

32 • Cycles of Painted Maps in the Renaissance

FRANCESCA FIORANI

In the early modern period, the use of maps to embellish private and public buildings became a widespread practice in Europe. From the fifteenth century onward, maps of various types and materials—painted and printed; large and small; illustrating the world, continents, regions, cities, harbors, and gardens—were prominently displayed in the halls of power of kings and popes, in the audience chambers of civic authorities, and in the studies of scholars and merchants. The predilection for the display of maps can be related to the general interest in the new discoveries, the growing availability of printed maps, and the increased use of maps for such diverse activities as learning the classics, freight calculation of merchandise, reading the Bible, and administration of the state. Some sophisticated patrons who cultivated an exceptional passion for maps, however, did not simply hang preexisting maps, but rather commissioned painted maps for specific rooms of their palaces. Generally, these painted maps were so coherently selected in relation to each other and noncartographic images, such as allegories, religious scenes, and historical events, that they can be regarded as a cycle, that is, as a coherent series of images organized around a central theme. The interpretation of these cycles of painted maps is inextricably tied to the circumstances of their production, their original location, and the political and religious beliefs of their patrons. By interacting with other symbolic forms, particularly the noncartographic images surrounding them, these map cycles became the primary vehicles in the construction of political legitimacy, religious supremacy, or universal knowledge. (The main cycles are summarized and described according to their original location in Appendix 32.1).

Burckhardt found painted maps such a fashion that he listed cartographic images among the artistic genres of the Italian Renaissance.¹ Traditionally, however, cycles of painted maps have been regarded as mere cartographic curiosities, for they hardly ever reflected the most advanced cartographic knowledge of an area and never contributed to the discovery of new lands or trading routes. Long relegated to the margins of the history of cartography, cycles of painted maps have recently acquired prominence of place as sophisticated artifacts that enlighten us

on the pervasiveness of cartographic images in Renaissance culture.

THE ANCIENT PEDIGREE

The creation of cycles of painted maps in the Renaissance was part of a longer tradition dating from the early Middle Ages that favored the display of encyclopedic world maps in monastic libraries, chambers of rulers, or papal dining halls. Renaissance patrons and mapmakers, however, intended to break with this medieval tradition, preferring ancient models of map display to medieval ones. They learned from the Roman historian Livy that Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus celebrated his conquest of the island of Sardinia by publicly exhibiting a map in the shape of the island, on which were marked the battles of the Roman conquest. They read in the writings of Aelian, an authority on military art, that Socrates used maps to impart moral lessons on the relativity of earthly things, and they gleaned from the revered Pliny that maps and city views adorned private houses and public sites in ancient Rome.²

Pliny praised Ludius, a painter of the days of Augustus, for bringing in the “fashion of painting walls with pictures” and “using pictures of seaside cities to decorate un-

Abbreviations used in this chapter include: MCV for Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta cartographica Vaticana*, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–55).

1. Jacob Burckhardt, “Orbis Terrarum,” in *L'arte italiana del Rinascimento*, vol. 2 of *Pittura: I Generi*, ed. Maurizio Ghelardi (Venice: Marsilio, 1992), 109–13. The most important study on Renaissance map murals remains Juergen Schulz, “Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance,” in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 97–122, republished in Juergen Schulz, *La cartografia tra scienza e arte: Carte e cartografi nel Rinascimento italiano* (Modena: F. C. Panini, 1990), 97–113. This chapter is partially based on chapter 1 of my book *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

2. The passage from Livy is discussed in Schulz, *La cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 37–38. The reference to Aelian comes from Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna, 1582), republished in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, 3 vols. (Bari: G. Laterza, 1960–62), 2:117–509, esp. 356.

covered terraces, giving a most pleasing effect and at a very small expense.”³ Pliny also reported on a now-lost map of the Roman world by Agrippa that Augustus had set up in a colonnade along the Via Lata. He also gave a detailed description of the topography of Rome, which Renaissance antiquarians and mapmakers must have used to decipher the “Forma urbis Romae,” the marble map carved between A.D. 203 and 208 and originally displayed in a room attached to the Temple of Peace in Rome.⁴ Fragments of the “Forma urbis Romae” were surfacing in Renaissance Rome, demonstrating that the monumentality of a map was germane to the richness of its description. The monumental size and scale of the “Forma urbis Romae” allowed it to include a plethora of details: the division of the city into quarters; the routes of streets and their names; the location, name, function, and height of monuments and buildings. Though it mapped only the city of Rome, the “Forma urbis Romae” was the most authoritative evidence for the public display of monumental maps made of durable materials.

Inspired by and wishing to surpass this Roman tradition, Renaissance patrons transformed the ancient display of individual maps into a true Renaissance fashion. Paraphrasing Pliny, Leon Battista Alberti recommended the use of maps as mural decorations to instruct and delight. Paolo Cortesi regarded map murals as particularly suitable embellishments for the residences of cardinals. In the late sixteenth century, Giovanni Battista Armenini and Gabriele Paleotti repeated the arguments of earlier art theorists, demonstrating that the fascination with cartographic murals was still active in post-Tridentine Europe.⁵ John Dee made known the fashion for cartographic decorations to England, reporting that “some, to beautifie their Halls, Parlors, Chambers, Galleries, Studies, or Libraries . . . liketh, loueth, getteth and useth, Mappes, Chartes, & Geographical Globes.”⁶ The widespread public display of maps in early modern Europe bespeaks not only the achievements of Renaissance mapping but also the wish to emulate Ludius’s art through the recreation of ancient interiors in modern palaces.

WALL MAPS

Many Renaissance maps were specifically conceived for wall display. Some were painted on panels or canvas; others were woven as tapestries or combined as mosaics. Most, however, were printed on multiple sheets of paper pasted together to obtain a uniform image of the mapped territory. Imposing in size, these printed wall maps were masterpieces of copper engraving and woodcut, often providing the most detailed representation of an area available in print. The refinement of their graphic lines, the precision of their design, and the clarity of their lettering considerably facilitated the spatial understanding

of the mapped territory, while their large scale favored the inclusion of numerous geographical features and inscriptions.

Approximately fifteen hundred wall maps, each about 2 by 3 meters, existed by the mid-sixteenth century. These included such landmarks of Renaissance mapping as Jacopo de’ Barbari’s view of Venice (1500), Giacomo Gastaldi’s map of the world (1561), Gerardus Mercator’s map of Europe (1554 and 1572) and map of the world (1569), and Abraham Ortelius’s map of Africa (1564) and map of the world (1569).⁷ Despite the fact that only a few examples of this vast production of printed wall maps survived, contemporary memoirs, correspondence, and inventories provide indirect evidence of their wide use. Visitors to the imperial court reported that Charles V of Spain had numerous maps hung in his private rooms, while his son Philip II adorned his throne room at the Escorial with seventy maps taken from the 1578 edition of Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* and his dining room

3. Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols., trans. H. Rackham et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938–63), 9:346–49 (3.5.116–17). On the importance of Pliny in the Renaissance, see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

4. On Agrippa’s map, see Pliny, *Natural History*, 2:17 (3.17), and O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 41–54. On the topography of Rome, see Pliny, *Natural History*, 2:50–53 (3.66–68) and 10:78–79 (36.101–122). Pliny’s description of the topography of Rome might have been inspired by an earlier version of the “Forma urbis Romae” displayed in the same location. On the “Forma urbis Romae” (ca. 1800 × 1300 cm), see The Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, <<http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/>> with bibliography, and Claude Nicolet, *L’inventaire du monde: Géographie et politique aux origines de l’Empire romain* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), 173.

5. The most important comments on map murals by Renaissance authors are in Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, 2 vols., ed. Paolo Portoghesi (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1966), 2:767–68. For Paolo Cortesi, see Kathleen Weil-Garris and John F. D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi’s *De Cardinalatu*,” in *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Century*, ed. Henry A. Millon (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 45–123; Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De’ veri precetti della pittura* (1587; Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1971), 192 and 206; and Paleotti, *Discorso*, 2:356.

6. John Dee, *The Mathematicall Praeface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara* (1570), intro. Allen G. Debus (New York: Science History Publications, 1975), a.iiiij.

7. On printed wall maps, see C. Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius and His Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Lausanne: Sequoia, 1964), 24, which estimated their number in the sixteenth century; Helen Wallis and Arthur H. Robinson, eds., *Cartographical Innovations: An International Handbook of Mapping Terms to 1900* (Tring, Eng.: Map Collector Publications in association with the International Cartographic Association, 1987), 77–80; and Günter Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1986–), esp. 2:1–90, on Abraham Ortelius’s wall maps. On the display of maps in general, see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: British Library, 1996), 79–87.

with prints of animals, plants, and modern gardens.⁸ Henri IV of France adorned the Louvre with large maps of the world, the oceans, and France so as to convey to his visitors the dominant position of France in world affairs.⁹ English kings had modern maps hung alongside medieval world maps in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, in the lobby of a gallery at Greenwich, and in the Long Gallery at Hampton Court; in the early eighteenth century, George of Denmark likewise adorned his private apartment at Kensington Palace with maps.¹⁰

The predilection for the display of maps extended to courtiers, scholars, and merchants. Venetian inventories record the display of wall maps in the houses of merchants, patricians, and antiquarians.¹¹ In Florence, Niccolò Niccoli was among the first to display modern maps in his house, a practice followed by the Medici, who displayed maps in their city palace and country retreats generation after generation.¹² In Austria, the Bibliotheca Windhagiana of Graf Joachim Enzmilner at Schloss Windhag was decorated with maps.¹³ In south Holland, the lords of Brederode embellished their residence at Vianen with fifty-two wall maps in the 1560s. Viglius van Aytta, the Flemish president of the Spanish Council of the Netherlands, hung some of the two hundred maps he owned in his library and study. The interiors painted by Jan Vermeer document the prominent display of wall maps among the luxury goods of Dutch merchants.¹⁴ Ministers of the English crown also displayed maps in their private residences, as did Queen Elizabeth's treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who covered the walls of his house with a large selection from his astonishing cartographic collection, and Samuel Pepys, the diarist and naval administrator, who had a large manuscript nautical chart by John Burston mounted for display in his office.¹⁵

Generally, these printed wall maps were dedicated to individual patrons, and they were often made for specific purposes. For instance, Mercator's map of Europe (1554) was dedicated to Antoine Perrenot de Granvella and was made specifically to chart Catholic holdings in religiously divided Europe, but it also appealed to a much larger clientele: over 850 buyers acquired copies of it in Christoffel Plantijn's shop in Antwerp between 1558 and 1576.¹⁶ Indeed, as was the case with any other painting not made for a specific location, printed wall maps acquired their meanings not exclusively in relation to the circumstances of their production but also in relation to the diverse patrons who bought them and to the different contexts in which they were displayed.

CYCLES OF PAINTED MAPS

In the late fifteenth century, monumental painted maps and city views started to appear in royal, papal, and re-

publican palaces. Map rooms added variety to the overall decorative schemes of these palaces; flattered their patrons' interests in geography, astronomy, and cartography; and were in accordance with the principle of decorum, which dictated the suitability of the decoration to

8. On the cartographic patronage of Charles V and Philip II, see Richard L. Kagan, "Philip II and the Geographers," in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. Richard L. Kagan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 40–53; Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 150–60; and *Kaiser Karl V. (1500–1558): Macht und Ohnmacht Europas*, exhibition catalog (Milan: Skira, 2000).

9. On the display of maps at the French court, see David Buisseret, "Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps in France before the Accession of Louis XIV," in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 99–123.

10. On the display of maps at the English court, see Peter Barber, "Maps and Monarchs in Europe 1550–1800," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton*, ed. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75–124, esp. 111–12.

11. On the display of maps in Venice, see Federica Ambrosini, "'Descrittioni del mondo' nelle case venete dei secoli XVI e XVII," *Archivio Veneto*, 5th ser., no. 152 (1981): 67–79, and Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 80–84.

12. Niccolò Niccoli, the famous Florentine scholar who was instrumental in spreading Ptolemy's *Geography* and in translating Ptolemy's maps from Greek into Latin, kept his maps of Italy and Spain not among his books and manuscripts, as might have been expected, but rather among other collectibles, a fact that might suggest their public display. On Niccoli's maps, see pp. 293–95 in this volume. On the display of maps in fifteenth-century Florentine houses, see Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 79 and 119–20. On the Medici, see the numerous inventories of their palace, especially the one dated 1574 (Archivio di Stato, Florence, G. 87, in which the display of maps is recorded in the following folios: 31v, 41v, 42, 42v, 58v, 66, 75v, and 76v).

13. Eric Garberson, "Bibliotheca Windhagiana: A Seventeenth-Century Austrian Library and Its Decoration," *Journal of the History of Collections* 5 (1993): 109–28.

14. On Van Aytta, see E. H. Waterbolk, "Viglius of Aytta, Sixteenth Century Map Collector," *Imago Mundi* 29 (1977): 45–48, and Antoine De Smet, "Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus: Savant, bibliothécaire et collectionneur de cartes du XVI^e siècle," in *The Map Librarian in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Walter W. Ristow*, ed. Helen Wallis and Lothar Zögner (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1979), 237–50. On the lords of Brederode, see Koeman, *History of Abraham Ortelius*, 24. On Jan Vermeer's interiors, see Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 119–68.

