for engraving, but for reasons undoubtedly connected to the disturbances associated with the Dutch Revolt, begun in 1566, the project was never completed. In the meantime, Philip apparently used larger versions of these same drawings as wall decorations in his palaces, creating, in effect, a series of *camera delle citta* intended to demonstrate both the extent and magnificence of his Iberian realms.
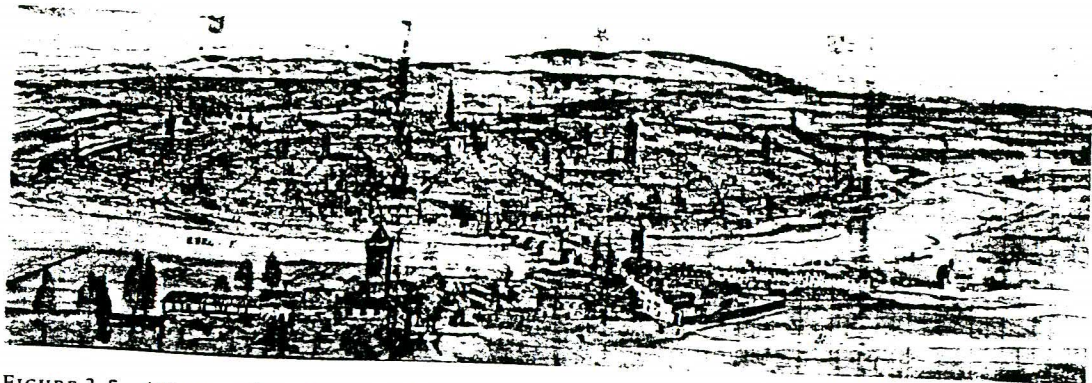
If judged strictly by his skills as a topographer, Van den Wyngaerde was practically without peer. In contrast to Hoefnagel, who generally demoted the city to the background of his compositions, Van den Wyngaerde placed the city closer to the forefront of his drawings and employed an oblique vantage point that allowed simultaneously for a glimpse of the street plan as well as the elevations of individual buildings. He also demonstrated his interest in the city by keeping the representation of genre scenes to an absolute minimum. In fact, many of the cities he represented appear almost depopulated, as if to reinforce his artistic interest in the city as *urbs*. Compared with the fanciful townscapes by Hoefnagel, Van den Wyngaerde's views lack life and vitality. On the other hand, they reflected his eye for architectural detail, a quality demonstrated in his preliminary site plans and sketches of individual buildings.

Yet for all their precision, Van den Wyngaerde's "painted descriptions" of Spain's cities were still not topographically accurate, that is, a "portrait" in the sixteenth-century sense of the term. In his view of Valencia, for example, he repositioned the city's cathedral for pictorial effect (figure 3.5), and generally he exaggerated the di-

mensions and height of churches and other religious monuments, probably to draw attention to Spain's cities as repositories of the faith, a distortion that his patron, a champion of Roman Catholicism, would have undoubtedly appreciated. Van den Wyngaerde's views also accorded emphasis to the so-called noble elements of city life: religious edifices, noble palaces, and important public buildings such as town halls, gateways, hospitals, and the like. His effort to ennoble Spain's cities also helps to explain Van den Wyngaerde's fascination with classical ruins and statues—these were generally interpreted as demonstrations of a city's grandeur and importance in times long past[29]—and also why he included in his compositions glimpses of the fields and orchards that surrounded Spain's cities together with carefully rendered images of ships, fishing boats, salt mounds, watermills, and so on. These and other motifs of urban economy not only conformed to the Aristotelian notion of the city as a self-sufficient community but also served as metaphors for the wealth and importance of the cities depicted.[30]

Van den Wyngaerde's concern with the "noble" meant that his vision of the Spanish city was idealized; crime, poverty, dirt and decay—

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these all too common but definitely ignoble aspects of sixteenth-century urban life had no place in his drawings, almost as if they had been scrupulously erased. In their place he highlighted those parts of the urban fabric that contributed to grandeur and magnificence, evidently with an eye toward producing a sanitized vision of the Spanish urbs that his patron, Philip II, could proudly put on display. In this respect, Van den Wyngaerde's views are best interpreted as a simulacrum of the Spanish monarchy; they constituted emblems of the king's power, insignia of Philip's *majestad*.

Van den Wyngaerde's views are also important to the extent that his emphasis on "description" established a model followed by other itinerants and travelers, artists and cartographers alike. Most late sixteenth-century views of Spanish cities were single sheet engravings of individual cities (Seville and Toledo were the places foreign artists seemed to prefer), and the only series were the views of the towns of the Canary Islands by Leonardo Torriani (1559–1628), an Italian military engineer in Philip II's service, and the small, pen-and-ink sketches by Didacus or Diego de Cuelbis, a German traveler who visited Spain around 1600.[31]

Of these, Torriani's, consisting mostly of ground plans, are by far the most interesting. Executed between 1587 and 1592, they formed part of Torriani's *Descrittione e historia del regno de l'isole canarie*, an atlas which, in accordance with the sixteenth-century definition of "description" as an accurate or realistic portrait of a particular place, was intended to provide King Philip with a detailed account of the islands' unusual history and geography. In addition, the *Descrittione* offered Philip a blueprint for strengthening the islands' defenses—Francis Drake had raided the Canaries in October 1585.[32]

In keeping with these aims, the twenty-odd watercolor plans contained in this album—all comparable to the ground plan of Las Palmas (figure 3.6)—displayed Torriani's considerable knowledge of surveying techniques along with an economy of style that eschewed both allegory and extraneous ornamentation. The scientific and strategic goals of the *Descrittione* were also reflected in the attention paid to the city's topography, the layout of individual streets, and the disposition of principal monuments. A regular, predetermined plan even decided the color scheme: rooftops were depicted in red; squares and thoroughfares in white; the surrounding countryside in brown. Yellow was reserved for proposed defensive structures—in the case of Las Palmas, a semicircular wall, several defensive towers, and a citadel. Compared to the "ennobling" cityscapes of Van den Wyngaerde, Torriani's were positively utilitarian. In essence, they were the work of a military cartographer determined to apply, as systematically as possible, the latest techniques of his profession to the representation of the Spanish urbs.[33]

Torriani's *Descrittione* represented but one of many special-purpose city views commissioned by the Spanish Council of War. Executed for various strategic reasons, these views were tantamount to state secrets, squirreled away in state archive and ordinarily kept hidden from public view. As a result, they were mostly workaday drawings offering a minimum of superfluous embellishment, let alone the elaborate color scheme that Torriani had employed. In this respect they resembled Holanda's sketch of San Sebastián with the exception that, from the midsixteenth century on, most were ground plans employing an orthogonal as opposed to oblique or equestrian perspective. As such they were primarily the work of skilled architects and military engineers, as relatively few artists p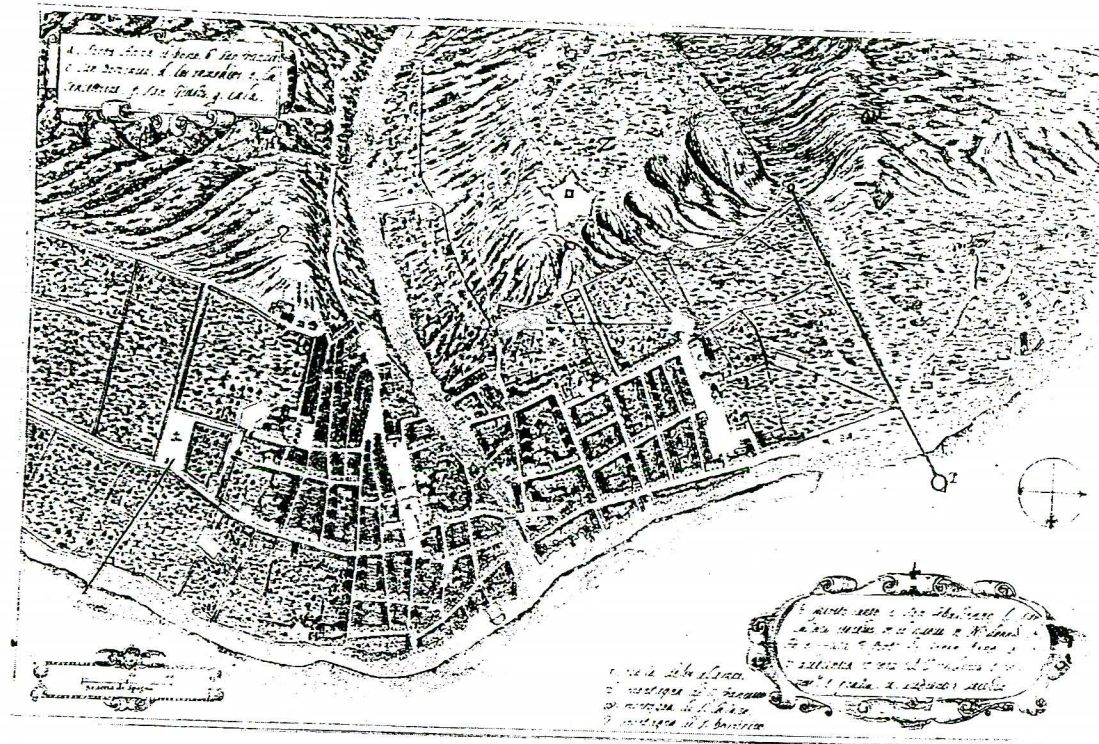ossessed the mathematical and surveying skills needed to prepare a detailed, accurately measured *planta* or ground plan. Such plans were pure artifice, as they depicted a city as it could not otherwise be seen. Nevertheless, they fulfilled the general precepts of chorography by offering a "true likeness" of a particular town, generally with emphasis on the city's defenses.