15. Barber, "Maps and Monarchs," 110–16.

16. On Mercator's map of Europe, see Robert W. Karrow, *Map-makers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis Press, 1993), 386–87; Arthur Dürst, "The Map of Europe," in *The Mercator Atlas of Europe: Facsimile of the Maps by Gerardus Mercator Contained in the Atlas of Europe, circa 1570–1572*, ed. Marcel Watelet (Pleasant Hill, Ore.: Walking Tree Press, 1998), 31–41; Marcel Watelet, ed., *Gérard Mercator cosmographe: Le temps et l'espace* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator Paribas, 1994); and Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 161.

the function of the room. Although often based on printed wall maps, painted maps differed fundamentally from their printed counterparts. They were conceived as a three-dimensional display in a defined location, either a room or a set of rooms. This three-dimensional display strengthened the relationship between the individual maps as well as the connection between the maps and other parts of the decoration. Such a display was germane to the perception of painted maps as a cycle of coherent images centered on a common theme. Indeed, the meaning of cycles of painted maps can be recaptured not by focusing exclusively on the maps themselves, but by considering them in relation to the surrounding decoration. Map cycles in three dimensions forced the viewer to make connections, create constructive interactions, and build analogies, primarily visual ones. These analogies were not spelled out in inscriptions in the rooms or in accompanying booklets, but were made possible—indeed encouraged—by the very layout of the different parts of the iconography.

Undoubtedly, cycles of painted maps relate historically to printed map books such as Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* or Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, which offered a ready-made selection of maps that could be easily enlarged and painted on the walls of princely palaces.¹⁷ But cycles of painted maps were rarely mere copies of printed atlases, presenting instead additional cartographic challenges. In some cases, the painted cycles predated map books; in other instances, they were based on original surveys or depended on unprecedented combinations of verbal and visual sources, both manuscript and printed. Generally, their sheer size and large scale demanded the addition of numerous geographical details that were absent on smaller printed maps. Renaissance patrons were certainly aware that the relationship between printed atlases and cycles of painted maps was more complex than that of source to copy, for they did not hesitate to hire professional cartographers to plan their map cycles: the Republic of Venice asked the Piemontese mapmaker Giacomo Gastaldi to design cartoons for the Sala dello Scudo of the ducal palace; Pope Pius IV consulted the French cartographer Etienne Du Pérac for the design of the west wing of the Terza Loggia in the Vatican Palace; Cardinal Alessandro Farnese enlisted the expertise of the mathematician Orazio Trigino de' Marii for the Sala del Mappamondo in his palace at Caprarola; Duke Cosimo I de' Medici had the polymath Egnazio Danti plan his Guardaroba Nuova; and Pope Gregory XIII asked Danti to plan the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican. The main task of these cartographic advisers was to choose, compare, collate, and unify heterogeneous printed and manuscript maps made by different authors in different periods. Their work was greatly simplified if

a wall map could be used as the main cartographic source, for wall maps offered the distinct advantage of representing large areas on a unified scale and within a coherent system of coordinates. Translating the printed wall maps into paint, these cartographic advisers contributed to the production of map cycles that fascinate modern viewers, just as they must have Renaissance ones.

The painting technique used in map cycles varied greatly depending on the local climate. Generally, in the dry climate of southern Italy, the maps were painted *a fresco*, that is, directly on the plaster, a fact that facilitates the historic reconstruction of their original viewing conditions as well as their intended meaning. In Venice, the maps were usually painted on *teleri*, large canvases framed to fit the wall. Maps on *teleri* resisted humidity better than those painted *a fresco*, but were not permanently connected to their original location, making our modern reconstruction much more tentative. Similarly, in northern Europe the fresco technique was avoided in favor of tempera or oil on panel. Independent of painting technique, however, these painted maps were spectacular artifacts for their large scale, their monumental size, the profusion of their colors, the richness of their cartographic content, and the depth of their symbolic meanings. The most remarkable cycles of painted maps are documented as having been in Italy, where they seem to have originated in the second half of the fifteenth century. Some of these are still well preserved in Rome, Florence, Parma, Naples, and Caprarola. Most, however, are known only through documents describing them. The fashion of cycles of painted maps later spread to other parts of Europe, such as the royal palace throne room in Madrid and the archbishop's palace in Salzburg.¹⁸

The cartographic content and meaning of cycles of painted maps varied greatly from place to place and patron to patron. The significance of each cycle was grounded within the context of its production, the cir-

17. On the genesis of the idea of the modern atlas, see James R. Akerman, "From Books with Maps to Books as Maps: The Editor in the Creation of the Atlas Idea," in *Editing Early and Historical Atlases*, ed. Joan Winearls (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 3–48, and John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

18. Henry IV of France planned a map cycle for the Grand Galerie at the Louvre, a project inspired by the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace, but he never realized it; see Jacques Thuillier, "Peinture et politique: Une théorie de la Galerie royale sous Henri IV," in *Études d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling* (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1975), 175–205. In 1614, the archbishop of Salzburg decorated his Italianate palace with map murals inspired by the Vatican examples; see Roswitha Juffinger, "Die 'Galerie der Landkarten' in der Salzburger Residenz," and Heinz Leitner, "Restaurierbericht zu den Wandbildern der Landkartengalerie der Residenz," both in *Barockberichte* 5–6 (1992): 164–67 and 168–71. On Madrid, see Kagan, "Philip II."

cumstances of its viewing, and the accuracy of its cartographic sources, making it difficult to consider them as a single group. Nonetheless, they can be roughly divided into two groups according to the maps or city views included in the cycle. To the first group belonged map cycles representing the dominion of the commissioning patron. The second group included map cycles with maps or views not corresponding to any political unity. This second group can be further organized from the general to the particular, starting with painted maps of the world and moving to map cycles with maps of continents, regions of the world, single countries, and individual cities.

THE DOMINION

Many Renaissance map murals depicted the dominion of the commissioning patron through either maps or city views, occasionally a combination of both. Such predilection for the cartographic depiction of the dominion is first documented as having existed in the official seats of the Republics of Venice and Siena, but it soon became a feature of other civic palaces, such as the palace of the deputies in Vicenza, the governor's palace in Perugia, and the town hall in Amsterdam. Rulers and aristocrats across Europe also showed a predilection for the cartographic depiction of their dominions, which was usually represented in the entrance halls of their residences, while bishops favored the cartographic representation of their dioceses as a tool for religious control, such as the documented but now lost maps that Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti had displayed in his bishop's palace in Bologna in 1572.¹⁹ The function and purpose of these map cycles, occasionally made in conjunction with new surveys of the patron's land, varied between governments and palaces. Generally, however, they fulfilled two related needs: the need to visualize the extent of the political, administrative, and commercial power of their patron and, at the same time, the need to serve administrative purposes, such as taxation, distribution of resources, and the supply of water.

THE DUCAL PALACE IN VENICE

A major center of geographical studies, mapmaking, and printing, the Republic of Venice had favored the display of maps in its official palace since at least the early fourteenth century.²⁰ Wishing to preserve the traditional iconography of its palaces, the Republic continued displaying maps throughout the Renaissance. In 1459, in conjunction with the new decoration of its audience hall with scenes of Venetian history, the Council of Ten commissioned Antonio Leonardi to produce two public maps for the Sala delle Nappe, one illustrating the Venetian dominion and one Italy.²¹ While Leonardi's maps did not sur-

vive and existing evidence does not allow for the unequivocal identification of their original location (fig. 32.1), it is known that both maps were made with the specific purpose of enabling the Council of Ten to base its deliberations on the detailed knowledge of its possessions in the mainland and Italy.²² Although no source attests it unequivocally, it is probable that the two maps were displayed together; they were certainly destroyed together in the fire of 1483. In 1497, the Republic commissioned Leonardi to make a new map of Italy. As far as we know,

19. On the civic palace in Vicenza, see Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 109. On map murals in Perugia (1577), see Francesca Fiorani, "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra': The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 124–48. On the maps that Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, bishop of Bologna, commissioned for his bishop's palace in 1572, see Giambattista Comelli, *Piante e vedute della città di Bologna* (Bologna: U. Berti, 1914).

20. The oldest mention of maps displayed in the ducal palace in Venice appears in an undocumented report in Paolo Morosini, *Historia della città e repubblica di Venetia* (Venice: Baglioni, 1637), 243, which related that Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329–39) commissioned large maps for his audience chamber, a room that was later identified with the anteroom to the doge's apartment on the first floor of the palace. For the history of the ducal palace and its Renaissance transformations, see Giambattista Lorenzi, *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo ducale di Venezia* (Venice, 1868), and Umberto Franzoi, Terisio Pignatti, and Wolfgang Wolters, *Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia* (Treviso: Canova, 1990). For a general overview of the map cycles in the ducal palace in Venice, see Rodolfo Gallo, "Le mappe geografiche del Palazzo ducale di Venezia," *Archivio Veneto*, 5th ser., no. 31 (1943): 47–113.

21. The surviving documents attest that Leonardi's maps were made for the Sala delle Nappe, although the identification of this room remains debatable. Some identify the Sala delle Nappe with the room today named Sala dello Scudo (fig. 32.1), but others suggest more persuasively that it corresponded to the antechamber to the Sala dell'Udienza. Gallo, in "Le mappe geografiche," 49–54, was the first to propose that the original location of Leonardi's map of Italy was the antechamber to the Sala dell'Udienza, a view accepted by Wolfgang Wolters in "Il Palazzo ducale: Scultura" and by Terisio Pignatti in "Il Palazzo ducale: Pittura," both in *Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia*, by Umberto Franzoi, Terisio Pignatti, and Wolfgang Wolters (Treviso: Canova, 1990), 117–224, esp. 158–59, and 225–364, esp. 256, where Pignatti proposed the identification of this antechamber with the room that was later named the Sala del Mappamondo. See also Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 193, dated 24 September 1479, for the relation between Leonardi's map of Italy and his map of the Venetian dominion. On the decoration of the Sala delle Nappe, see Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, 80–81, doc. no. 183, and Umberto Franzoi, "Il Palazzo ducale: Architettura," in *Il Palazzo ducale di Venezia*, 5–116, esp. 53.

22. On Leonardi's map of the Venetian dominion, see Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 184, where the map is described thus: "A true picture that makes the shape and image of all our states, lands, castles, provinces, and palaces." A later source described it as a "Cosmography for our domain," attesting that it was displayed in the Chancellery, a room that might have corresponded to the antechamber of the Udienza (Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 193, dated 24 September 1479). The same document related that "there was no better work in the whole of Italy." The fire of 1483 devastated large sections of the doge's apartment, including the Sala delle Nappe, the Sala dell'Udienza, the Sala del Mappamondo (probably the antechamber to the Udienza), and the doge's private chapel.

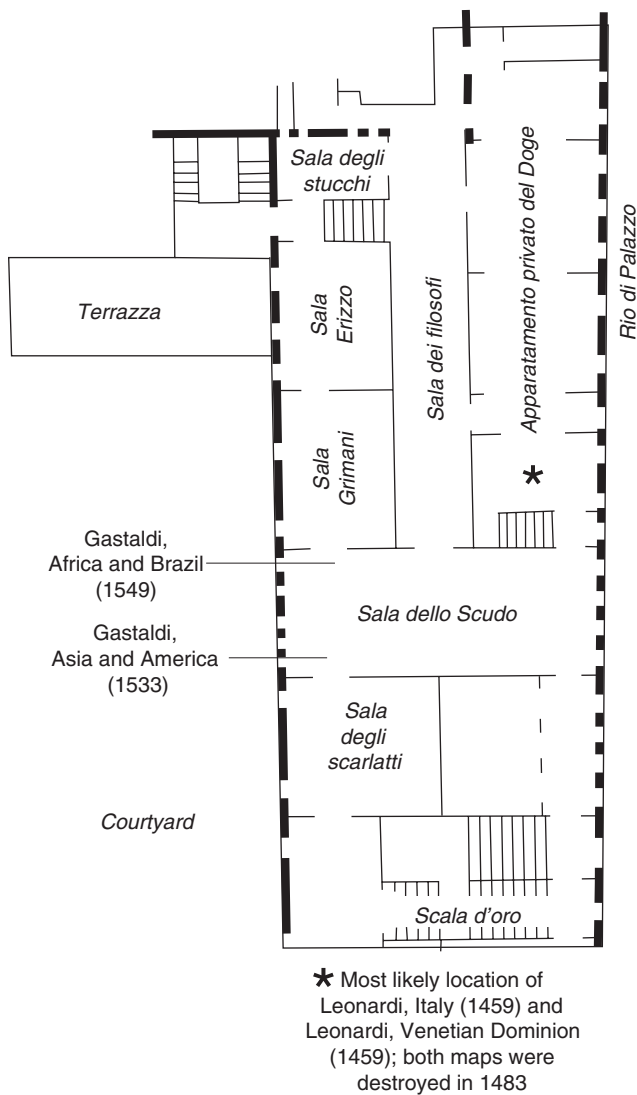


FIG. 32.1. PLAN OF THE RENAISSANCE WING, FIRST FLOOR, DUCAL PALACE, VENICE. Maps are documented as having been in the Sala dello Scudo and in the adjacent room toward the Rio di Palazzo, which was known either as the Antechamber to the Udienza or as the Sala del Mappamondo.

the new map of the Venetian dominion was commissioned only in 1578, when the Republic's senate asked the Veronese artist Cristoforo Sorte to make a map for its meeting room, the Sala del Senato (fig. 32.2). Sorte, who had previously designed a new coffered ceiling for the hall, planned a monumental *Corografia di tutto lo Stato di terraferma* for the long wall between the Sala del Senato and the Sala del Concilio. Originally, Sorte's map had to be displayed together with allegorical paintings celebrating the Republic and the virtues of its senators. But although the paintings were indeed installed between 1585 and 1595, Sorte's map was drastically altered in 1582. Due to security concerns, the senate asked Sorte to

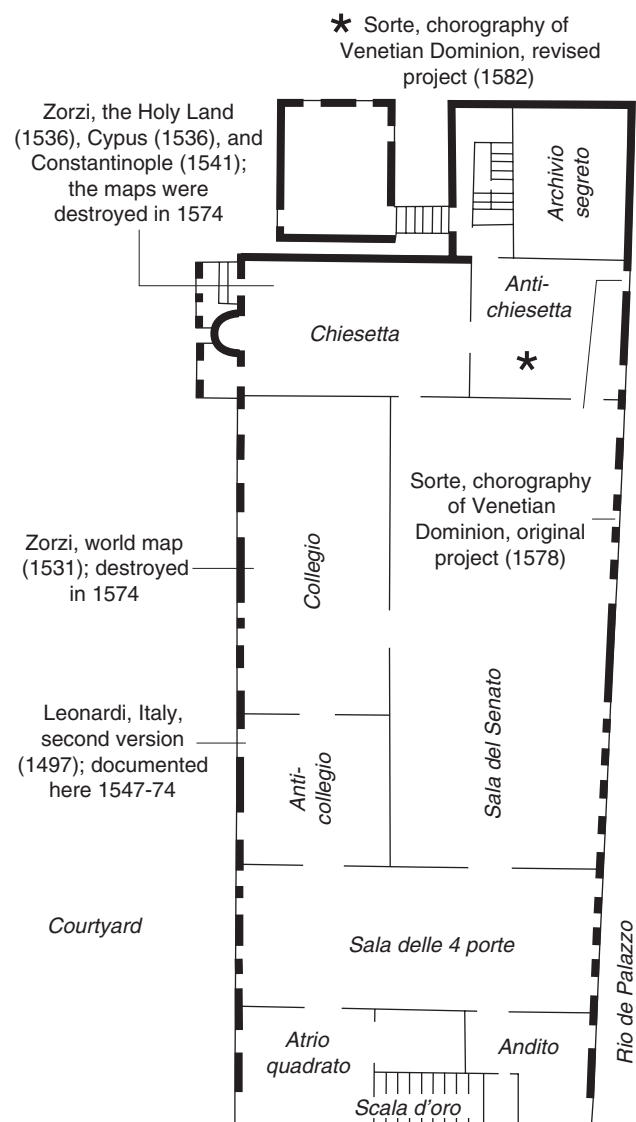


FIG. 32.2. PLAN OF THE RENAISSANCE WING, SECOND FLOOR, DUCAL PALACE, VENICE. Maps are documented as having been in the following rooms: the Anticollegio, the Collegio, the Sala del Senato, the Chiesetta, and the Antichiesetta.

transform the large map, intended for public display, into a smaller map, now lost, to be kept in a locked closet in the Antichiesetta, a small vestibule between the Sala del Senato and the Chapel of San Nicolò.²³ The physical changes in Sorte's map corresponded to the changed func-

23. Francesco Sansovino described Sorte's map of the Venetian dominion as "a very large painting" (*un gran guardone*), which he saw displayed in the Antichiesetta; see Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia, città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: I. Sansovino, 1581), fol. 123. See also Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 1012. On Sorte's maps in general, see Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 65–95.

tion of the map, from the celebration of the Venetian dominion to the control of its military defense.

THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO IN SIENA

The Republic of Siena had maps of its dominion painted in the Palazzo Pubblico in order to celebrate the central position of the city in the world. In 1338, the Siennese Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted *Good Government and Bad Government*, three stunning views of Siena and its countryside relating the effects of good and bad government. Meant to celebrate the role of the Siennese magistrates, who met in the Sala dei Nove, adorned by the frescoes, as well as to warn them of the consequences of their deliberations, the representation of Siena and its territory was at once topographically precise and symbolic.

The tradition of displaying maps of the Siennese dominion in the Palazzo Pubblico continued in the following centuries. Around 1573, a map of the Siennese territory made by Orlando Malavolti, a renowned local historian who had traveled extensively in the Siennese on behalf of the civic authorities, was painted in the Sala dei Conservatori. Malavolti's map mural is now lost, but it is well known through a 1599 print version, which explicitly mentions the earlier painted map in the Palazzo Pubblico, and through a seventeenth-century copy, which documents the map's detailed tracing of coasts, waterways, roads, towns, and villages.²⁴ The use of Malavolti's painted map for administrative purposes is suggested by its original location, the meeting room of the *conservatori*. This new magistrate committee was instituted by Cosimo I de' Medici in 1561 in order to administer the Siennese dominion after its annexation to the Medici duchy. In recognition of the strong local pride, Cosimo I agreed to keep a separate jurisdiction for the Siennese dominion through the *conservatori*. Both the power structure of the Medici duchy and Siennese pride are represented in the frescoes that surrounded Malavolti's map and indeed should be regarded as complementary to it. The Medici coat of arms, conspicuously represented on the ceiling of the room, stood for the Medici dominion over the city, while the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the city, depicted above the map, protected the citizens of Siena by embracing with her mantle the Siennese saints Catherine and Bernardino. Underneath Cosimo's symbol of power and Siena's divine protectors, the magistrate was represented metonymically through the coat of arms of its officials. Later in the century, a diagram of the *podesterie*, the rule of each *podestà* in the territory, was added to the room. In this room, the name of each *podesteria* was connected with the names of other locales under its jurisdiction, thus reflecting the power structure of the dominion, which dictated that the *podestà* of important cities also controlled smaller towns and villages. The scheme of the

podesterie might have extended to other areas of the room, now lost. Malavolti's map and the *podesterie* diagram referred to the division of the land administered by the magistrate and might also have been used for taxation purposes. The entire decoration of the room celebrated the task of the *conservatori* in controlling the Siennese dominion, a task that they performed under the spiritual auspices of the Virgin Mary, the patronage of Siennese saints, and the political control of Cosimo I.²⁵

THE UFFIZI PALACE IN FLORENCE

Painted maps of the dominion were a favored feature of Renaissance courts, with the Medici leading the way in this cartographic fashion. Cosimo I, who owned a considerable collection of maps and globes, displayed "a painted Tuscany with a frame and the ducal coat of arms" in the Sala dei Gigli of his ducal palace (today the Palazzo Vecchio).²⁶ In 1589, his son Ferdinand I had two large map murals of the Medici dominion painted in the ter-

24. The legend of Orlando Malavolti's printed map reads as follows: "Orlandus Malavolta measured out and took care that [something] was painted at that time by public decree in the Hall of the Lord Conservative Senators." The Sala dei Conservatori di Siena, mentioned in the legend, has been identified with a room on the first floor of the Palazzo Pubblico (today the Ufficio della Provincia). The seventeenth-century copy is in Florence, Archivio di Stato (Regie Possessioni, Scaff. C. Palch. 2, Carta no. 49). On Orlando Malavolti's map mural, see Roberto Almagià, *Monumenta Italiae cartographica* (Florence: Istituto Geografico Militare, 1929), pl. XLVIII, no. 3; MCV, 2:54–55; Leonardo Rombai, "Una carta geografica sconosciuta dello Stato Senese: La pittura murale dipinta nel Palazzo Pubblico di Siena nel 1573 da Orlando Malavolti, secondo una copia anonima secentesca," in *I Medici e lo Stato Senese, 1555–1609: Storia e territorio*, ed. Leonardo Rombai (Rome: De Luca, 1980), 205–24; Gabriele Borghini, "Le decorazioni pittoriche del piano terreno," in *Palazzo Pubblico di Siena: Vicende costruttive e decorazione*, ed. Cesare Brandi (Milan: Silvana, 1983), 147–214, esp. 191; and Leonardo Rombai, "La nascita e lo sviluppo della cartografia a Firenze e nella Toscana granducale," in *Imago et descriptio Tusciae: La Toscana nella geocartografia dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Leonardo Rombai (Venice: Marsilio, 1993), 83–159, esp. 102–3.

25. At least one other painted map is documented in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. In 1609, the artist Rutilio Manetti painted on canvas a large map of the city of Siena (223 × 223 cm) for the magistrate of the Quattro Conservatori. This map was located in a room adjacent to the room of the Conservatori, where Malavolti's map was painted, and must have been similarly used for taxation purposes. Manetti's map, currently kept in Siena, Archivio di Stato, also includes the coats of arms of the four Conservatori who were in charge when the map was made and who likely commissioned it; see Alessandro Bagnoli, ed., *Rutilio Manetti, 1571–1639*, exhibition catalog (Florence: Centro Di, 1978), 76–77, and Borghini, "Le decorazioni pittoriche," 190.

26. On the map of Tuscany with the ducal coat of arms, displayed in the Sala dei Gigli, see Florence, Archivio di Stato, G. 87, fol. 76v. On the representation of the dominion at the Medici court, see Philippe Morel, "L'état médicéen au XVI^e siècle: De l'allégorie à la cartographie," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée* 105 (1993): 93–131.

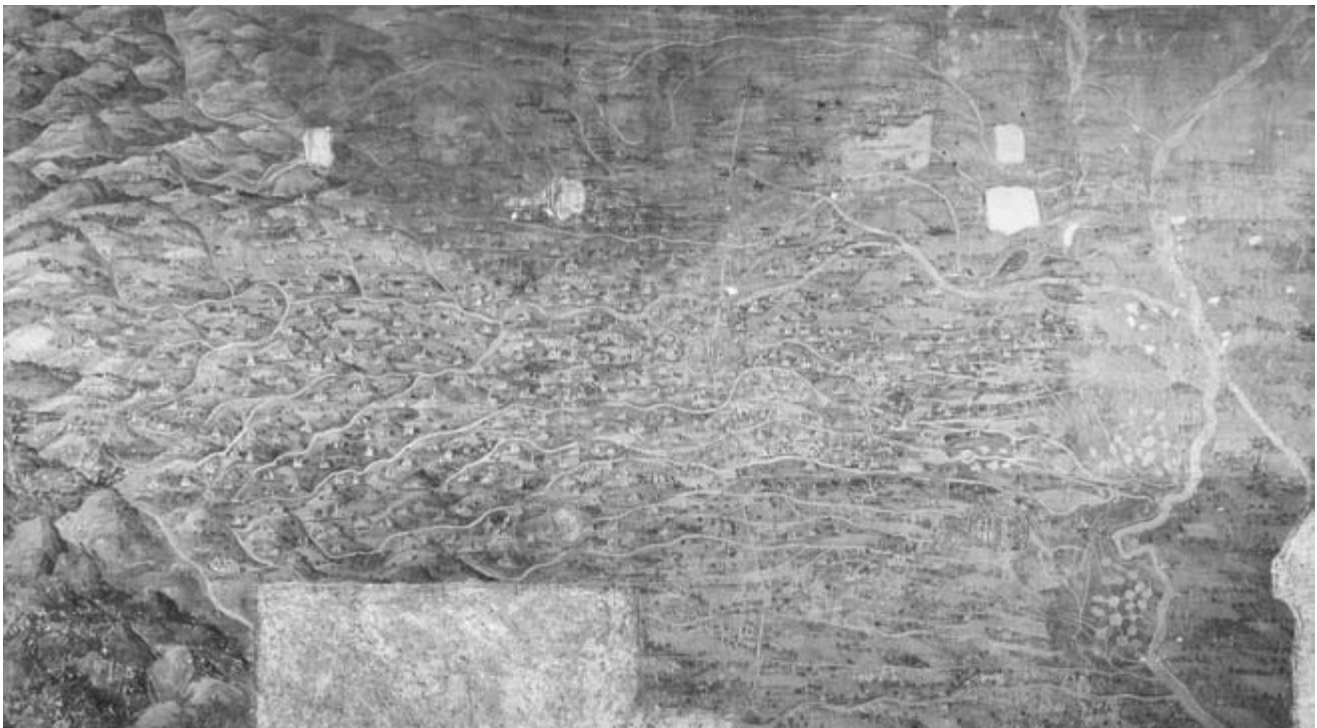


FIG. 32.3. MAP OF THE BOLOGNESE, 1575, SALA BOLOGNA, VATICAN PALACE, ROME. Fresco.

Photograph courtesy of Scala / Art Resource, New York.

race of the Uffizi Palace, which housed some of the Medici collection of scientific instruments. Blending with the real views of the Tuscan countryside visible from the terrace, the painted maps represented the regions that Cosimo I had unified in 1561: the old dominion of Etruria and the newly acquired dominion of Siena (plate 26).²⁷ A map of the island of Elba, part of which was then under Medici rule, was also included. The map murals were painted by Ludovico Buti and designed by Stefano Buonsignori, who followed his own printed map of Etruria (1584) combined with additional geographical features. On the ceiling of the terrace are paintings by Jacopo Zucchi representing gods, goddesses, and personifications pertaining to the night: Diana, Endymion, Mercury, Pan, Night, and the four virtues (Fidelity, Obedience, Vigilance, and Silence). Even though these ceiling panels had been originally painted for Ferdinand's residence in Rome and later adapted to the Uffizi Palace, their references to the moon and the night must have been regarded as appropriate for a room that housed astronomical instruments. As a whole, the Sala delle Carte Geografiche celebrates the Duchy of Tuscany through the cartographic representation of the two regions that constituted it. More generally, however, it celebrated the Medici patronage in astronomy, the applied sciences, and instrumentmaking, disciplines that remained at the core of Medici patronage in the following centuries.