The first large Spanish city to have such a plan was Valencia. In 1608 that city's viceroy, the marquis of Caracena, commissioned Antonio Manceli, an Italian cartographer then resident in Valencia, to produce a ground plan that indicated not only the disposition of Valencia's streets but also highlighted the location of its principal monuments as well (figure 3.7).[34] Manceli executed his plan with the steely, measured precision of a

FIGURE 3.6. Leonardo Torriani. Plan of Las Palmas, Canary Islands. c. 1593

military engineer, employing surveying techniques that were already common in sixteenth-century Italy but only beginning to find their way into Iberia. Nevertheless, this *planta* was the harbinger of things to come. Increasingly, city views that aimed at description would be done, to quote Johannes Kepler, "non tanquam pictor, sed mathematicus" (not in the manner of a painter but in that of a mathematician or scientist).[35]

On completing his work in Valencia, Manceli headed for Madrid where, in 1622, he completed a ground plan of the *villa y corte*, the town's first. This plan, known commonly as the De Witt plan, anticipated the monumental *topographia* of Madrid completed by the Portuguese cartographer
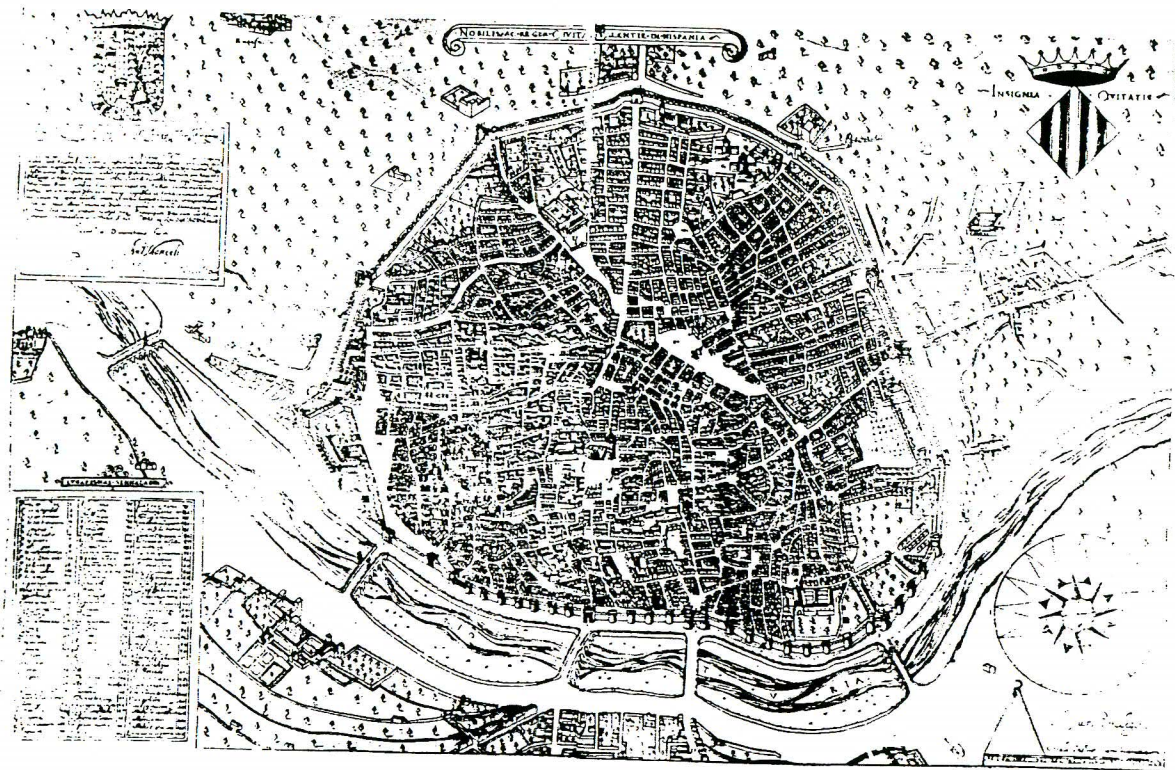
FIGURE 3.7. Antonio Manceli. Ground Plan of Valencia. 1608. Private Collection, Valencia, Spain.

FIGURE 3.8. Pedro Teixeira. *Topographia* of Madrid. 1656

Pedro Teixeira and published in Antwerp in 1656 (figure 3.8).[16] Technically, the *topographia* did not offer a true orthogonal plan of Madrid as Teixeira included within it building elevations and other details that could not be seen from a ninety-degree perspective. Nor was it wholly topographically accurate. Teixeira claimed that he executed the plan "True to life, so that one can count the doors and windows of each [building]," yet he exaggerated the dimensions of certain buildings, especially those connected with the Buen Retiro, Philip IV's new palace, in order to glorify the monarch to whom the map was dedicated. Royal symbolism was also evident in the inscription, "Mantua Carpe[n]tanorvm sive Matritvm Urbs

Regia" (Mantua of the Carpentana, or Madrid, Royal City), the Habsburg shield, and the pedestal surrounded by the spoils of war evidently intended to emphasize Philip's military power and strength. Similarly, the pedestal's inscription—Philippo IV / Regi Catholico / Forti et Pio / Urbem hanc suam / et in ea orbis sibi subiecti / compendium / exhibet MDCIII [sic] (This [map] displays to Philip IV, Catholic Monarch, Strong and Pious, this, his city, and summation of the world subject to him)—emphasized Madrid as the capital of Philip's global monarchy. For all of its apparent precision, therefore—or, as Teixeira expressed it, its being "drawn *al natural*"—the *topographia* offered a symbolically charged view
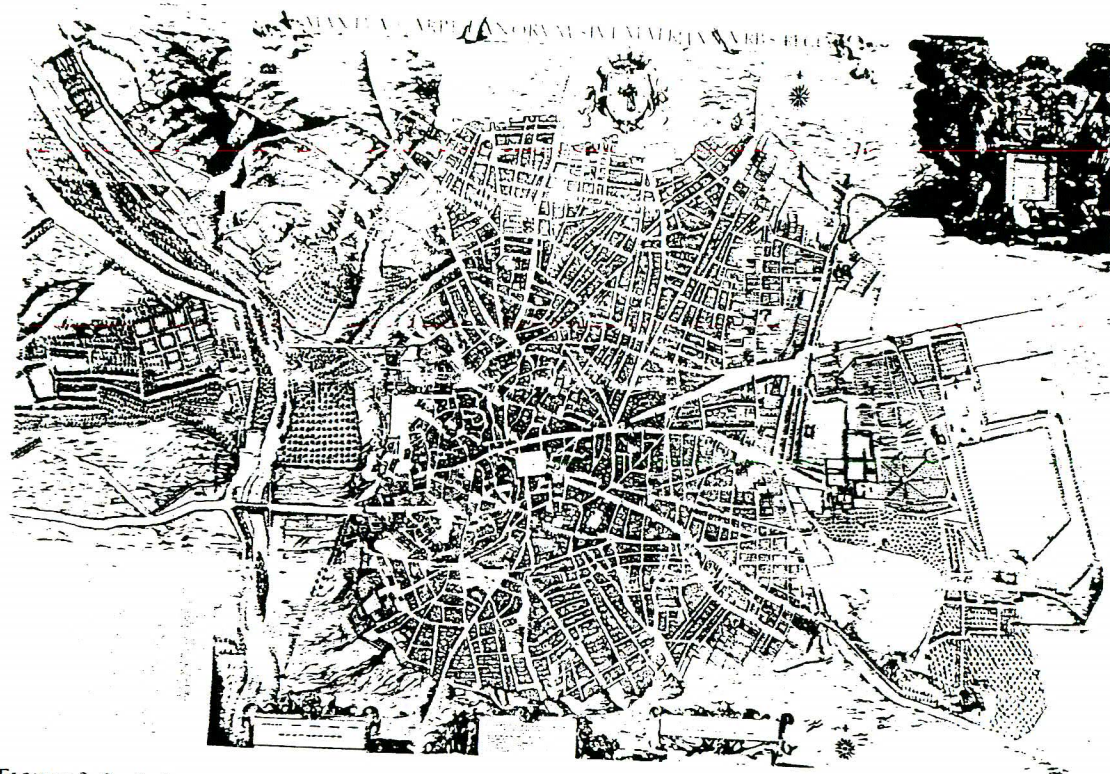
that highlighted Madrid's connection to the crown. In this respect the *topographia* emulated the "monarchocentric" map view of Paris done by Bénédit de Vassalieu (dit Nicolay) for Henry IV in 1609.[17]

Despite the increasing tendency in the seventeenth century for chorographic views to utilize advanced mapping and surveying techniques, the "description" of cities did not necessarily require, as Kepler had expressed it, a *mathematicus*.[18] City views, as Vermeer's *View of Delft* readily suggests, remained within the artist's domain. In Spain, one such descriptive view is the pen-and-ink drawing of the Cantabrian port of Santander attributed to the Dutch artist Bona-

ventura Peeters. In this instance the artist, apparently working without the help of instruments, offered an impressionistic yet topographically accurate view of the city as seen from a vantage point at sea (figure 3.9).[39] Much the same is true of the cityscapes of Pier Massimi Baldi, the Italian artist who executed profile views of more than thirty Spanish cities as he accompanied Cosimo de' Medici on his visit to Spain and Portugal in 1668.[40] These views suggest that a "true likeness" of a city did not necessarily always take the form of a map.

This particular emphasis is important for understanding the *View of Zaragoza* (1647) by the court artist, Juan Bautista Martínez de Mazo
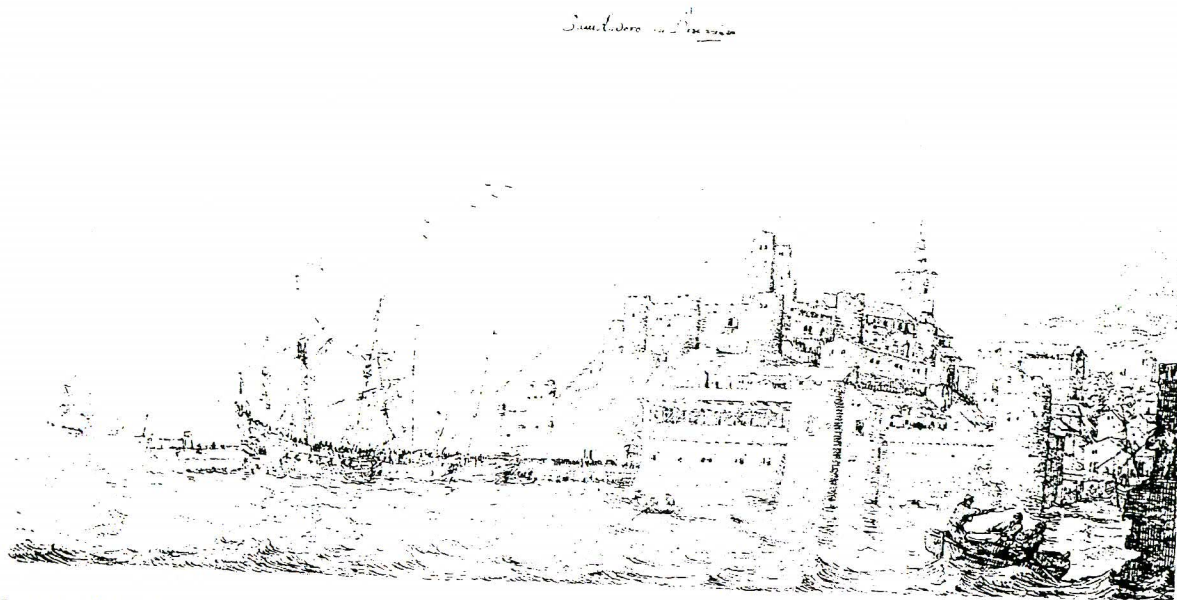
FIGURE 3.9. Bonaventura Peeters. View of Santander. Seventeenth century. Scheepsvaart Museum, Amsterdam.