THE SALA BOLOGNA IN THE VATICAN PALACE

In ways similar to those of other rulers, Pope Gregory XIII had the papal dominion represented in large map murals. Unlike other monarchs, however, he used the painted maps to convey the importance of cartography within the spirituality of the post-Tridentine church. Inspired by Cardinal Paleotti's maps in Bologna's bishop's palace, the Bolognese Gregory XIII had maps of his native town and surrounding territory painted in the Sala Bologna, the dining room of the new papal apartment he prepared for the Jubilee Year of 1575 (fig. 32.3). A passionate patron of cartography, Gregory XIII was personally involved in the making of these murals: he selected the cartographer and the cartographic sources to be used and imposed a pressing schedule that made it impossible to achieve the cartographic accuracy he required, let

27. This terrace is now walled, and it is known today as the Sala delle Carte Geografiche, although its original name was Terrazzo delle Matematiche. On the Sala delle Carte Geografiche in the Uffizi Palace, see Detlef Heikamp, "L'antica sistemazione degli strumenti scientifici nelle collezioni fiorentine," *Antichità Viva* 9, no. 6 (1970): 3–25; Morel, "L'état médicéen au XVI^e siècle," esp. 127–28; and Rombai, "La nascita e lo sviluppo della cartografia a Firenze," esp. 98–101.

alone to survey the city and the county anew.²⁸ Nonetheless, the Sala Bologna included the most detailed maps of Bologna and its territory available at the time, at least until Gregory XIII himself embarked on the ambitious project of having the Papal States surveyed anew.

As is typical in Renaissance maps, the geography of Bologna and its territory is complemented by representations of events of local history that conflated the glorification of the city with the glorification of the Bolognese pope: *Gregory IX Promulgating the Decretales* depicted the medieval pope with the likeness of the modern Gregory, and *Bonifacius VIII Confirming the Privileges to the University of Bologna* referred to the historic precedence of Gregory XIII's promulgation of the Decretals. The glorification of Bologna extended to the ceiling, which not only was painted by two Bolognese artists, Ottaviano Mascherino and Lorenzo Sabatini, but also included a stunning loggia in perspective, one of the specialties of Bolognese painting. The loggia was painted as housing ten ancient astronomers and contained a sky map that provided an unbroken panorama of the heavens from Gemini to Gemini. Giovanni Antonio Vanosino, an artist from the northern town of Varese, designed but did not paint the panorama and was included in the artistic team for his expertise in adapting maps and globes to large walls, having just completed a similar sky map for the Sala della Cosmografia of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese at Caprarola.²⁹ Indeed, the meaning of the Sala Bologna comes into full focus as an ironic response to the Farnese room rather than as a mere copy. Decorated with maps of the world, the Farnese Sala della Cosmografia intended to reassert the worldwide spiritual aspiration of its patron immediately following Cardinal Farnese's loss to Gregory XIII in the papal election of 1572. While the aspiring pope had to reassert his papal destiny through the representation of continents, the elected pope could confidently concentrate on a parochial view of history and place by representing his own native town. Added to his parochial view of power was the celebration of his own interests in cartography and other mixed sciences of the Renaissance.

In fact, while the general themes of the Sala Bologna—the celebration of the pope's birthplace, the deeds of his namesakes, and the display of his cultural interests—were popular in papal iconography, the images Gregory XIII selected as a vehicle to convey such meanings were highly innovative. Based on terrestrial and celestial maps and on perspective views, the Sala Bologna was a visual glorification of the interrelations among cartography, astronomy, and perspective.³⁰ The importance of these mixed sciences to the understanding of the natural world was a common theme of discourse in the sixteenth century, but the discussion of their intermediary role between the knowledge of the physical world and that of the meta-

physical was peculiar to Gregory XIII's cultural and religious milieu. A few years later, Egnazio Danti, Gregory XIII's papal cosmographer, explicitly wrote that the mixed sciences “elevate the intellect, and sharpen [one's] wits to the contemplation of divine things,” and thus were indispensable to theologians in order to achieve a correct interpretation of the Bible, a view that Gregory XIII shared and proclaimed in his Sala Bologna.³¹

28. Through the Bolognese ambassador in Rome, the pope requested that Scipione Dattili, a civic engineer who worked extensively for the Bolognese senate, update an older map of the city and county of Bologna, then kept in the Bolognese cathedral of St. Peter. This old map is now lost, but Gregory XIII surely knew it well. Both the old map of St. Peter and Dattili's updated version were sent to Rome, then back to Bologna to be revised according to the pope's wishes and the requirements of the reception room. On the Sala Bologna, see Comelli, *Piante e vedute*, esp. 4–16; D. Redig de Campos, *I Palazzi Vaticani* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1967), 173–74; Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Florence: Nardini, 1992), 154–55; Manuela Ghizzoni, “L'immagine di Bologna nella veduta vaticana del 1575,” in *Imago Urbis: L'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia*, ed. Francesca Bocchi and Rosa Smurra (Rome: Viella, 2003), 139–73; and Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 138–50. On Gregory XIII, see Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 40 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1891–1953), vols. 19 and 20.

29. The sky map of the Sala Bologna is centered on the northern celestial hemisphere, which runs from Virgo to Pisces. The southern hemisphere, instead, is divided into two crescent-shaped parts and added at the sides of the central circular northern hemisphere. Beside the canonical forty-eight Ptolemaic constellations, the star map also illustrates the late Roman constellation of Antinous, and its source was the popular star map made by François Demongenot after 1552. The ceiling was painted mostly by Sabatini, but Mascherino may have contributed a few figures, such as the putti at the corners of the sky map and the *Fall of Phaeton*, a drawing of which, now in Boston and traditionally attributed to Pellegrino Tibaldi, is instead related to the Sala Bologna and stylistically close to the work of Mascherino. On Tibaldi's drawing, see David McTavish, “Pellegrino Tibaldi's *Fall of Phaethon* in the Palazzo Poggi, Bologna,” *Burlington Magazine* 122, no. 924 (1980): 186–88. On the sky map of the Sala Bologna and its relation to the similar map in the Sala della Cosmografia in the Farnese Palace at Caprarola, see Deborah Jean Warner, “The Celestial Cartography of Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 336–37; Jacob Hess, “On Some Celestial Maps and Globes of the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 406–9; Loren W. Partridge, “The Room of Maps at Caprarola, 1573–75,” *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 413–44; and Mary Quinlan-McGrath, “Caprarola's Sala della Cosmografia,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997): 1045–1100.

30. For the interpretation of the Sala Bologna as a representation of the interrelation among the mixed sciences of the Renaissance, see Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 71–72, and Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 150–57.

31. Egnazio Danti in Giacomo Vignola, *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1583), introduction (unpaginated). It is possible that one of the allegorical personifications in the Sala Bologna, now lost, might have represented *Religio* and thus might have suggested more closely the application of these mixed sciences to Gregory XIII's pastoral mission.

THE MONASTERY OF SAN LORENZO
MAGGIORE IN NAPLES

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the cartographic depiction of the dominion was also favored by the viceroy of Naples, Enrique de Guzmán, second count of Olivares. Under an elaborate ceiling decorated with grotesques and allegorical personifications of the virtues, the artist Luigi Rodriguez painted the provinces of the kingdom of Naples and the Spanish possessions in Tuscany in the refectory of the convent of San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, a hall then used as the meeting place of the Neapolitan parliament. The painted maps were a schematic rendition of the famous maps of the kingdom of Naples that Nicola Antonio Stigliola had made in the 1580s.³² Inspired by the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace, which Guzmán knew from his 1580–82 service as the Spanish ambassador to the papal court, the map murals in San Lorenzo Maggiore and Stigliola's maps were meant to supplement the poor depiction of southern Italy in the papal corridor.

The discourse of control and supremacy, inherent to Renaissance cartography, was particularly explicit in the representation of the actual dominion of the governing authority, be it a republican government, a duke, a bishop, or a pope. But even within this more strictly political representation of the land, Renaissance cartography offered the space for the articulation of grander themes that, while grounded in local traditions, were also becoming obsolete in light of the new discoveries and the partitions of power in Europe. The Atlantic routes were rapidly pushing Venetian ships to the margins of world commerce, and the Medici conquest of Siena limited the autonomy of the ancient republic to a mere administrative matter. The rise of the modern nation-states gradually reduced the significance of the territorial dominion of the papacy. Within the new European order, the Duchy of Tuscany could claim its supremacy on the basis not of its territorial domain but of the breath of its cultural and scientific patronage. To these governing authorities cartography offered a powerful symbolic realm within which they were able to maintain their traditional pride in the glories of the past.

BEYOND THE DOMINION

The symbolic possibility afforded by Renaissance cartography became even more evident in cycles of painted maps that included maps or views not under the jurisdiction of a single ruler. Maps of the old and new worlds or views of important European cities were imaginatively combined in order to articulate the aspirations, dreams, and utopias of their patrons. These cycles of painted maps construed symbolically such diverse notions of dominion as Cardinal

Farnese's wish to be elected Pope, Gregory XIII's dream of global evangelization, Cosimo I's desire for intellectual possession of the cosmos, or the aspiration to divine knowledge of Benedictine monks. In so doing, these imaginative map cycles took full advantage of the innovations of Renaissance cartography. In some cases, they anticipated the idea of the modern atlas, an idea that eventually found its permanent form within the binding structure of the printed book. The atlas of Italy and the atlas of the modern world were first realized as cycles of painted maps. The maps of the continents, issued as separate geographical prints, were first unified as a group in painted cycles, while the encyclopedic map of the world continued to exercise its alluring power on Renaissance rulers and popes.

THE WORLD MAP

The encyclopedic world map that dominated the geographical imagination of educated viewers in the Middle Ages enjoyed an enduring fascination well after the re-discovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Displayed everywhere throughout the Renaissance, the Renaissance map of the world acquired Ptolemy's cartographic grid while continuing to function as a symbol of imperial authority, a visual synthesis of encyclopedic knowledge, and a vehicle, with Jerusalem at its center, for the Christian worldview.³³ To these traditional meanings others were added, and the center of the world map was shifted to other cities (Rome, Siena, or Venice) and other countries (France or the imperial dominions).

The tradition of displaying a map of the world in order to convey the religious aspirations of the Roman pontiff, which is documented as having existed since at least the early eighth century, continued almost without interruption from the papacy of Paul II, who had a world map by Antonio Leonardi displayed in the audience hall of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, to the reign of Pope Gregory XIII, who a century later selected a world map for the new papal villa on the Quirinal.³⁴ World maps were also

32. On Stigliola's maps of the kingdom of Naples, see pp. 962–70 in this volume.

33. On medieval world maps in general, see David Woodward, "Medieval *Mappaemundi*," in *HC* 1:286–370. On the display of world maps in the Middle Ages, see Marcia A. Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames," *Word & Image* 10 (1994): 262–88.

34. On Antonio Leonardi's world map, which was displayed in the room of the Palazzo Venezia still named the Sala del Mappamondo and which Ulisse Aldrovandi saw still in place in 1554, see Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue entiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e case si veggono* (1562; reprinted Hildesheim: B. Olms, 1975), 261; Giuseppe Zippel, "Cosmografi al servizio dei Papi nel Quattrocento," *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, ser. 4, vol. 11 (1910): 843–52; and Ignazio Filippo Dengel, "Sulla 'mappa mundi' di Palazzo

displayed in European courts to convey political supremacy. João III of Portugal had the earth's globe woven as a tapestry to celebrate his imperial marriage and to claim his sovereignty over the trading routes to Africa and Brazil. Emperor Charles V, who had the imperial orb depicted as the earth's globe in his personal emblems, likewise commissioned magnificent tapestries with maps to convey his aspirations to worldwide dominion. The king of England had court artist Hans Holbein paint two large world maps for the pageantry organized at Greenwich in 1527 to celebrate the conclusion of hostilities between France and England. Holbein's painted maps must have been quite spectacular, for the Venetian ambassador, who was present at the celebration, described them in detail to the Venetian authorities.³⁵ Even the residence of a minor noble had mural world maps, as the recently discovered painted map in the Palazzo Besta in northern Italy suggests.³⁶

The most important republics were particularly fond of the medieval world map. The citizens of the Republic of Siena continued to use the gigantic rotating world map that Ambrogio Lorenzetti had painted in their official meeting hall. Featuring the city of Siena at the center of the known world and facing Simone Martini's majestic fresco of the Virgin Mary, the rotating map conveyed the ideals of the Republic: the centrality of the city in world affairs and its privileged position under the spiritual patronage of the Virgin.³⁷ In Holland, a mosaic map of the world adorned the floor of the Burgerzaal (the Great Central Hall) in the town hall of Amsterdam. The official seat of the Venetian Republic was likewise adorned with a world map, which Alessandro Zorzi had made in 1531 for the Collegio, the meeting and audience room of the executive magistrate of the Republic (fig. 32.2).³⁸ The merchants of Venice had a monumental world map displayed for their use in the loggia of the Rialto market; this was repainted in 1459 after the map was destroyed in the construction of a new loggia.³⁹ Influential cardinals of the lagoon followed the predilection of their merchants and had world maps displayed alongside their collections of antiquities, as was the case with Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who conveyed his cosmopolitan and humanistic knowledge to his visitors through the joint display of Giovanni Bellini's now-lost world map and his prestigious art collection.⁴⁰

THE CONTINENTS

Ptolemy had divided the world into continents, but only Renaissance mapmakers represented these main partitions of the earth's globe in individual maps, which were produced either as geographical prints or as illustrations for geography books, including Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Important sets of maps of the continents, however, appeared in the form of map murals;

one of the earliest was in the Sala dello Scudo in the ducal palace in Venice.

THE SALA DELLO SCUDO IN VENICE

Located on the first floor of the Renaissance wing of the ducal palace, the Sala dello Scudo derived its name from its function: the exhibition of the coat of arms of the gov-

Venezia," in *Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, 3 vols. (Rome: Cremonese, 1931), 2:164–69. Antonio Leonardi also made copies of this world map for Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (1465) and for the duke of Ferrara, Borso d'Este; see Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 30–31. Gregory XIII's world map for the Palazzo del Quirinale is now lost.

35. On Hans Holbein's painted maps of the world, see Peter Barber, "England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government. Maps at Court to 1550," in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 26–56, esp. 30 and n. 35. World maps were also displayed at the English court in the Middle Ages. Henry III commissioned a world map for his bedroom, the Painted Chamber in the royal palace at Westminster, and later, in 1236, another world map for the Great Hall at Winchester; see Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1986), and Kupfer, "Medieval World Maps," 277–79.

36. Recently, a painted map of the world was discovered in the Palazzo Besta, Teglio, in Valtellina, Italy. The painted maps are copies of Caspar Vopel's world map (Cologne, 1545), a wall map of which only two later examples have survived.

37. On Ambrogio Lorenzetti's now-lost world map in the Sala del Mappamondo (then the Sala del Concilio) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, see Marcia Kupfer, "The Lost Wheel Map of Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 286–310.

38. In addition to the world map for the Collegio, Zorzi made two more maps for the Chapel of San Nicolò, known also as the Chiesetta, a small chapel adjacent to the Collegio; these maps, illustrating the Holy Land and the island of Cyprus and dated between 1535 and 1536, must have been regarded as visual aids to religious readings. In 1541, Zorzi added a third map (or city view) to the Chiesetta, illustrating Constantinople, where Zorzi had lived extensively in previous years. On Zorzi's maps for the ducal palace, see Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 415, dated 17 June 1531, about "uno mapamundo da poner ne la sala del Collegio"; doc. no. 435, dated 26 May 1535, about "uno disegno de la Terra Santa et la isola de Cypri da esser posto in la giesiola"; doc. no. 448, dated 27 April 1541, about "pictura chel fa del paese di Constantinopoli in qua posta nella Chiesiola del Palazzo"; and doc. nos. 441, 527, 531, and 21 in Lorenzi's appendix. On Zorzi's maps, see also Gallo, "Le mappe geografiche," 55–58; Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 107; and Pignatti, "Il Palazzo ducale," 261, which says that Zorzi's map was a chorographic map of the Venetian terra firma. On the fire of 1574 that destroyed Zorzi's maps, see Franzoi, "Il Palazzo ducale," 99–101.

39. On the world map near the Rialto market, see Sansovino, *Venezia*, fol. 134r; Morosini, *Historia*, 233, which related that the world map was painted at the Rialto bridge around 1322–24; Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 183b; and Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 29.

40. On Bellini's world map in the Grimani Palace, see Carlo Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie dell'arte*, 2 vols. (1648; Milan: Arnaldo Forni, 1999), 1:72, and Pio Paschini, "Le collezioni archeologiche dei prelati Grimani del Cinquecento," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 5 (1926–27): 149–90, esp. 175 and 189.

erning doge. To further mark this prominent place of Venetian power, the Council of Ten decided to adorn it with maps of the continents. Between 1549 and 1553, the council commissioned Giacomo Gastaldi to provide the cartoons for four large maps painted on *teleri*.⁴¹ An expert cartographer who had previously done works for the Republic, Gastaldi had to extensively revise the original cartoons according to the extremely detailed instructions provided by the Council of Ten, which included the cartographic sources and books Gastaldi was required to consult. It is plausible that these unusually detailed instructions came from the geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio, then a member of the council. Gastaldi was further required to obtain approval for any cartographic change. One of these changes is particularly interesting, pointing to the deep interrelation between art and cartography in Renaissance mapping. Considering the large size of the map of Africa and its correct measurements, Gastaldi suggested adding the coast of Brazil; according to Gastaldi, this addition would have documented modern discoveries while at the same time improving the overall composition of the cartographic image by filling a large area of the map that otherwise would have been left empty.

Gastaldi's maps did not survive; the maps presently in the Sala dello Scudo were painted in the eighteenth century by the polymath Francesco Grisellini. Although Grisellini claimed that he had restored Gastaldi's maps, the existing maps do not correspond to Renaissance descriptions of Gastaldi's work, suggesting either that Grisellini altered the Renaissance originals or that the maps he thought were Gastaldi's had already been heavily altered in an earlier, undocumented restoration. Above the doorways, Grisellini also added three new maps illustrating famous Venetian travels, including the invented travels of the Zeno brothers in northern Europe.⁴² Significantly, however, the meaning of the maps of the continents in the Sala dello Scudo remained unchanged in the two centuries between Gastaldi's work and Grisellini's restorations. Commissioning the restoration of the original maps in the eighteenth century, the Council of Ten unequivocally stated: "From now on, these maps will represent the glories of this City in relation to both the discoveries of new lands and the remarkable reports on unknown places. They will also serve as a noble incentive to their viewers to either cultivate their erudition or take inspiration for emulation."⁴³ While describing the world, the maps contributed to the glory of Venice by demonstrating the contribution of its citizens to the discovery of new lands and trading routes.

THE SALA DEL MAPPAMONDO AT CAPRAROLA

Map murals illustrating the continents also adorned the sumptuous palace that Cardinal Alessandro Farnese built

at Caprarola and lavishly decorated with scenes of mythology, deeds of the Farnese family, and much more.⁴⁴ For the Sala della Cosmografia, his reception room, Cardinal Farnese selected maps of the four continents (plate 27), which were connected by means of three additional maps illustrating the Holy Land, Italy, and the world. The maps of the continents articulated the cardinal's aspiration to be elected pope, a reading that became apparent once the maps were connected with the other parts of the room's decoration, namely the sky map and the astrological frieze on the ceiling. The star map was a map of the destiny of the young Farnese, who was elected cardinal in spite of his right of primogeniture, which usually entailed a responsibility for continuing the family line through marriage. The astrological frieze sustaining the sky map expressed the cardinal's papal expectations in the language of astrology; the maps of the continents were the stage of his secular and spiritual power, while the maps of the Holy Land and Italy represent the respective epicenters of Jewish and Christian religion. The high expectations of Alessandro Farnese were no secret to his own circle, the papal court, and the European powers. Underestimated so far, surprisingly, is the fact that Cardinal Farnese commissioned the iconography of the Sala della Cosmografia—emphasizing his destiny as cardinal, his future as pope, and his worldwide influence—immediately following his loss in the papal election of 1572. The defeated cardinal, whom the stars destined to be the spiritual ruler of the world, had to reaffirm his destiny against the contingency of politics, and

41. Sansovino described Gastaldi's maps in the ducal palace as "four large pictures that cover the upper part of the walls up to the ceiling, in which pictures are seen of all the parts of the world painted with great diligence" (Sansovino, *Venetia*, 218). He also reported on the other paintings in the room: a Resurrection of Christ by Jacopo Tintoretto, a Crucifixion by Salviati, and a painting of sibyls and prophets, also by Salviati. On Gastaldi's maps in the Sala dello Scudo, see also Lorenzi, *Monumenti*, doc. no. 571, dated 6 May 1549, about a map of "tota regio Aphricae"; doc. no. 573, dated 8 January 1550, on the additions of "tutto il mondo ritrovato da Spagnuoli da 50 anni in qua, cioè l'isole spagnole, la Cuba, la nova Spagna, il paese del Peru et el mar del Sur"; and doc. no. 594, dated 6 August 1553, on the companion map. See also Gallo, "Le mappe geografiche," 60–64; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 240–45; and Pignatti, "Il Palazzo ducale," 261.

42. On Francesco Grisellini's restorations, see Gallo, "Le mappe geografiche," 75–100. Grisellini also painted the portraits of Venetian travelers still preserved in the Sala dello Scudo.

43. Quoted in Gallo, "Le mappe geografiche," 79–80.

44. On the Sala del Mappamondo in the Farnese Palace at Caprarola, see Kristen Lippincott, "Two Astrological Ceilings Reconsidered: The Sala di Galatea in the Villa Farnesina and the Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 185–207; Partridge, "Room of Maps," 413–44; Quinlan-McGrath, "Caprarola's Sala della Cosmografia," 1045–1100; and pp. 395–96 in this volume. On the artistic patronage of Cardinal Farnese, see Clare Robertson, "Il gran cardinale": *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

he used the cartographic language of earlier papal decorations to claim his place at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Modeled after Pius IV's map cycle in the Terza Loggia, the map murals of the Farnese room expressed the universal aims of the aspiring pope.

THE REGIONS OF THE WORLD

Printed maps of the regions of the world were widely diffused either as individual geographical prints or as modern additions to the maps illustrated in the Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*. From 1570 onward, the maps of the modern world were also assembled in map books that we today call atlases, such as Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Historically, however, the idea of the modern atlas of the world found its first realization not in printed books but rather in cycles of painted maps such as those of the Terza Loggia and the Guardaroba Nuova. Including an unprecedented number of maps of the modern world, these princely map cycles were conceived as three-dimensional versions of the Renaissance editions of Ptolemy's *Geography*; they not only followed the cartographic conventions of Ptolemy, but also were ordered according to the sequence he had devised for the known world. The cartographic content of these cycles of painted maps, however, departed significantly from Ptolemy's maps. Unlike Ptolemy's geography manual, but like contemporary cosmography books, these painted maps were connected with additional images illustrating different aspects of the mapped regions. Such a combination of maps of the world's regions with other images made it possible to attach very different meanings to identical maps: to one the aspirations for world evangelization of the post-Tridentine papacy, to another the Medici duke's desire for symbolic possession of the cosmos.

THE TERZA LOGGIA IN THE VATICAN PALACE

The first map cycles with maps of the modern world were painted for the papal residence at the Vatican between 1560 and 1585. Pope Pius IV commissioned the French cartographer Etienne Du Pérac to prepare the cartoons for thirteen modern maps of Europe, which were to be painted in the east wing of the Terza Loggia, the third story of the Renaissance addition to the papal residence (fig. 32.4).⁴⁵ Du Pérac arranged the maps according to the order of Ptolemy, but based their cartographic content on Gerardus Mercator's map of Europe (1554) and additional modern maps.⁴⁶ On the wall above the maps are landscape views related to the mapped territories, while on the vaults of the loggia are inscriptions commemorating papal deeds, along with scenes painted by Lorenzo Sabatini illustrating examples of good and bad life. Un-

finished at Pius IV's death and untouched by his successor, Pius V, the Terza Loggia was completed around 1580, when Gregory XIII entrusted the Dominican polymath Egnazio Danti with the design of a world map divided into two hemispheres (fig. 32.5) and ten maps of Africa, Asia, and America, which were painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino. Danti, who had served Gregory XIII in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, based the completion of the Terza Loggia on the similar map cycles in the Guardaroba Nuova in Florence that he had made for Cosimo I in the 1560s, a fact attested by comparing the Vatican maps with the earlier Florentine maps.⁴⁷ The maps of the world were complemented by city views that

45. Seminal in the map cycle of the Terza Loggia remains MCV, vol. 4, which identified the cartographic sources of the entire cycle; see also Florio Banfi, "The Cosmographic Loggia of the Vatican Palace," *Imago Mundi* 9 (1952): 23–34, and Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 99–103. On the vault's decoration, see Jacob Hess, *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zu Renaissance und Barock*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1967), 1:117–25; Redig de Campos, *I Palazzi Vaticani*, 161–62 and 169–74; and Pietrangeli, *Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*. On the landscape above the maps, see Cristina Bragaglia Venuti, "Etienne Dupérac e i paesaggi della Loggia di Pio VI," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 57 (2002): 279–310. Important in the understanding of the Terza Loggia in relation to the post-Tridentine papacy is John M. Headley, "Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 1119–55. On the iconography of the Terza Loggia in its entirety, see Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 231–50.

46. On the maps of the west wing, see MCV, 4:7–26, esp. 25, which identifies the following cartographic sources: Gerardus Mercator, map of Europe (1554); George Lily's map of the British Isles (1546); Thomas Geminus's map of Spain (1555; second edition 1559); Jean Joliver's map of France (1560); Giacomo Gastaldi's map of Italy (1561); Gastaldi's map of Germany (1552); and Olaus Magnus's map of northern Europe (1539). The religious scenes on the vault represent the Trinity; personifications of Time, the Sun, the Moon, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, the Year, Life, and the Century; and examples of the good and bad behavior of children, youth, men and women, elders, and seniors.

47. On the maps of the north wing of the Terza Loggia, see MCV, 4:28–33, although it did not compare them to the maps that Danti had done previously in Florence. Danti based the Vatican map of Africa on Gastaldi's map of Africa (1564), the same source he used for the Guardaroba Nuova. And, as in the Guardaroba Nuova, for the representation of Madagascar he followed Portuguese manuscript maps available at the Medici court, copies of which he must have kept after his departure from Florence. For the maps of Asia, Danti used the same sources of the Florentine map cycle, Gastaldi's maps of Asia (1559–61), and Anthony Jenkinson's map of Muscovy. Similarly, he based the maps of America on Abraham Ortelius's world map (1564), which he had used already in the Guardaroba Nuova. Also, the two hemispheres, which are not based on printed maps, correspond to Danti's work in the Guardaroba Nuova and might have been based on a world map that Danti himself compiled and described in a later letter to Ortelius, published in Abraham Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi antverpiensis) et viroorum eruditiorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colivm Ortelianvm . . . Epistvlae . . . (1524–1628)*, ed. Jan Hendrik Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, vol. 1 (1887; reprinted Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969), letter no. 100.