FIGURE 3.10. Juan Bautista Martínez de Mazo. *View of Zaragoza.* 1647. Prado Museum.

(figure 3.10).[41] Mazo, Diego de Velázquez's son-in-law, accompanied King Philip IV and his son, Prince Baltasar Carlos, on a journey to Zaragoza, capital of Aragon, in 1646. The prince became ill and soon died, and it was possibly to commemorate this sad occasion that the monarch commissioned Mazo to paint a view of the city. The painting subsequently entered the royal collection and won praise for its "precision" (*puntualidad*) from Antonio Palomino, a late seventeenth-century critic and historian of Spanish art.[42] Palomino's term applies perfectly to Mazo's sweeping view of Zaragoza, at the center of which is a startlingly frank and realistic depiction of the ruins of the city's principal bridge across the Ebro, which had been destroyed during a flood in 1643. Absent is the sense of grandeur and nobility that Van den Wyngaerde had imparted to this city in his view of Zaragoza, eighty

years earlier.[43] The image is rather that of a city in decay, almost as if Mazo purposely set out to produce a portrait of Zaragoza which, however somber and stately its mood, still qualified as "description."

COMMUNICENTRIC VIEWS

If THE DESCRIPTION of *urbs* represented the primary aim of chorographic views, "communicentric" views were more interested in representing *civitas*, the other facet of Isidore's definition of city. It follows that these views, many of which never moved much beyond the community that they were originally intended to represent, offered a different image of the city than those prepared for "descriptive" purposes.[44]

Although there are several medieval views of Spanish cities that fall within the category of communicentric view, an excellent sixteenth-
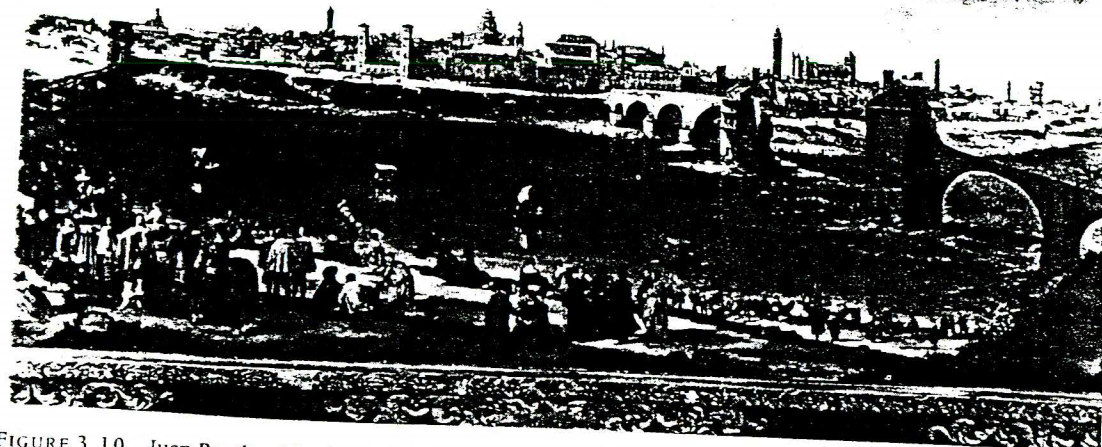
century example is the representation of Orihuela included as a full-page illustration in a manuscript, dated 1578, listing the city's fiscal and juridical privileges (figure 3.11).[45] In the illustration, a city of exaggerated and imaginary proportions looms up in the distance where it serves as backdrop for a battle—evidently, Orihuela's resistance to a lengthy siege ordered by Pedro I of Castile in 1364—raging below. Although the view contains some identifiable monuments, notably the medieval castle and the collegiate church of San Salvador, it is primarily a *typus* or conventionalized portrait incorporating stock elements of an urban landscape: walls, gates, densely packed houses, and so on. As noted above, such conventional images were relatively commonplace in the early sixteenth century, but in this instance they suggest that the artist was less interested in "describing" Orihuela

than in illustrating the lengths to which its citizens went to defend their communal privileges under the watchful eye of their heavenly advocates, Saints Justa and Rufina. In other words, what seems to define Orihuela as Orihuela in this image is not the city's physical properties but rather the memory of the battle in which *oriolanos* defended the laws and privileges that made their city unique.

Messages of a similar kind pervade most other communicentic views, among them the *retrato* or portrait of Burriana—one of several similar views—included in Martín de Viciana's history of the kingdom of Valencia, first published in 1563 (figure 3.12). The style is awkward, even naive; nevertheless this "portrait," evidently the work of Viciana, a native of Burriana, attempts to particularize this conventionalized view by highlighting those monuments that were particularly

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FIGURE 3.11. Anonymous. View of Orihuela. 1578? Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Codices, 1368b.

De la villa de Burriana.

FIGURE 3.12. Martin de Viciana? View of Burriana. 1563.

FIGURE 3.13. Luis de Toro? View of Toro. 1573. Ms., University of Salamanca.

valued by local inhabitants. These included the town's encircling walls and moat; the gate through which Jaime IV, the monarch responsible for Burriana's reconquest from the Moors, first entered the town; the parish church, described in the accompanying text as "a very large and beautiful temple;" and, *extramuros*, the hermitage of San Mateo, "a house of much devotion and well-frequented by devout Christians." In other words, Viciana's portrait offered less of a "true likeness" of Burriana than an image meant to provide the book's readers (most of whom were Valencians) with a view focusing on those monuments that commemorated the community's history and its faith.

The view included in Luis de Toro's "Description of the City and Bishopric of Plasencia" (1573) served similar ends, albeit with a measure of topographical precision approximating that of

some chorographic views. Toro, a physician, prepared this manuscript volume to provide Plasencia's bishop-elect with advance information about his new diocese, and did so in the inflated language of a tourist guide. Accompanying his "description" was a map portraying the diocese as the heavens in miniature: a series of concentric circles in which the city of Plasencia occupied the symbolic center. The accompanying view of the city of Plasencia was similarly tailored for maximum pictorial and symbolic effect (figure 3.13). Adopting a panoramic format similar to that utilized by Hoefnagel and Van den Wyngaerde, Toro—who was presumably the author of the view—not only made the city appear much more extensive than it actually was but also wildly exaggerated the size of the city's cathedral, ostensibly to impress the new prelate
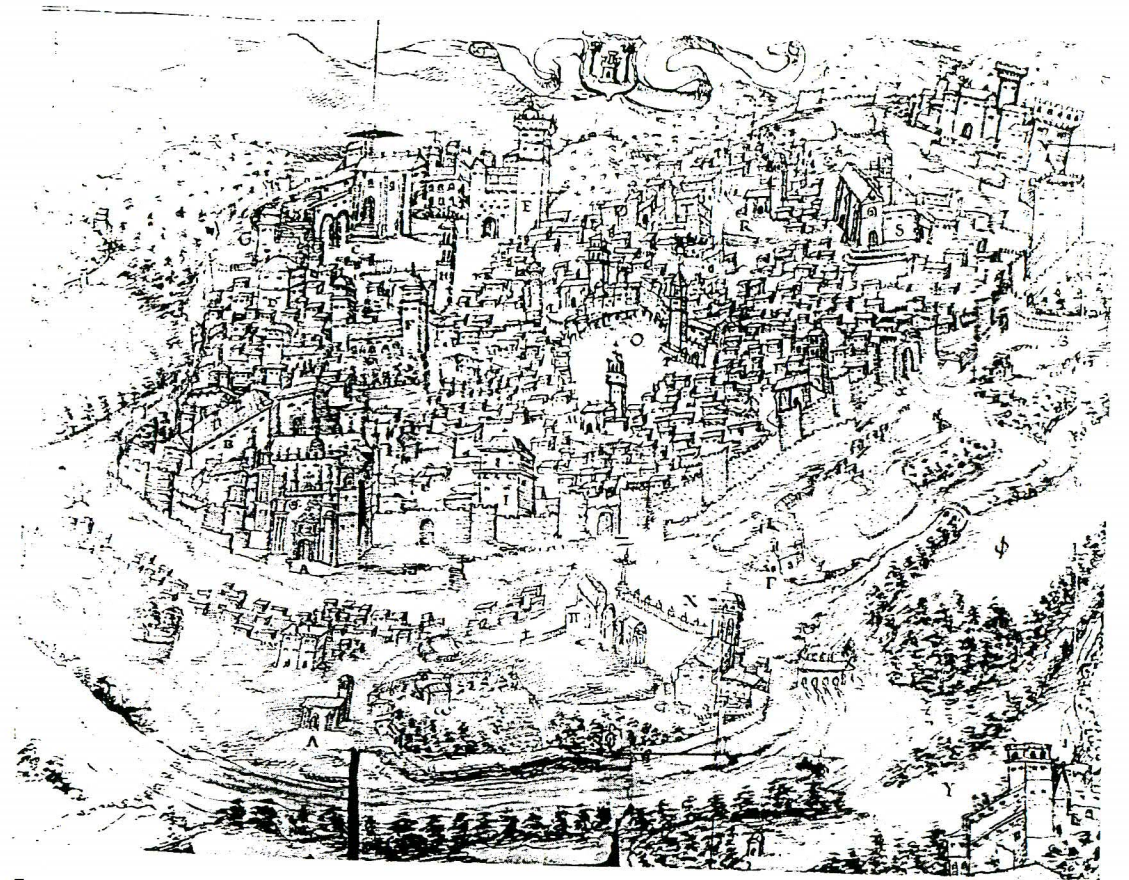
with its grandeur and magnificence and in so doing to honor the community to which he belonged.