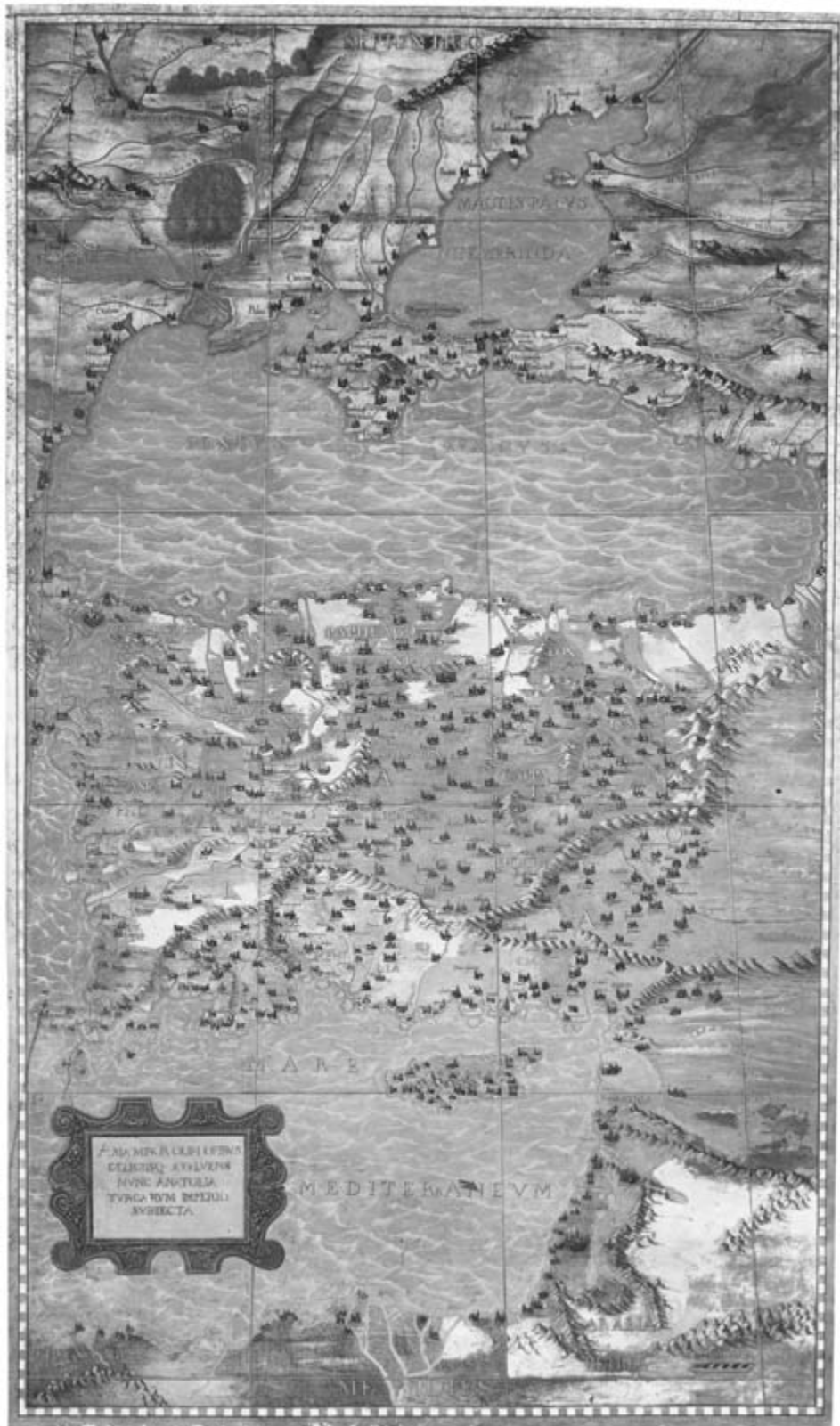


FIG. 32.4. MAP OF ASIA MINOR, 1565, TERZA LOGGIA, VATICAN PALACE, ROME. Fresco designed by Etienne Du Pérac.

Photograph courtesy of the Vatican Museums, Vatican City (Neg. N. II 25.9).



FIG. 32.5. AMERICAN HEMISPHERE, CA. 1582, TERZA LOGGIA, VATICAN PALACE, ROME. Fresco designed by Egnazio Danti.
Photograph courtesy of Scala / Art Resource, New York.

have not survived.⁴⁸ Danti was also responsible for the connection between the maps and the other parts of the decoration. On the wall above the maps, a frieze painted by Antonio Tempesta and Mattheus Bril illustrates the procession staged in 1580 for the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus's body to Saint Peter's, celebrating Gregory XIII's wish to reunify believers under the Greek and Roman rites. On the ceiling, scenes of paradise inspired by the breviary, the liturgical text Gregory XIII had reformed in the early 1580s, refer to the papal desire to unify the Catholic liturgy worldwide. The inscriptions commemorating important events of Gregory XIII's pontificate, also on the ceiling, restate the centrality of Rome to Catholic spirituality.⁴⁹

As a whole, the Terza Loggia celebrates the wish of the post-Tridentine papacy to expand Catholicism universally by reconverting large parts of Europe to the Catholic faith, reaffirming the unity between those under the Greek and Roman rites, and converting the peoples of Africa, Asia, and America. The actions of the Roman pontiffs, recalled metonymically in the frieze of the Gregorian procession and in the inscriptions of papal deeds on the ceiling, took place in Rome, but their effect needed to spread to the world mapped on the walls below. That papal actions were meant to affect the world spiritually rather than politically is made manifest by the scenes from paradise, which crown both the scenes of papal deeds and the maps of the world below. Following a firm medieval tradition, post-Tridentine popes adopted the

language of Renaissance cartography as a vehicle of their ecumenical message. But, unlike their medieval predecessors, they had detailed maps with which to penetrate unknown lands and thus transform the medieval dream into a real program of propagating the faith. Indeed, the use of modern cartography for religious purposes became such a distinctive element of papal iconography that the Terza Loggia, even before its completion, served as a model for Cardinal Farnese's Sala della Cosmografia discussed earlier.

THE GUARDAROPA NUOVA IN THE PALAZZO VECCHIO, FLORENCE

The map cycle of the Terza Loggia served as a model for a similar series of maps of the world that Cosimo I de' Medici had painted in his ducal palace in Florence. In the manner of other European dynasties, the Medici collected maps and globes extensively, and Cosimo I consistently used globes as part of his personal political iconography. In 1563, he asked his iconographic advisers to plan a complex decoration representing the cosmos for his Guardaroba Nuova, a room on the second floor of the palace that he had refurbished with large cupboards meant to accommodate a selection of his collections. The court artist Giorgio Vasari described the planned decoration in detail: the doors of the cupboards were to be painted with fifty-seven maps of the world; the maps were to be connected with images of plants and animals native to the mapped countries, and also with portraits and busts of famous people and rulers who were related to the mapped lands; and the Ptolemaic constellations were to be represented on the ceiling, which would conceal a terrestrial and

48. The city views were already badly damaged in the eighteenth century. Agostino Maria Taja, in *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome: Niccolò e Marco Pagliarini, 1750), 250 and 263, detected traces of city views under each map and between the loggia's arcades but could identify only the following: views of Senega, Fessa nova, and Fessa vetus underneath the map *Africa occidentalis*; a view of "Cassum reginae Candacis sedes" underneath the map *Africa orientalis*; and views of Alexandria and Damascus below the map of Turkey. Taja also recorded the original legends of the maps and their titles: *Africa occidentalis*, *Africa orientalis*, *Turcicum extra Europam Dominium*, *Persarum Regnum*, *Utriusque Indiae regiones*, *Sinense Imperium*, *Tartaria Septentrionalis*, *America*, *Hispania nova*, and *Insulae iuxta primum meridianum*. The Terza Loggia was heavily restored in 1875, when Pope Pius IX commissioned a major restoration by the painter Alessandro Mantovani, who repainted the city views and created new legends for the maps; see MCV, 4:2–6.

49. The scenes on the ceiling of the northern wing represent groups of children, married couples, widows, virgins, confessors, martyrs, doctors of the church, evangelists, apostles, angels, and the Trinity (Hess, *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien*, 1:117–25). On the frieze with views of Rome, see Carlo Pietrangeli, "Roma 1580," *Strenna dei Romanisti*, 1979, 457–68, and Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 16 and 136.

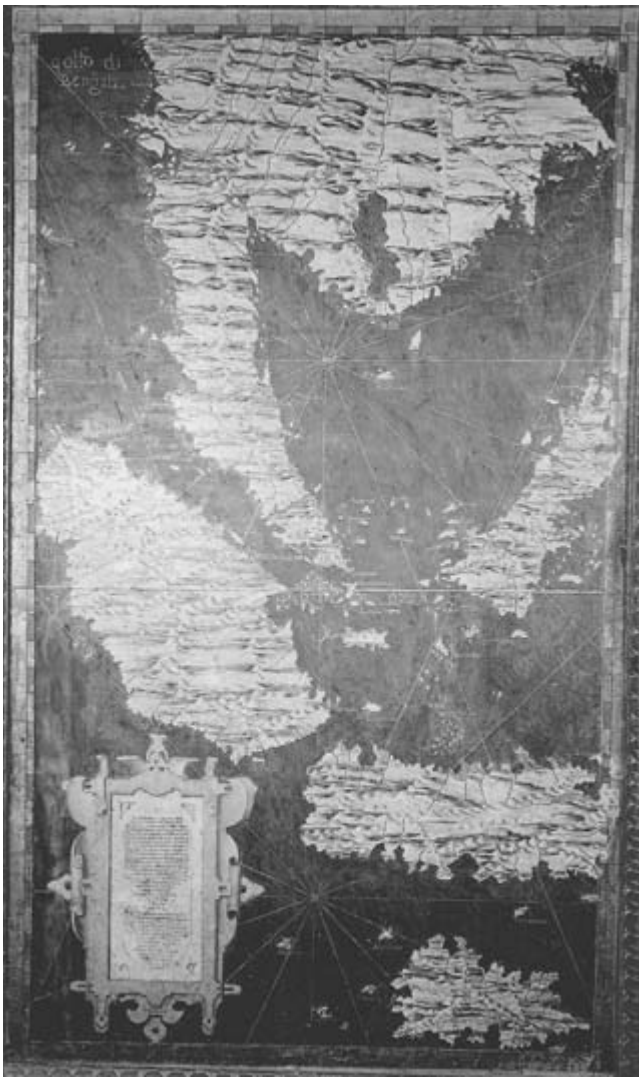


FIG. 32.6. MAP OF INDOCHINA AND INDONESIA, 1573, GUARDAROBÀ NUOVA, PALAZZO VECCHIO, FLORENCE. Oil on panel, designed and painted by Egnazio Danti. With permission from Fototeca dei Musei Comunali di Firenze.

a celestial globe that could be lowered to pedestals on the floor.⁵⁰ Vasari's description vividly suggests to the modern reader that the Guardaroba Nuova was conceived as an exploration of the cosmos accurately reduced to room-size dimensions. Entering the room would have been like walking into the center of the cosmos, with the regions of the world displayed at the sides and the sky depicted on the ceiling. The room-size exploration of the cosmos was enriched by observation and study of the images of plants, animals, and people that populate the world and by the added wonder of handling fragments of the world's treasures and oddities kept in the cupboards.

This map cycle was a group achievement of Medici courtiers who worked together to flatter their ruler with

a new invention. The scholars Vincenzo Borghini and Miniato Pitti acted as artistic and cartographic advisers, respectively; Vasari oversaw its execution; Danti made the cartoons and painted the maps from 1563 to 1575 (fig. 32.6); and Stefano Buonsignori completed what Danti had left unfinished from 1577 to 1586. For each continent, a single wall map was chosen as the main cartographic source and divided to fit the panels of the Guardaroba Nuova. Additional regional maps were often used, including unpublished maps, nautical charts, and travel reports that Cosimo made available from his library.⁵¹ With its extensive collection of maps of the world's regions, the Guardaroba Nuova was an original painted atlas of the modern world.

The maps of the Guardaroba Nuova also had an innovative function within the practice of collecting. Painted on the doors of the cupboards, the maps were labels to allow the viewer to easily locate the objects both in the room's cupboards and in the world's geography. They served as a visual catalogue for the collection of artifacts displayed in the room. At the same time, the entire iconography of the Guardaroba Nuova was a gigantic three-dimensional metaphor of Cosimo I's rule, emphatically proclaiming the grand duke's possession of the world both literally and symbolically. Literally, the room

50. On the Guardaroba Nuova, see Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 2 vols., trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, intro. and notes David Ekserdjian (New York: Knopf, 1996), 2:891–93; Ettore Allegrì and Alessandro Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici: Guida storica* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1980), 287–316, in which are published the documents pertaining to the room's construction and decoration; MCV, 3:13–16; and Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 97–122. For a complete set of handsome illustrations of the maps, see Gemmarosa Levi-Donati, ed., *Le tavole geografiche della Guardaroba Medicea di Palazzo Vecchio in Firenze* (Perugia: Benucci, 1995). On the place of the Guardaroba Nuova in the context of European curiosity cabinets, see Scott Schaefer, "The Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1976), 149–53; Philippe Morel, "Le Studiolo de Francesco I de' Medici et l'économie symbolique du pouvoir au Palazzo Vecchio," in *Symboles de la Renaissance*, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 1982), 185–205; and Wolfgang Liebenwein, *Studiolo: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio culturale*, ed. Claudia Cieri Via (Modena: Panini, 1988), 118–30. On its relation to the iconography of Cosimo I, see Francesca Fiorani, "Maps, Politics, and the Grand Duke of Florence: The Sala della Guardaroba Nuova of Cosimo I de' Medici," in *Renaissance Representations of the Prince: Basilike Eikon*, ed. Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger (Rome: Kappa 2001), 73–102.