Self-promotion of this sort is characteristic of most other communicentric views, although relatively few of these images, in the sixteenth century at least, adopted the panoramic format utilized by Toro. In this respect Spain differed from Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries, where the demand for panoramic cityscapes seems to have been increasing steadily. In contrast, Spanish city dwellers generally

made do with images that represented their cities in other ways, generally by means of a shorthand technique in which a single structure—a signature building—served as the emblem or icon of the city as a whole. This particular method is evident in the frontispiece in an incunabular edition of Eiximenis's *Regiment de la cosa publica* published in Valencia before 1500 (figure 3.14). In this woodcut, the Puerta de Serranos, Valencia's principal gateway and the site where criminals were customarily punished, symbolized Valencia's *res publica*, the physical embodiment of its

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FIGURE 3.14. Anonymous. Puerta de Serranos. Woodcut originally published in Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de la cosa publica* (Valencia, c. 1490)

ayuntamiento or civic government.[50] Valencia's other signature building, the Miquelet, the late fourteenth-century campanile which dominated the city's skyline, served a similar purpose, especially for artists inclined to represent the city in spiritual terms.

Other structures used to identify individual Spanish cities included Segovia's Roman aqueduct, or *puente*, and Seville's Giralda, the late twelfth-century minaret that was subsequently transformed into the cathedral's bell tower. A Giralda of exaggerated proportions figured prominently in most sixteenth-century choro-

graphic views of Seville, notably in those by Hoefnagel, who additionally provided readers of the *Civitates* a cutaway image of this important structure.[51] An outsized and divinely illuminated Giralda also dominated the anonymous late sixteenth-century view of Seville as seen from Triana (currently housed in Madrid's Museo de América).

Meanwhile, Sevillian view makers, customarily eschewing the panoramic format preferred by visiting artists, fixed on the Giralda as an icon of the city, generally depicting it in isolation as if no other structure was necessary to conjure up a mental image of Seville as a whole.[52] The tower's frequent representation in various media, including sculpture, ceramics, and painting, further attested to the tower's iconic function (figure 3.15). Thus, in the same way that the Parthenon came to symbolize Athens, the Coloseum Rome, and the Eiffel Tower Paris, the Giralda became Seville.

More specifically, the Giralda carried with it certain religious connotations that in effect accorded Seville a special relationship with God. The tower's spiritual significance dated from at least 1396 when it was reported that Saints Justa and Rufina had appeared miraculously during a violent windstorm in order to protect the Giralda from harm.[53] The figure of Faith, known popularly as the Giraldillo, set atop the tower in 1568 further enhanced the Giralda's architectural prominence within Seville, but it also embodied the idea of Christianity's triumph over Islam. The Giralda thus represented Seville's particular contribution to the Faith Militant and linked the city to one of the central elements of the Counter Reformation Church.

Metaphorically, therefore, the Giralda transformed Seville into *civitas dei*, a heavenly city dedicated to the service of God. This in fact was

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FIGURE 3.15. Anonymous. Ceramic tile with the Giralda with Saints Rufina and Justina. Sixteenth century.

precisely the image of the city that the prominent Sevillian painter Francisco Pacheco (1564–1654) attempted to convey when he used Seville as a backdrop for various representations of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (figure 3.16 and 3.16a). The attributes of the *Inmaculada* are both many and complex, but they generally include the Tower of David and the Heavenly City.[54] In Pacheco's painting the Giralda became this sacred tower, and Seville the equivalent of the City of God, a theme that repeated itself in a later rendition of this same subject by Francisco

de Zurbarán (1598–1664) that was apparently intended to be hung in Seville's town hall.[55] Although Seville is clearly recognizable in these paintings, the emphasis was less on the city as *urbs* than as *civitas*, in this case a *civitas cristiana*, a Christian community wholly devoted to the doctrine of Mary's immaculate birth, another Counter Reformation ideal.

Christian iconography of a similar kind infused most other seventeenth-century communicentric views of Spanish cities. This designation certainly applies to El Greco's early seventeenth-century *View of Toledo* (Metropolitan Museum of Art), a painting that blatantly sacrificed topographical accuracy in order to highlight the city's role as Spain's spiritual capital (figure 3.17). In this case, the artist, a longtime resident of Toledo, deliberately moved the cathedral from its actual location to the center of his composition, where it stands atop a high promontory overlooking the valley of the Tagus River. El Greco also distorted Toledo's urban landscape by including at the left of the painting what appears to be a monastery sitting on top of a cloud. This is apparently a reference to Agaliense monastery, a building that had disappeared by the seventeenth century but one whose precise location local clerics debated because of its association with Saint Ildefonso, the seventh-century Toledan bishop known for his treatise propounding the doctrine of the Virgin's immaculate conception.[56]

El Greco, however, was not the only artist willing to alter topographical realities in order to convey certain religious or spiritual messages. Much the same can be said about Diego de Astor, a well-known engraver whose image of Santiago de Compostela originally appeared in Mauro Castello's *Historia del Apostol Santiago*, published in 1614. This book was a lengthy defense of Saint James's arrival, preaching, and subsequent burial

FIGURE 3.16. Francisco Pacheco. *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception.* Seville.

in the city then called Iria Flabia,[57] and Astor's engraving represented it as a perfect square: a New Jerusalem built according to Roman principles of urban design and set in the middle of a landscape studded with holy sites associated with the apostle.

Ambrosio de Vico's remarkable *plantaforma* of Granada, executed in 1612, represents yet another and even more ambitious attempt to create an idealized Christian city. Vico was an architect of Italian origin who settled in Granada in 1575
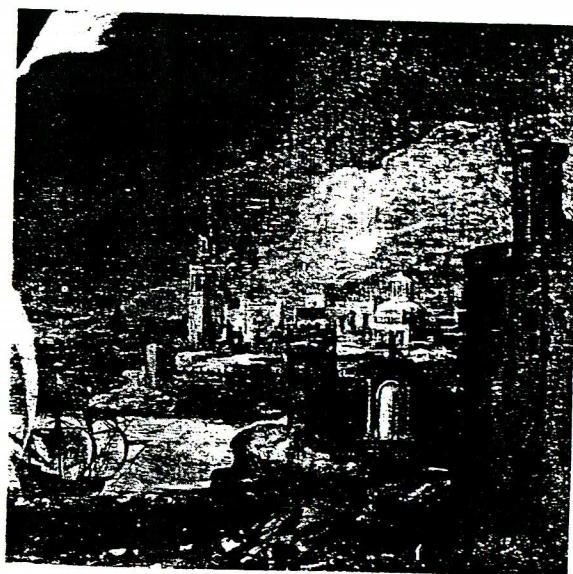
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FIGURE 3.16a. Detail from figure 3.16 (showing Torre de Oro, Giralda, etc.)

and subsequently intervened in various architectural projects initiated in the 1580s by Pedro de Castro, the city's archbishop.[58] It was Castro in fact who commissioned the *plantaforma* as part of a carefully orchestrated effort to enhance Granada's image as a city of Christian heritage and design. Toward this end Castro and subsequent Granada archbishops organized an elaborate propaganda campaign designed to prove the authenticity of the *plomos de Sacramonte,* a series of lead boxes containing parchments miraculously "discovered" in 1595 and which purportedly shed light on Granada's conversion to Christianity in the first century A.D. Castro also commissioned several new ecclesiastical histories of the city that studiously ignored eight centuries of Muslim rule in order to glorify Granada's Christian heritage.[59]

The *plantaforma* constituted yet another facet of this larger project. But what appears to be a
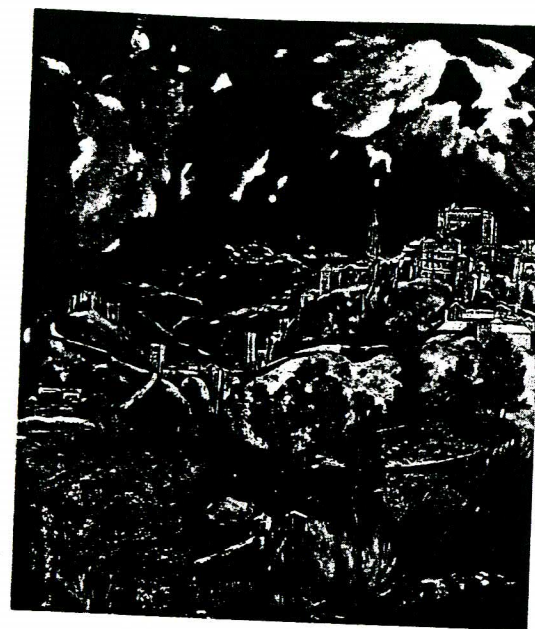
FIGURE 3.17. El Greco. *View of Toledo.* C. 1610. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

topographically accurate ground plan of the city is actually little more than an idealized projection of what a fully Christianized Granada might have been like (figure 3.18). Urban reforms executed since 1492 by Granada's archbishops, Castro among them, had resulted in the new cathedral and several open plazas of Renaissance design, but much of the city's Muslim fabric—a maze of narrow, twisting streets and cul de sacs—remained untouched, particularly in the northeastern section of the city known as Albaicín.[60] Yet in Vico's ground plan the streets of this particular quarter are straightened and cul de sacs replaced by squares in an effort to portray Granada as a city of modern, that is to say, Christian design.[61] In other words, what the *plantaforma* depicted was the city of Castro's dreams. Vico transformed Granada's Muslim *urbs* into a *civitas cristiana* just

as El Greco had converted Toledo into a spiritual powerhouse, a city radiating a special kind of religious power.

In the seventeenth century, the concept of the city as a spiritual community was practically synonymous with the image that most of Spain's cities sought to project. It pervaded, for example, the many city histories published during this era. As elsewhere in Europe, these histories were often little more than antiquarian panegyrics, intended principally to enhance a city's nobility by calling attention to its remote origins, its importance in classical times, its early charters and other privileges. Centuries of Muslim domination, however, often made this quest for nobility elusive. Consequently, many local historians, attempting to erase from the historical record all traces of Muslim influence, emphasized their city's long Christian heritage by portraying it as a crucible of Catholicism, mother of martyrs and saints, and staunch defender of the faith. This particular effort to recover a city's Christian heritage can be partly explained by the fact that the authors of these histories tended to be clerics with a vested interest in religious history, but even secular authors were apt to conceive of their city as a *ciudad de Dios.*[62] The idea of cloaking the city in spiritual garb can also be connected to the desire of the Habsburg monarchy to portray itself as the champion of Roman Catholicism as well as to the widely held belief that Spaniards were divinely ordained to nurture and to protect the True Church. Municipal chroniclers were eager to prove that their community played an important part in this divine mission and consequently constructed a history compatible with the notion of both early and eternal adherence to the Catholic faith. Meanwhile, local historians borrowed heavily—and often uncritically—from the notorious "false" chronicles of Flavius Dextro and Luitprando, two alleged eyewitnesses to

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FIGURE 3.18. Ambrosio de Vico. *Plantaforma* of Granada. Late sixteenth century.

Spain's early Christian history, in order to document such momentous "historical" events as the arrival of James the Apostle in their city as well as to recover the names of their first bishops, their earliest martyrs, and other holy figures.[63] This desire to construct and, if necessary, to fabricate a fully Christian history also led scholars to elaborate their city's contributions to the success of the reconquest, the monarchy's efforts to defeat Protestantism, and the church's struggle to impose Christianity on the inhabitants of the New World. So pervasive, in fact, was this sacred or spiritual conception of urban history that other ways of structuring and thus ennobling a

city's past, by examining its architectural heritage, for example, or by tracing the history of its laws and governing institutions, attracted only minimal attention on the part of local historians.[64]

A spiritual orientation of a related kind infused most seventeenth-century views of Spanish cities, the majority of which were executed for devotional purposes and then in conjunction with the worship of particular saints of local importance. Cuenca, a city in La Mancha, is a case in point. With one exception—a painting, now lost, documenting the celebrations that city staged in honor of Philip IV in 1642—the only

FIGURE 3.19. Eugenio Cajes. *Saint Julian of Cuenca.* C. 1630. Pollok House, Glasgow.

FIGURE 3.20. Anonymous. *Virgin of the Mercé with View of Barcelona* C. 1650. (Destroyed)

seventeenth-century views of Cuenca are those included in the background of paintings devoted to the life of Saint Julián, the city's patron saint.[65] Of particular interest in this regard is Eugenio Cajes's *Saint Julian of Cuenca* (Pollok House, Glasgow) (figure 3.19), a portrait that includes a glimpse of the impressive stone bridge that spanned the Huécar River and which then served as Cuenca's signature building.[66]

City views appended to various paintings devoted to the Virgin Mary served similar devotional purposes. In Barcelona, for example, as in Seville, chorographic views of the city were pri-

marily the work of foreign artists; views by local artists tended to emphasize the city as a spiritual community or *civitas dei.* One such view appeared in a painting, formerly in the Church of the Mercé (and destroyed during the Spanish Civil War), in which Barcelona's municipal counselors, the elected representatives of its *civitas,* kneel before a Madonna, evidently to thank her for having helped the city during a recent plague. Beneath these figures the artist inserted a view of Barcelona as seen from the heights of Montjuic (figure 3.20). In this votive painting, however, the view of Barcelona's *urbs,* for all of its appar-
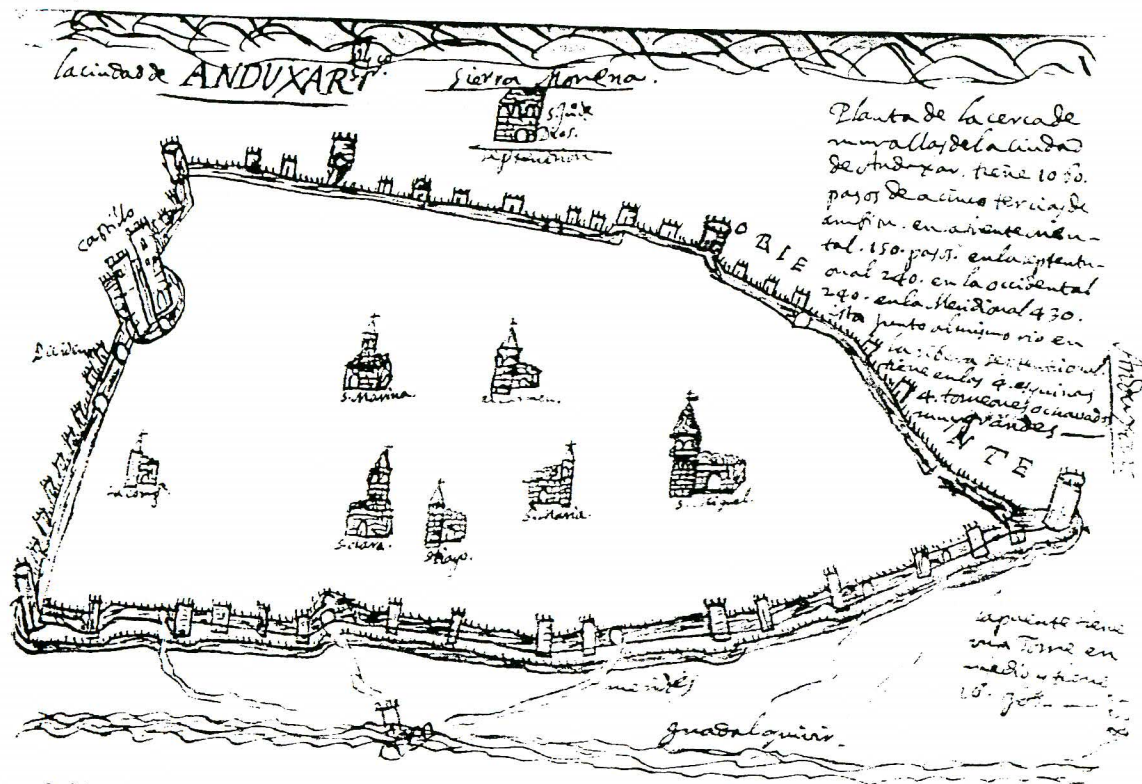
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FIGURE 3.21. Anonymous. Plan of Andújar. C. 1630. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

ent concern with "description," served principally as a metaphor for its *civitas* and to underscore the citizenry's devotion to Mary herself.[67]

The theme of the city as a spiritual community united by faith is in fact common to most seventeenth-century Spanish city views. It appears, for example, in a drawing of the Andalusian town of Andújar included in a manuscript history of the diocese of Jaen dating from around 1640 (figure 3.21). As the map of the diocese included in the history suggests, the clergyman responsible for the view evidently had some cartographical training and was therefore capable of representing Andújar from an elevated, oblique perspective. Yet the view was highly selective. It

emphasized the town's churches and encircling walls but made no reference to any secular buildings let alone the urban fabric itself. Voids such as this often appeared in ground plans intended for military purposes, which understandably emphasized fortresses, walls, and other defenses but often left the rest of the city a complete blank. In this instance, however, the void seems to have been connected to the chronicler's effort to represent Andújar as a holy community wholly committed to the defense of the church.[68]

A similar message pervades the images commissioned at the time of the fiestas held in Valladolid in 1656 in honor of that city's leading penitential confraternity, the Cofradía de la Vera
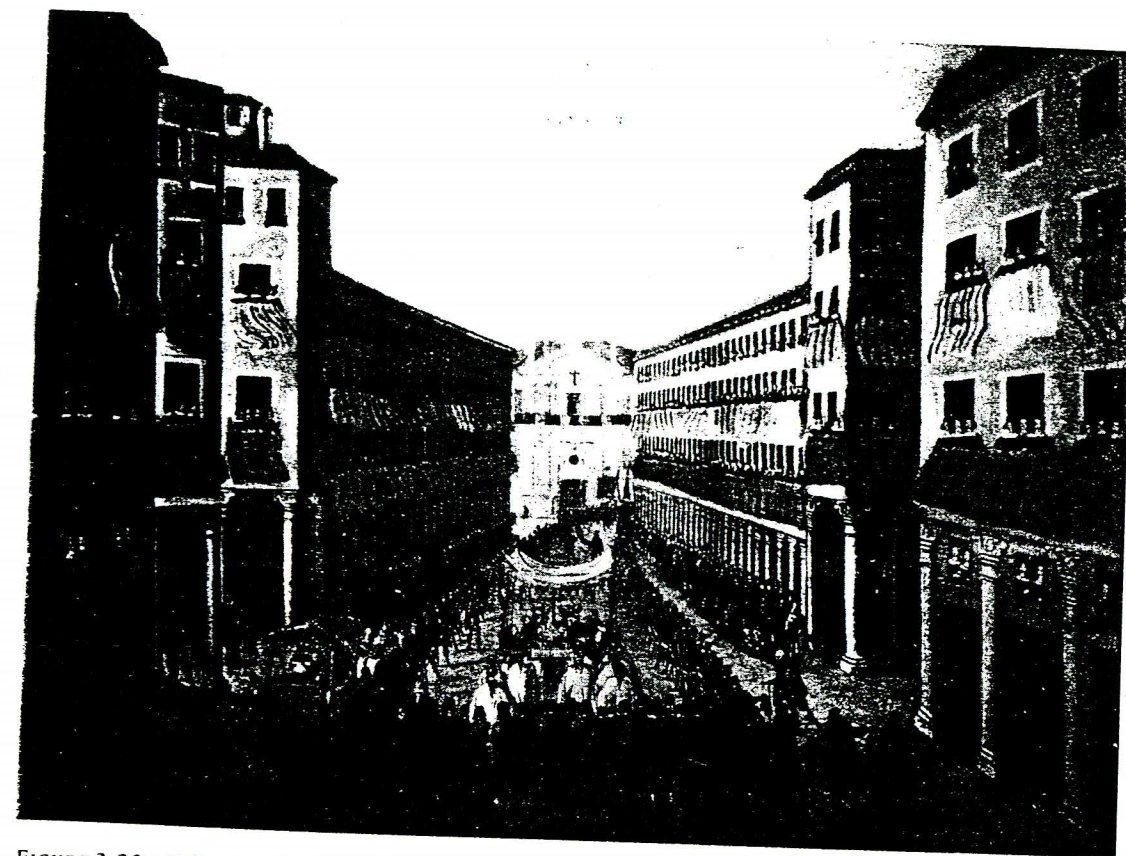
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FIGURE 3.22. Felipe Gil de Mena? Silverith's Street and Church of the Holy Cross, Valladolid. 1656. Private Collection, Madrid.