51. Danti used Gerardus Mercator's map of Europe (1554) as the main source for the old continent, Giacomo Gastaldi's maps of Asia (1559–61) for his maps of Asia, Abraham Ortelius's map of the world (1564) for the new world, and Mercator's map of the world (1569) to fill gaps everywhere. Among the Medici maps were the Portuguese navigational charts made by Lopo Homem (1554) and Bartolomeu Velho (1561), which Danti used to represent Madagascar and the African coast. Buonsignori, instead, used Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) as a cartographic source.

provided safekeeping for world objects in Cosimo's possession. Symbolically, the room referred to the persona of the grand duke through his very name. For Cosimo I, the representation of the cosmos had an irresistible appeal as a symbol best synthesizing numerous themes of his political imagery, such as the flattering of the emperor or the derivation of the legitimacy of his rule directly from Cosimo the Elder, the Medici founding father. In the Guardaroba Nuova, the cartographic description of the world was conflated, or perhaps coincided, with the emblem of Cosimo's rule. Medici courtiers, illustrious visitors, and contemporary viewers well versed in the visual exegesis practiced at the ducal court would not have failed to recognize the cosmography of the Guardaroba Nuova as a gigantic emblem of Cosimo or, conversely, would have attributed to Cosimo, because of his name, the symbolic possession of the cosmos.

Cycles of painted maps such as those of the Terza Loggia and the Guardaroba Nuova, which include modern maps of the world, invite comparison with contemporary map books such as Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Their comparative analysis is particularly revealing for those who wish to understand how different cartographic works converged in the formation of the modern atlas as well as to grasp the sharp differences in symbolic meaning that identical maps had in different contexts. For instance, Danti and Ortelius used the same method in comparing, collating, and integrating previous maps, often selecting the same map as their main cartographic source. They both conceived their assemblage of maps as inconsistent in terms of scale, but homogeneous in terms of size: the format of a large folio for Ortelius, the size of a wood panel (or a fresco) for Danti. But Danti's and Ortelius's collection of maps differed deeply in terms of audiences and meanings. The maps of the world that Ortelius bound in a book and made accessible to a large readership were enjoyed all over Europe as achievements of modern cartography and bearers of European superiority. Danti's work based on the same maps, crafted for the privileged view of the Medici and papal courts, became part of the political imagery of the duke of Florence and of the papal wish for global evangelization. The relation between cycles of painted maps and map books is illuminating, enhancing our understanding of the history of the atlas idea, but the full meaning of the cycles of painted maps is graspable only once their cartographic content is evaluated in conjunction with the iconography of the entire room within which the maps themselves were displayed.

THE HOLY LAND

Maps of the Holy Land circulated widely in Renaissance Europe as large wall maps, small inexpensive geographi-

cal prints, and Bible illustrations. In cycles of painted maps, the maps of the Holy Land were never presented by themselves, but rather paired with a map of Italy. The pairing of the two lands, a common theme in religious writings and iconographies from the Middle Ages onward, stressed the shift from the old religion to the new, from Jerusalem to Rome, from the places of Christ to the seat of his representative in Rome. Renaissance map murals gave new vitality to this traditional theme by substituting the medieval personifications of the two lands with modern maps, as in the Sala della Cosmografia at Caprarola. The traditional pairing is further articulated in another map cycle in the Library of the Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, in which the maps of the Holy Land and Italy are joined with maps of Greece to stress the common root of the Roman and Greek liturgies.

THE MONASTERY OF SAN GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA IN PARMA

In Parma, the capital of the Farnese duchy, stood the old Benedictine Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista, whose library was famous for its rich collection of ancient religious texts. In 1574–75, the library, a large rectangular room with a vaulted ceiling, was decorated with a complex system of images including maps, hieroglyphics, emblems, personifications, grotesques, and inscriptions in Latin, Greek, Chaldaic, and Syrian. Painted by Ercole Pio and Antonio Paganino, the iconography of the library was designed by the erudite abbot of the monastery, Stefano Cattaneo da Novara. Stefano derived most of the images from Benito Arias Montano's polyglot Bible, the *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, particularly book VIII, which contained the rich visual apparatus that the Spanish scholar had assembled to enhance the religious and historical understanding of the biblical text.⁵²

The long walls of the library are decorated with six map murals depicting the Holy Land at the time of Abraham, the Holy Land divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, Italy, Greece, the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, and the Battle of Lepanto (figs. 32.7 and 32.8). The his-

52. On the library of the Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, see Maria Luisa Madonna, "La biblioteca: *Theatrum mundi e theatrum sapientiae*," in *L'abbazia benedettina di San Giovanni Evangelista a Parma*, ed. Bruno Adorni (Milan: Silvana, 1979), 177–94. For color reproductions of the maps and transcriptions of legends and inscriptions, see *La Biblioteca Monumentale dell'Abbazia di San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma: Un affascinante viaggio all'intero di una biblioteca rinascimentale. La storia, le iscrizioni* (Parma: Benedettina Editrice, 1999). On Montano's maps of the Holy Land, see Zur Shalev, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 56–80.

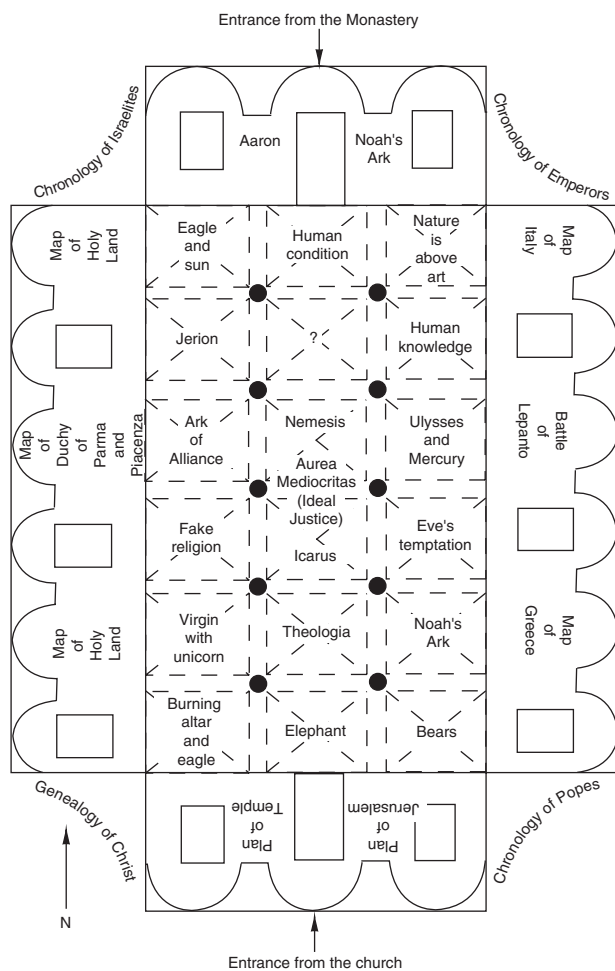


FIG. 32.7. PLAN OF THE LIBRARY, MONASTERY OF SAN GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA. The maps of the Holy Land and the images pertaining to the Jewish religion were copied from Benito Arias Montano, *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine* (Antwerp, 1572). On the ceiling, emblems, allegorical figures, and inscriptions in different languages present the library as the privileged place for the achievement of divine knowledge.

torical maps of the Holy Land are germane to the main theme of the iconography: the acquisition of divine truth through the knowledge provided by different religions. The maps of Italy and Greece, which were not published in Montano's Bible, were added by Stefano in order to stress the common root of the Roman and Greek rites. But the prominent place is given to modern maps celebrating Farnese deeds and lands, which face each other at the center of the library. The map of Parma and Piacenza was the first to represent the Farnese territory as an independent unity (it was usually included on maps of Lombardy) and thus give cartographic representation to Farnese political power: the coat of arms of Ottavio Farnese, who regained the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza in 1556, floats over the mapped territory. The view of the Battle of

Lepanto, based on one of the many prints that circulated widely in Europe, celebrated Ottavio's son, Alessandro Farnese, who had fought against the Turks at Lepanto together with the papal and Venetian fleets. The political representation of Farnese power is intertwined with the esoteric imagery.

Indeed the interpretative key to this complex iconography is offered by the imagery copied from Montano's Bible on the short walls of the library. On the south wall, the map of Jerusalem at the time of Christ is paired with the plan of the second temple of Jerusalem. On the north wall, the portrait of the Jewish priest Aaron is represented together with Noah's Ark, which, in turn, is compared with the body of Christ and the tabernacle. The seven-branched candelabra symbolizing Jewish knowledge is paired with the inflamed heart, an Egyptian hieroglyphic known in the Renaissance. These images are crowned by the dove of the Holy Spirit, thus making visually explicit the two related themes of the entire iconography: the complete fulfillment of earlier prophecies in Christianity and the acquisition of divine truth through the knowledge of different religions. Biblical quotations compare the library's entrance to the gates of heaven and present the library itself as a place for spiritual nourishment inspired by the Holy Spirit. This privileged place for the acquisition of divine knowledge was located at the heart of the Farnese dominion and under their spiritual guidance.

ITALY

A geographical unit since antiquity, Italy did not correspond to a political entity in the Renaissance; the pope controlled central Italy, Spain dominated the north and the south, and a number of smaller independent states and republics proliferated elsewhere. And yet the mapping of Italy held a special allure for Italian patrons. Earlier antiquarians, such as Niccolò Niccoli, displayed maps of Italy in their houses to give concreteness to the ancient past they admired, but others unequivocally resorted to displaying maps of the entire country in order to convey the symbolic extension of their power. So that leaders of the Republic and those coming before them could visualize the Venetian routes along the peninsula, the Republic of Venice displayed Leonardi's map of Italy prominently in the antechamber of its audience hall, the Sala delle Nappe, from the mid-fifteenth century. Indeed, this map of Italy became so famous that rulers from across Italy petitioned the Republic for a copy; in their eyes, the possession of a copy of Leonardi's map was an unmistakable sign of the favors that the Republic bestowed on them.⁵³

53. Antonio Leonardi's map of Italy was commissioned originally in 1459 and again in 1497, after it was destroyed by fire in 1483. Leonardi's second map of Italy was also destroyed by fire, but before



FIG. 32.8. MAP OF THE HOLY LAND AT THE TIME OF ABRAHAM, 1575, LIBRARY, MONASTERY OF SAN GIO-

VANNI EVANGELISTA, PARMA. Fresco. Photograph courtesy of Stefano Brozzi.

The mapping of Italy, however, found its most complex achievement when a Roman pontiff, in a radical break from the traditional pairing of Italy and the Holy Land, had only the regions of Italy painted in the Vatican Palace; more than a new Holy Land, Italy was an exceptional ecclesiastical unit, the very place where the Roman pope exercised his authority more fully.

THE GALLERIA DELLE CARTE GEOGRAFICHE IN THE VATICAN PALACE

In 1578, when Pope Gregory XIII selected the iconography for the long corridor connecting the old Vatican Palace with Belvedere Hill, he resorted once again to the map murals he had already used in his Sala Bologna. In a more ambitious move, however, he commissioned an unprecedented map cycle including forty gigantic maps of Italian regions, twenty-four scenes of biblical sacrifices, fifty-one episodes of church history, and over one hundred personifications. An inscription in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche explains the organizing principle of this complex iconography. The regions of Italy are represented as they would appear to an imaginary traveler walking on the Apennine ridge from north to south: the

regions on the Tyrrhenian Sea are represented on the east wall of the corridor, while the regions on the Adriatic Sea appear on the west wall.⁵⁴ The same inscription reveals

that it was displayed in the antechamber of the Collegio on the second floor. In 1506, Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, requested a copy of Leonardi's map, which he displayed in his apartment in the palace of San Sebastiano together with a world map and city views of Cairo and Jerusalem; in turn, he himself distributed copies as prestigious diplomatic gifts, donating one to Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici. See David Chambers and Brian Pullan, eds., *Venice: A Documentary History, 1450–1630* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 405–6, and Molly Bourne, "Francesco II Gonzaga and Maps as Palace Decoration in Renaissance Mantua," *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 51–81, including relevant archival sources. In 1547, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este asked for a copy of Leonardi's map of Italy, which was then displayed in the Anticollegio, receiving it in Ferrara shortly thereafter. Sansovino, in *Venetia*, fol. 122r, reported that the map was displayed in the Anticollegio until 1574, when it was destroyed by fire.

54. The inscription on the northern portal reads: "Italy, the most noble region of the entire world: as it is divided by nature by the Apennines, similarly to this end the gallery is divided into two parts, on this side the one bounded by the Alps and the Upper Sea, on this side the other bounded by the Lower Sea; from the river Var as far as the farthest Bruttij and Sallentinians, with kingdoms, provinces, dominions and islands arranged within their own borders, as they are now, the entirety [of Italy] is displayed in tables on both sides of the long hall. The

that the historical scenes on the ceiling illustrate episodes of church history that took place in the territories mapped on the walls. The artists involved in this project are well known. Egnazio Danti designed and planned the maps. The painters Girolamo Muziano and Cesare Nebbia were responsible for the partition and design of the ceiling, respectively. A conspicuous team of artists translated into fresco the cartoons of the maps, painted boats, grotesques, historical scenes, biblical sacrifices, tablets, and personifications.

Individual elements of the iconography of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche—maps, episodes of church history, and biblical sacrifices—had an honorable history in other parts of the Vatican Palace, but the synthesis of these different iconographic traditions in one single, all-encompassing program is a unique accomplishment of the Gregorian corridor. In a radical invention, Italy and its regions not only were connected with episodes of church history and scenes of biblical sacrifice but, more important, were represented through modern, accurate maps rather than traditional allegorical personifications. The maps are arranged from the general to the particular: two maps of Italy (*Italia antiqua* and *Italia nova*) start the cycle at the south entrance, and the regional maps of the peninsula follow (fig. 32.9). Each map is provided with a scale, wind rose, coordinates of latitude and longitude, and at least one cartouche that briefly explains the peculiarities and the history of the territory and its inhabitants. There are also perspective and plan views of cities and other important places; historical vignettes are depicted on the topography of the maps, and landscape features are at the bottom of most maps.