Cruz. These celebrations, spread over the course of four days and centered on a series of processions staged in and around Valladolid's main square, were a roaring success, evidently uniting much of the local populace in what was tantamount to a collective demonstration of faith, an auto-da-fé albeit one without heretics awaiting punishment. An artist, possibly Felipe Gil de Mena (1603–73), recorded the festivities in a series of four paintings, each devoted to a different day of the celebrations and depicting different parts of Valladolid's physical fabric—the

street of the Platería and the church of the Holy Cross appears in figure 3.22. Together, the paintings constitute an invaluable source for reconstructing the architecture of seventeenth-century Valladolid, but description of the city's *urbs* does not appear to have been the artist's main intent. Rather, he seemed more interested in capturing Valladolid at the moment during which its citizens, through their collective act of piety, had miraculously transformed themselves into a *civitas cristiana*, a city wholly united by faith.[69]

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of the reconquest and the triumph of Catholicism over Islam.

Other communicentric views were perhaps less single-mindedly religious than this. One interesting example is the view of Béjar, a late seventeenth-century painting commissioned by the town's lord, the duke of Béjar, and which is still in that family's possession. In this view *urbs* is depicted, with special prominence accorded to the ducal palace, the front of which, in the manner of Velázquez's *Venus and Cupid* (National Gallery of Art, London), may be seen reflected in a mirror (figure 3.24 and 3.24a). Yet this particular painting was not expressly intended to celebrate Béjar's physical grandeur. Rather, the artist, highlighting the bullfights and other festivities that marked the community's annual fiesta, seemed intent on emphasizing the beneficence of the duke's seigneurial rule. Other nobles may have commissioned paintings of a similar sort, but on the whole the preferred mode of representing towns and cities in seventeenth-century Spain was to portray the community as a repository of faith.

CONCLUSION

SUMMARIZED HERE then is a Spanish tradition of city views in which description, with its emphasis on topographical specificity—the city as *urbs*—was considerably less developed than that of representing the particular qualities that rendered each city and its inhabitants—the city as *civitas*—unique. This kind of moralized geography, as Jürgen Schulz has argued, was typical of most medieval city views and many of Renaissance origin as well.[71] By the mid-sixteenth century, however, this particular tradition was rapidly being replaced by chorographic views offering a more or less accurate "description" of a particular place.

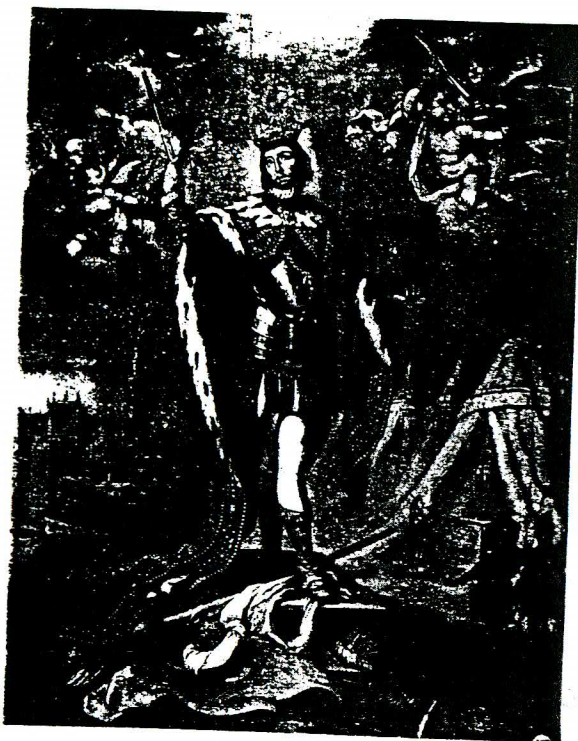The "art of describing," to borrow Svetlana

FIGURE 3.23. Anonymous. *Triumph of San Fernando.* 1672.

The beatification of Fernando III of Castile, the thirteenth-century monarch responsible for the conquest of much of Andalusia from the Moors, led to a similar series of images for Seville. In this case, news of Fernando's beatification arrived in Seville in 1671 and served as the catalyst for a series of commemorative engravings and paintings of the saint.[70] One of these, *El Triunfo de San Fernando* (figure 3.23) depicted the monarch receiving the keys of the city from its defeated Muslim rulers. The background offered a view of Seville, but the principal aim of the painting was to offer a symbolic representation
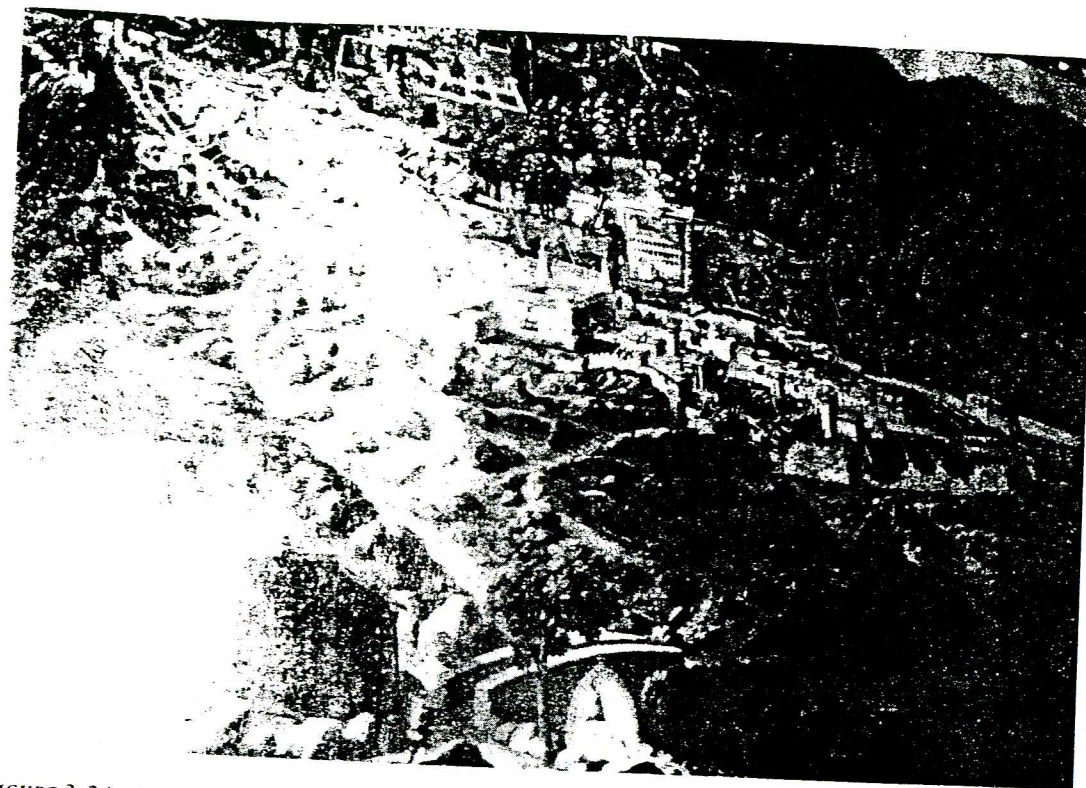
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FIGURE 3.24. Anonymous. *View of Béjar.* Late seventeenth century. Private Collection, Seville.

Alpers's trenchant phrase, first appeared in Spain in the guise of Anton van den Wyngaerde and was subsequently perpetuated by a series of foreign-born military engineers such as Torriani, Manceli, and Teixeira. The first Spaniard to adopt this particular style was possibly Antoni Garau, the mathematically trained cleric who executed a detailed, axonometric view of Palma de Mallorca in 1644, but Garau remained something of an exception (figure 3.25).[72] In most parts of the kingdom, description did not make much of an appearance before the start of the eighteenth century, and, even then, it required another half century or so until it became an important part of the Spanish tradition of city views.

What explains this delay? Did Spain lack the mathematical and surveying skills necessary to work in the new style? One scholar has recently argued that Spain's failure to develop a native school of terrestrial cartography meant that Spanish mapmaking after the mid-sixteenth century was almost totally dependent on the skills of other nations: at first the Portuguese, then the Italians, and, increasingly, the Flemish.[73] But there was never any lack of either native-born architects or engineers, most of whom, presumably, had the training required to produce either a detailed ground plan of a city or an urban panorama drawn to scale.[74]

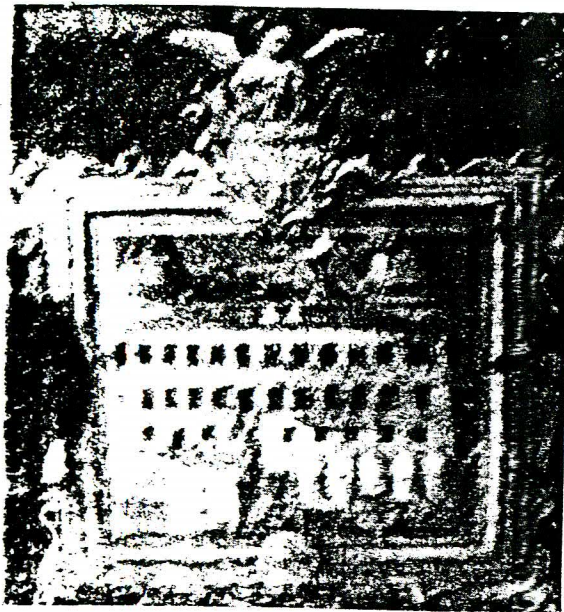In other words, the relative paucity of views

FIGURE 3.24a. Detail from figure 3.24 (with palace of the dukes of Béjar).

offering a "true likeness" of the Spanish city as *urbs* cannot—and indeed, should not—be attributed simply to a shortage of cartographic talent. It seems rather to have been a question of demand, possibly the result of indifference or lack of concern among civic and religious leaders, that is, those individuals who in other European cities were generally responsible for commissioning descriptive views and other images that celebrated the city as *urbs*. In seventeenth-century Spain, however, these same individuals—municipal councillors, local noblemen, bishops, and other prominent clergymen—seemingly disdained "description."[75] What they wanted instead was an idealized image—the city as imagined, rather than the city-as-seen, or, at the very least, a public image of their city that was consistent with the Christianized image of urban grandeur and perfection presented in the local histor-

ies that they themselves had helped to sponsor and produce.

In the end, there is something ironic about the Spanish tradition of city views. Seventeenth-century Spain is a culture known for the picaresque, a literary genre that can be interpreted as one of the most frank and realistic portraits of urban life ever written. Yet this same culture apparently expressed little interest in producing visual "descriptions" of the same cities in which Guzmán de Alfarache, El Buscón, and other well-known *pícaros* played most of their tricks. Having read such novels, where the city appeared as a New Babylon, brimming with crime and depravity of every sort, were Spain's civic and religious leaders reluctant to see themselves as they really were? Were they unwilling, so to speak, to look at themselves in the mirror, to confront economic and social realities which they might otherwise seek to avoid? The seventeenth century was not especially propitious or prosperous for most of these cities. The majority, in Castile as well as in Aragon, were experiencing a protracted period of demographic decline and economic decay from which there was little relief.

Under these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that local artists and draftsmen preferred to ignore present realities in order to depict their cities more imaginatively and in ways that evoked some larger spiritual reality or harked back to an earlier, more glamorous moment in their communities' history. As a result, the connection between locally produced images of cities and chorography remained tenuous. Chorographic views were generally "descriptions" seeking to convey a "true likeness" of a particular place. They focused on the city as *urbs*. Communicentric views did not necessarily blot out or distort a city's physical reality, but the urban image they proffered tended to be both

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FIGURE 3.25. Antoni Garau. *Plan of Mallorca.* 1644. Private Collection.

highly selective and metaphorically charged. In other words, *urbs* in these views served mainly as a screen; peering through it afforded a glimpse of the city's inner self, the city as *civitas*.

In conclusion, I want to make clear that these distinctions are not hard and fast. In other countries, and in other eras, the criteria that appear to separate the chorographic from the communicentric city view in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain may not exist. In the eighteenth century, for example, the widespread dissemination of the surveyor's art meant that

communicentric views looked deceptively like chorographic views, especially in terms of the cartographic techniques they employed. Functionally, however, the two ways of depicting cities remained quite distinct, both in terms of audience and design. Chorographic views, so many of which were incorporated in published atlases and other geographical compendia, were, like the illustrations in today's tourist brochures, intended primarily for a public living outside the place they depicted. In contrast, communicentric views served a home audience that was presum-

ably already endowed with a "public image" of their city or town. Their purpose was to foster and to strengthen ties of community as well as to offer that community ways of understanding the collective devotions and traditions that set their city apart from others. Such goals were always elusive, but in the cities of seventeenth-century Spain they saddled local artists and view makers, not to mention the local historians, with two seemingly impossible and often contradictory tasks. One was the conversion of decay into dignity. The other was to transform what visitors saw as cities of stone into what local inhabitants viewed as cities of God.

NOTES

Various drafts of this essay were read by James Amelang, Henry A. Millon, Orest Ranum, Marianna Shreve Simpson, and the members of "The Seminar" in the Department of History of the Johns Hopkins University. I am grateful for their comments and suggestions, both stylistic and substantive.

1. As translated in Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. William McCuaig (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 3. Isidore's definition of city follows that of Aristotle, *Politics*, 1.5–14, 3.9 as well as Saint Augustine, *City of God*, 15.8.

2. Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State and the Greatness of Cities*, ed. P. J. Whaley and D. P. Whaley (London, 1956).

3. *Partida* 7, *título* 33, *ley* 6 describes a town as "todo aquel lugar q es cercado de los muros, con los arrabales et los edificios q se tienen con ellos," whereas *Partida* 2, *título* 10, *ley* 1 reads: "Pueblo llama el ayuntamiento de todos los omes comunalmente, de los mayores e los medianos, e de los menores."

4. I refer here to Francesc Eiximenis, *Tractat de regiment de princips et comunitas* (Barcelona, 1904), the twelfth book of his great encyclopedia on Christian morality, *Lo Chrestiá*, and to Fray Juan García de Castrojérez, *Glosa castellana*, ed. Juan Beneyto Pérez (Madrid, 1947), which is actually a translation and gloss of Egidius Romanus, *De Regimine Principe*. For later writers, see Antonio Antelo Iglesias, "La ciudad ideal según Fray F. Eiximenis y Rodrigo Sánchez de Arevalo," *La ciudad hispánica* (Madrid, 1985), 1:19–50; Fray Alfonso de Castrillo,

-*Tratado de la Republica* (Burgos, 1521), 3v; Diego Pérez de Mesa, *Política y razón de estado* (1623), ed. L. Pereña y C. Baciero (Madrid, 1980), 11–19. For a broader discussion of the idea of the city in early modern Spain, see Santiago Quesada, *La idea de ciudad en la cultura hispana de la edad moderna* (Barcelona, 1992).

5. Dámaso de Frias, "Diálogo en alabanza de Valladolid," in N. Alonso Cortés, *Miscellánea vallisoletana* (Valladolid, 1955), 2:251. The original reads: "una congregación de muchas familias conformes en leyes y costumbres con fin de abundar en todas las cosas necesaria de vida."

6. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Barcelona, 1943), 427.

7. "Description" meant to write about or to represent something without exaggeration and with an exacting degree of verisimilitude. Covarrubias, ibid., 457, states: "Descrevir. Narrar y señalar con la pluma algun lugar o caso acontecido, tan al vivo como si lo dibuxara. Descripción, la tal narración o escrita o delineada, como la descripción de una provincia o mapa." For more on the term's meaning, see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago, 1983), 136.

8. Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, trans. Edward L. Stevenson (New York, 1932), bk. 1, chap. 1.

9. Petrus Apanius, *Libro de cosmographia* (Antwerp, 1548), chap. 4.

10. My understanding of "communicentric" views derives in part from Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain* (Chicago, 1996), 116.

11. For a recent discussion of the program of Lorenzetti's fresco, see Loren Partridge and Randolf Starn, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, 1992). The city views painted in the town halls of various German cities in the sixteenth century served similar purposes. See Kristin Eldyss Sorensen Zapalac, *"In His Image and Likeness": Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500–1600* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

12. Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, 1960), 7.

13. The classic treatment of this genre's development is James Elliott, *The City in Maps: Urban Mapping to 1900* (London, 1990). For the early modern era, see Jürgen Schulz, *La cartografia tra il arte e la scienze* (Ferrera, 1990), and Lucia Nutti, *Ritratti di città: Visione e memoria tra medioevo e settecento* (Venice, 1996).

14. Archivo General de Simancas: Mapas, Planos y Dibujos X-1. The street in question was the calle Barrionueva,

located in the northeast of the plan. To allow it to reach the town's central plaza in a straight line called for the demolition of several houses located on the calle de Pozo. The owners of these houses objected, challenging the right of the town council to destroy their property in the name of urban reform. The owners lost their suit.

15. For details on the circumstances surrounding this view, see Archivo General de Simancas: Consejo Real: legajo 39-III-1, 2.

16. *Os desenhos das antigualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda*, ed. E. Tormo (Madrid, 1940), 42r.

17. Pedro de Medina, *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Sevilla, 1548). The original reads: "podra servir de manual o memoria de las mas señaladas y principales joyas que en esta España tiene."

18. See Botero, *Reason of State*.

19. A revised edition of Medina's book, *Primera y segunda parte de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1590), adhered to the same representational scheme, the only significant addition being an illustration of an entire city—walls, plaza, citadel, castle, houses—used interchangeably for capital cities such as Lisbon and Madrid.

20. My understanding of *ad vivum*, a term whose precise meaning is much discussed, derives in part from Claudia Swan, "Ad Vivum, Naer Het Leven, from the Life: Defining a Mode of Representation," *Word and Image* 11 (Oct.–Dec. 1995), 353–72.

21. If a "portrait" in the sixteenth century suggested, as the Italian art theorist Vincenzo Danti defined it in 1567, "the portrayal or reproduction of reality as we see it," Hoefnagel's Spanish townscapes appear rather to fall within the category of what Danti defined as "imitation," whose meaning was "to imitate, or to represent reality as it might or ought to be." On these distinctions, see Swan, "Ad vivum," 355.

22. Georg Braun, in the introduction of volume 1 of the *Civitates*, offered a different if somewhat far-fetched (and artistically mistaken) interpretation of these and other genre scenes included with some of the views he had published. Responding to critics who feared that the publication of plans and views of Europe's cities would render them vulnerable to Turkish attack, Braun explained that the appearance of human figures in these views would help to deter such an eventuality since the Ottomans, as Muslims, abhorred the representation of the human form.

23. Lucia Nuti, "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye," *Word and Image* 4 (1988): 545–70.

24. For Weiditz's drawings, see Theodor Hampe, ed., *Da Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weidtiz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529)* (Berlin, 1927).

25. For an introduction to the term "curiosity" and its meaning in sixteenth-century Europe, see Gérard Defaux, *Le curieux, le glorieux, et la sagesse du monde dans la première moitié du xvie siècle* (Lexington, Ky., 1982). For sixteenth-century books on human diversity, see Jean Ceard, *La nature et les prodiges: L'insolite au xvie siècle, en France* (Geneva, 1977), esp. 252–91. On collecting, see Krzysztoff Pomian, *Collectioneurs, amateurs et curieux: Paris, Venise: xvie–xviie siècle* (Paris, 1990), esp. 61–81. America's role in stimulating interest in the marvelous is examined in Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland, 1975) and Joy Kenseth, "The Age of the Marvelous: An Introduction," in Hood Museum of Art, *The Age of the Marvelous* (Lunenburg, Vt., 1991), 25–59.

26. The quotation is from the cartouche accompanying Van den Wyngaerde's 1553 view of Genoa. See Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard L. Kagan (Berkeley, 1989), 54.

27. See Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1986): 115–35 (reprinted in *Art and History: Images and Their Meaning*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb [Cambridge, 1988], 115–35).

28. On cartographic ties between Spain and the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see the volume *De Mercator a Blaeu: España y la edad de oro de la cartografía en las diecisiete provincias de los Paises Bajos* (Madrid, 1995).

29. The importance Spaniards attached to these artefacts, particularly those of Roman origin, is reflected in Ambrosio de Morales, *Las antigüedades de España* (Alcalá de Henares, 1575), as well as the *antigüedades y grandezas* genre of local Spanish history. These books paid particular attention to ancient coins, lapidary inscriptions, statues, and other artefacts in order to draw attention to a city's importance in Greek and Roman times. An early example, dating from 1579, is Diego de Villalta, "Historia de la antigüedad de la Peña de Martos," ed. Joaquín Codes y Contreras (Madrid, 1923).

30. A contemporary discussion of the extent to which urban grandeur rested on commerce and agriculture may be found in Botero, *Reason of State*.

31. For Cuelbis, see British Library, mss. Harley 3822, "Thesoro chorographico de las espannas por el señor Diego

Cuelbis." This travel account includes over two dozen small townscapes, the majority of which are little more than copies of prospects previously published in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Most of the cities depicted in this volume are generally illustrated twice, first in a pen-and-brown-ink drawing—presumably by Cuelbis himself—and then in an engraved copy by a certain Francesco Valeço or Vallegio. The two versions are not always identical. Vallegio added figures and other folkloric scenes, most of which were copied from Hoefnagel's views.

32. Completed in 1593, the original manuscript is conserved in the University of Coimbra library. See Fernando Gabriel Martín Rodríguez, *La primera imagen de Canarias: Los dibujos de Leonardo Torriani* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Canarias, 1986).

33. Torriani's views are comparable to the series of *platengronden* of the Netherlandish cities executed, again for Philip II and primarily for military purposes, by Jacques van Deventer in the 1550s and 1560s. For more on this project, see Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape," 120, and Geoffrey Parker, "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs," in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago, 1992), 124–52.

Philip II was also responsible for the "Descripción de las marinas de todo el reino de Sicilia," an atlas of Sicily by Tiburzio Spannochi that includes views of that island's coastal cities. Conserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, ms. 788, this important manuscript remains unpublished.

34. For more on this plan, see Fernando Benito Doménech, "Un plano axonométrico de Valencia diseñado por Manceli en 1608," *Ars Longa: Cuadernos de Arte* [Valencia] 3 (1992): 29–37.

35. Quoted in Swan, "*Ad vivum*," 353. Kepler used this particular expression in a conversation with Sir Henry Wooten in 1620 and with particular reference to a landscape he had recently completed.

36. These and other plans of Madrid are reproduced in M. Molina Campuzano, *Planos de Madrid en los siglos xvii y xviii* (Madrid, 1960). For Teixeira's *topografía*, see Jesus R. Escobar, "The Plaza Mayor of Madrid: Architecture, Urbanism, and The Imperial Capital, 1560–1640," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton University, 1996, pp 257–59.

37. On the Nicolay map, see the insightful discussion by Hilary Ballon, *The Paris of Henri IV* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 212–47.

38. Suggestions that Vermeer made use of a *camera obscura* for his *View of Delft* remain inconclusive. See the catalog of the exhibition. *Johannes Vermeer* (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 1996), 25–27, 69–74.

39. See R. M. Vorstman, "Schilderijen, prenten en tekeningen: De haven van Santander," *Jaarverslag: Vereeniging Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum*, Amsterdam (1983), 8–9. José Luis Casado Soto, *Santander, una villa marinera en el siglo xvi* (Santander, 1990) mistakenly attributes the drawing to Hoefnagel.

40. For Baldi, see J. Maglialotti, *Viaje de Cosimo de Médicis por España y Portugal (1668–1669)*, ed. A. Sánchez Rivero y A. Mariutti (Madrid, n.d.)

41. For more on this painting, see Elizabeth Trapier, "Martínez de Mazo as Landscape Artist," *Gazette de Beaux Arts* (May, 1963): 293–310.

42. Antonio Palomino, *Vidas*, ed. Nina Ayala Mallory (Madrid, 1986), 223. Palomino's comments, first published in 1724, were meant also to apply to Mazo's painting, *The Entrance of Philip IV into Pamplona*, a copy of which is now in London's Wellington Museum.

43. Van den Wyngaerde's view of Zaragoza (1563) is reproduced in Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities*, 147.

44. For more on the history of view making in early modern Spain, see Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1500–1750* (Yale University Press, forthcoming). For an introduction to maps and views of Spanish cities in the eighteenth century, see Carlos Sambriucio, *Territorio y ciudad en la España de la Ilustración*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1991).

45. Archivo Histórico Nacional: Códices 1368b, Privilegia per Serenissimos reges civitati, Oriole concessa, fol. 46. This manuscript, a copy of a cartulary dating from 1406, is briefly discussed in Justo García Morales, "Vista del castillo y villa de Orihuela: Cartulario de Orihuela: AHN Códices 1368," *Fiestas Moros y Cristianos* (Orihuela), *año* 1981 (no pagination).

46. See Rafael Martín de Viciana, *Tercera parte de la crónica de la inclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia y su reino* (Valencia, 1563; fascimile ed., Valencia, 1980), 321–331.

47. Luis de Toro, "Palentiae urbis et eiudem episcopotus descriptio," Biblioteca Universidad de Salamanca, ms. 2650. See also Luis de Toro, *Descripción de la ciudad y obispado de Plasencia*, ed. and trans. Marceliano Sayáns Castaños (Plasencia, 1961).

48. For the abundance of views in one German city, see Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Renaissance Nuremberg as the Ideal City: Observations on the Art of Civic Imaging and Political Control," (n.d.). Turin offers another example of a city well served by plans and views of various sorts. See Martha Pollak, *Turin, 1564–1680* (Chicago, 1991). For the full collection of Italian topographical views and plans, see *La città nella storia d'Italia*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Bari, 1979–).

49. For the concept of the "imageability" contained in certain physical objects, see Lynch, *Image of the City*, 9.

50. *Historia del arte valenciana*, ed. Vicente Aguilera Cerni (Valencia, 1986), 317.

51. For these views of Seville, see *Iconografía de Sevilla, Tomo I: 1400–1650*, ed. María Dolores Carbrera Laredo (Madrid, 1988).

52. One exception is the pen-and-ink prospect included in Juan de Mal-Lara, *Recibimiento que hizó la ciudad de Sevilla a don Phelipe* (Seville, 1570). Even so, an outsized giralda dominates the view.

53. For this incident, see Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seglares de . . . Sevilla* (Seville, 1795), 2:252–53.

54. For representations of Mary in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, see Suzanne Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge, 1994).

55. Zurbarán's *Immaculate Conception* (1630), now in the Museo del Diocesis de Sigüenza and reproduced in Julián Gallego and José Gudiol, *Zurbarán, 1598–1664* (New York, 1977), 154.

56. For more on this painting, see Jonathan Brown and Richard L. Kagan, "El Greco's *View of Toledo*," in *Figures of Thought: El Greco as Interpreter of History, Tradition, and Ideas*, ed. Jonathan Brown (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 11, 1982): 19–30.

57. Mauro Castella Ferrer, *Historia del apostol de Jesus Christo Santiago Zebedeo Patron y Capitan de las Españas* (Madrid, 1618).

58. See Jose Martín Gómez-Moreno Calera, *El arquitecto granadino Ambrosio de Vico* (Granada, 1992).

59. For Castro's involvement in the Christianization of Granada's past, see Miguel José Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos de Sacromonte* (Madrid, 1980), and, more recently, Julio Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia* (Barcelona, 1992), 118–43.

60. Prior to their expulsion from the city in 1570, the Albaicín was home to most of Granada's *moriscos*, or converted Moors. For a summary of urban reforms in sixteenth-century Granada, see Antonio Luis Cortés Peña y Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada* (Granada, 1986), 3:27–43.

61. My argument here follows that of Antonio Moreno Carrido et. al., "La Pla [n] taforma de Ambrosio de Vico: Chronología y Gestación," in *Arquitectura de Andalucia oriental* 2 (1984):6–12, and José Luis Orozco Pardo, *Christianópolis: urbanismo y contrareforma en la Granada del seiscientos* (Granada, 1985).

62. See Quesada, *La idea de ciudad*, 41–57.

63. For more on the "false chronicles," see Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, 163–187. As recently demonstrated by Fernando Checa, *Felipe II: Mecenas de las Artes* (Madrid, 1992), it was Philip II, starting in the 1560s, who initiated the recovery of Spain's "Christian antiquity."

64. For these histories, see my "Clio and the Crown: The Writing of History in Habsburg Spain," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World*, ed. Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge, 1995), 73–99.

65. Of particular interest is the series of paintings devoted to the life of Saint Julián which is still to be found in Cuenca's cathedral. See Fernando Benito Domenech, "Una singular serie de cuadros sobre la vida de San Julián," *Archivo de arte valenciano 50* (1979):70–75. The lost view of Cuenca, attributed to Cristóbal García Salmeron (1603–66), a native conquense, was described in 1668 as "un lienzo de dos varas y media de largo y dos de alto de la ciudad de Cuenca y sus fiestas que hicieron el año 1642 al Rey nuestro señor que está en gloria [Philip IV], marco negro: original de Xpoval García." See Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alonso E. Pérez Sanchez, *Pintura toledana: Primera mitad del siglo xvii* (Madrid, 1972), 370.

66. The painting is documented in Diego Angulo Iñiguez and Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez, *Pintura madrileña: Primer tercio del siglo xvii* (Madrid, 1969), 249.

67. For this and other seventeenth-century views of Barcelona, see *Retrat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1995), 1:85–110.

68. "Descripcion del Reino y Obispado de Jaen," Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 1180.

69. For more on these paintings, see Jesús Urrea, "Tres vistas de Valladolid en el siglo xvii," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de la Purísima Concepción de Valladolid 29* (1994):197–208. This series of paintings illustrating a community united by faith anticipated Felipe Gil de Mena's painting of the auto-da-fé staged in Valladolid's *plaza mayor* in 1667 as well as Francesco Rizi's later rendition of a similar event held in the *plaza mayor* of Madrid.

70. For these images, see Juan Miguel Serrera y Alberto Oliver, *Iconografía de Sevilla, 1650–1790* (Madrid, 1989).

71. See Pierre Lavedan, *Représentation des villes dans l'art du moyen âge* (Paris, 1954), and Jürgen Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Mapmaking, City Views and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978):425–72.

72. Little is known about Garau except that he was a na-