The representation of Italy in forty colossal maps had never been attempted before and unequivocally bespeaks the papal intention of producing a cartographic novelty. But the Italy depicted in the Vatican Gallery corresponded neither to the ancient geographical area described by Strabo and Ptolemy (both portrayed in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche) nor to any past or future political partition. It represented, instead, a utopian construction of a place under the ecclesiastical authority of the papacy. This imaginary Italy included the regions of the peninsula and the main islands, as well as the military bulwarks against the infidels north and south of the peninsula: the islands of Corfu and Malta, gateways to the east, and the county of Avignon, the papal post in rebellious France.

The mapping of this notional Italy is conceptually and spatially linked with an equally imaginary view of church history. Such notional history starts with Emperor Constantine, whose life is represented in five episodes connected to the general maps of Italy, explicitly suggesting the continuity between the Constantinian era and the post-Tridentine church, a leading theme of Gregory XIII's

pontificate. Indeed, for Gregory XIII the connection between Constantine and Italy was a compelling one, for, dismissing century-long disputes, he thought that it was precisely Italy that the emperor had donated to Pope Sylvester I.⁵⁵ By interpreting the Donation of Constantine as a donation of Italy and by having it represented in his gallery, Gregory XIII was not claiming that he ruled the

vault shows the pious deeds of holy men in the places where they happened, each corresponding to the other. Gregory XIII, highest pontiff, in the year 1581 wished these things, begun by himself, to be finished with skill and splendor, not for his own advantage as much as for that of the Roman pontiffs, and so that utility not be absent from the delight and knowledge of things and places." The inscription does not mention the biblical sacrifices (mentioned later). It should be noted that the orientation of the peninsula in the corridor does not correspond to its real orientation; that is, northern Italy is represented at the south end of the corridor rather than at the north. Nonetheless, in the corridor itself, the illusion of walking along the peninsula from north to south is achieved. On the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, see MCV, vol. 3, in which Almagià focused exclusively on the maps, masterially investigating their sources. See Schulz, *Cartografia tra scienza e arte*, 99–103, which considered it in relation to other map murals; Iris Cheney, "The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican and the Roman Church's View of the History of Christianity," *Renaissance Papers*, 1989, 21–37, which was the first to investigate the symbolic meaning of the ceiling narratives and biblical sacrifices; and Margret Schütte, *Die Galleria delle Carte Geografiche im Vatikan: Eine ikonologische Betrachtung des Gewölbeprogramms* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1993), which discussed mainly the ceiling decoration. For a comprehensive evaluation of the cycle, see Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, eds., *La Galleria delle Carte geografiche in Vaticano / The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, 3 vols. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994); Fiorani, "Post-Tridentine 'Geographia Sacra,'" 124–48; Walter A. Goffart, "Christian Pessimism on the Walls of the Vatican Galleria delle Carte Geografiche," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 788–827; Fiorani, *Marvel of Maps*, 169–230; and pp. 396–99 in this volume.

55. On the Donation of Constantine and Gregory XIII, see von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 20:650–53; Rolf Quednau, *Die Sala di Costantino im Vatikanischen Palast: Zur Dekoration der beiden Medici-Päpste Leo X. und Clemens VII* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979); Guido Cornini, Anna Maria De Strobel, and Maria Serlupi Crescenzi, "La Sala di Costantino," in *Raffaello nell'appartamento di Giulio II e Leone X* (Milan: Electa, 1993), 167–201; Jack Freiberg, "In the Sign of the Cross: The Image of Constantine in the Art of Counter-Reformation Rome," in *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 66–87, esp. 71–75, which suggested the connection between the ceiling of the Sala di Costantino and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche; and William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 251–90. On the strict political meaning of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, see Antonio Pinelli, "Sopra la terra, il cielo: Geografia, storia e teologia. Il Programma iconografico della volta / Above the Earth, the Heavens: Geography, History, and Theology. The Iconography of the Vault," in *La Galleria delle Carte geografiche in Vaticano / The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, 3 vols., ed. Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1994), 1:125–54; and Antonio Pinelli, "Geografia della fede: L'Italia della Controriforma unificata sulla carta," in *Cartographiques: Actes du colloque de l'Académie de France à Rome, 19–20 mai 1995*, ed. Marie-Ange Brayer (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), 63–94.

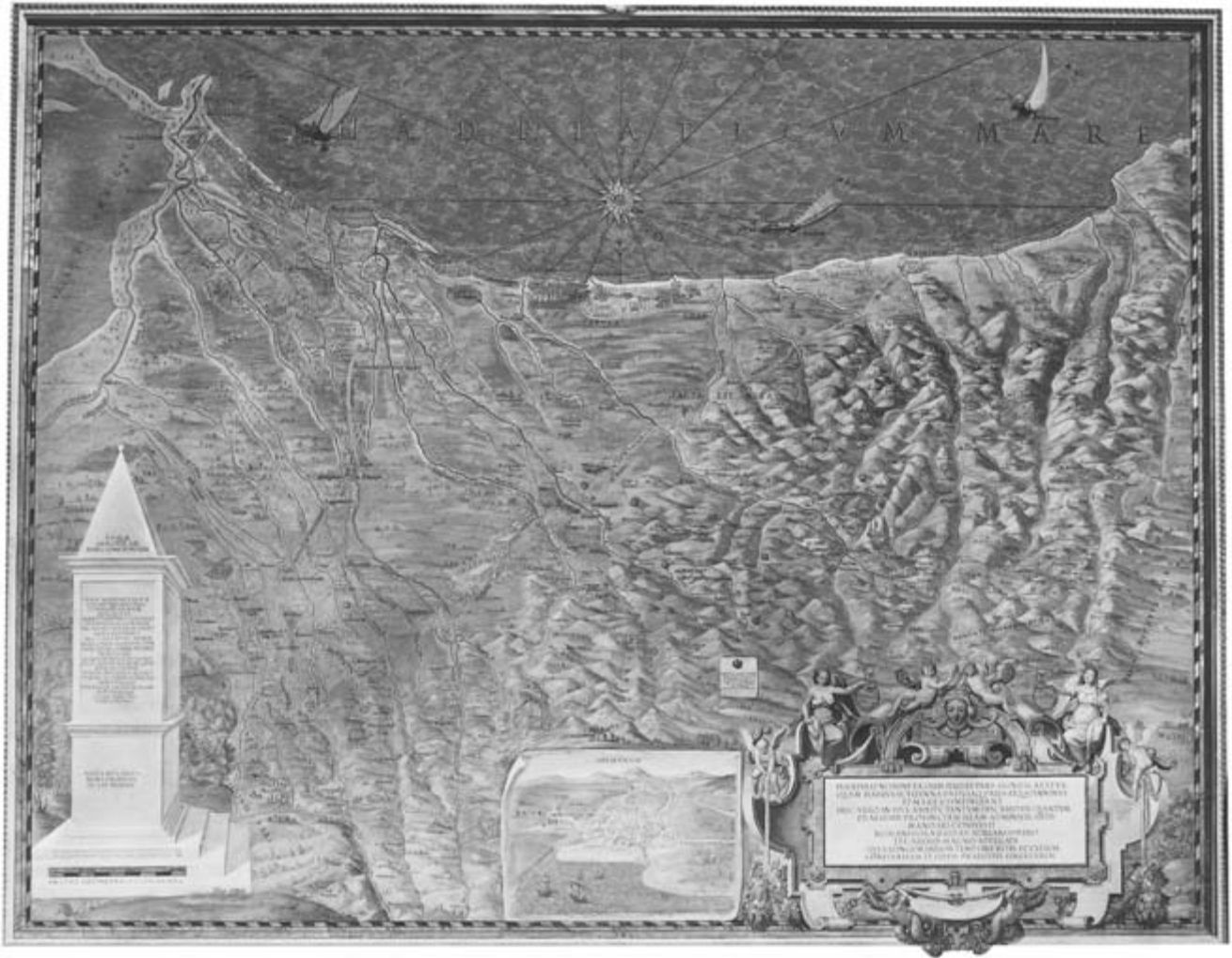


FIG. 32.9. MAP OF FLAMINIA, 1578–81, GALLERIA DELLE CARTE GEOGRAFICHE, VATICAN PALACE, ROME. Fresco designed by Egnazio Danti.

Photograph courtesy of the Vatican Museums, Vatican City (Neg. N. XXXVII.1.14).

entire peninsula politically, but rather was laying the historical and religious foundation for the ecclesiastical primacy of the church of Italy. As did other Renaissance and post-Tridentine popes, Gregory XIII knew that the imperial donation could not be adapted to the reality of sixteenth-century Italy and that his role was as the guardian of its precarious balance of powers, not of the claimants to its temporal dominion. In light of post-Tridentine papal policy, what the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche triumphantly celebrated was the ecclesiastical primacy that post-Tridentine popes enjoyed in Italy. Although the spiritual mission of the post-Tridentine papacy was universal, that mission could be accomplished more fully in Italy than in the rest of the world.⁵⁶

The interpretation of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche as a celebration of papal primacy comes into full focus when we consider the presence of the biblical scenes of sacrifice depicted on the vault. These scenes from Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus document the early history of biblical sacrifices, the early instances of altar building, and the connection between the sacrifice and the tithe, the offering of the tenth part of produce and livestock to provide for whoever performed the sacrifice.

56. On the primacy of Italy in the Catholic Church, see A. D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789* (London: Longman, 2000), a study that revises Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982).

The New Testament does not include an obligation to offer a tithe to provide for church ministers; that obligation had to be argued through exegesis of the Old Testament. The sacramental justification for ecclesiastical revenues to sustain the clergy was as vital as ever in the post-Tridentine church, especially in consideration of their decreased significance in the overall papal budget. The papal claim regarding the sacramental tithe was universal, but it was in Italy rather than in the larger Catholic world that the pope collected the financial means to sustain his mission. The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche mapped the geographical boundaries of the lands where ecclesiastical revenues were primarily collected.

Gregory XIII's greater success in collecting ecclesiastical revenues in Italy than in Catholic Europe was part of his concerted effort to assert papal authority through implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Gregory XIII's papacy, which was in many respects typical of the decades immediately following the Council of Trent, was crucial in moving the church steadily toward the institutional, diplomatic, and ecclesiastical reforms that would make the ecclesiastical leadership of Italy possible within the Catholic world. Indeed, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche not only mapped the boundaries of the largest papal ecclesiastical revenues, but also triumphantly celebrated the primacy of Italy within the universal church, which would remain one of the characteristics of the early modern papacy. What was peculiar to the Boncompagni pope was the zeal with which he oversaw his church of Italy as he literally marched on its Apennine spine.

The Galleria delle Carte Geografiche is the embodiment of the ecclesiastical leadership of the Roman church, and the chorography of Italy is the minute cartographic representation of the boundaries of the Western church that had embraced the Tridentine reforms. In the cartography of this ecclesiastical unit, the mapping of bishopric and archbishopric seats was as defining an element as the representation of local history, both secular and ecclesiastical. Politically, the post-Tridentine papacy was losing ground against the nation-states, but its spiritual influence was becoming global. Increasingly, the urgency of action was directed toward the church beyond the Alps and overseas, in China, Japan, and the Americas. The post-Tridentine universal church is epitomized in the map cycle of the Terza Loggia, which indeed should be regarded as complementary to that of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche. Considered in conjunction with the Terza Loggia, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche reveals its full meaning: not only to convey the spiritual primacy of the popes in Italy but also to reassure the papal court, the cardinals, and the Italian rulers of their special place within the Catholic world, a place that Gregory XIII both

reasserted and revised through his actions directed toward the universal church outside of Italy and overseas.

CITY VIEWS

City views were among the most popular cartographic images of the Renaissance, and their diffusion as prints was so widespread that they were widely assembled in books, such as Braun and Hogenberg's bestseller *Civitates orbis terrarum*, and commonly used to embellish domestic interiors. Inventories of royal and princely palaces frequently record city views, either as framed pictures on permanent display or, more frequently, as items in storage. The most common use of such views was to furbish guest apartments in order to flatter important visitors with the display of their hometowns. From the late fifteenth century onward, city views also appeared as painted cycles, indeed becoming so common that no attempt has ever been made to count them. The meanings and functions of painted cycles with city views were not inherently different from those of cycles of painted maps, although their diffusion encourages their consideration as a separate group.

An early cycle of painted city views appeared in the Belvedere villa, the summer house Pope Innocent VIII built at the Vatican to escape the stuffy climate of the old palace as well as to provide an *all'antica* setting for the papal collection of ancient sculpture.⁵⁷ Around 1480, the painter Pinturicchio painted individual views of the cities of Florence, Genoa, Milan, Rome, and Venice, which were also the capitals of papal military allies. Fusing antiquarianism, cartography, and politics, this papal series of city views was inspired by Pliny's description of Roman villas while simultaneously reflecting the political aspirations of the current pope. Almost entirely lost today, this cycle inspired similar decorations around Europe. Francesco II Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, had views of important Mediterranean cities in different rooms of his palaces, seeming to suggest to his visitors that his own city of Mantua could rival the depicted ones.⁵⁸ In another instance, he commissioned the painting of city views of stops on the trading route between Mantua and the Ottoman Empire, where he acquired his famous horses.

Although some belligerent patrons painted city views to celebrate their military campaigns, patrons by and

57. On the city views for the Belvedere villa, see Sven Sandström, "The Programme for the Decoration of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 29 (1960): 35–75; idem, "Mantegna and the Belvedere of Innocent VIII," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 30 (1963): 121–22; and Juergen Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 35–55.

58. Bourne, "Francesco II Gonzaga."



FIG. 32.10. VIEW OF THE CITY OF GRAZ, 1565, MAIN COURTYARD, PALAZZO VECCHIO, FLORENCE. Fresco. This view is part of a series of seventeen views of Austrian cities including Prague, Passau, Stain (probably Steyr), Klosterneuburg, Graz, Freiburg, Linz, Poznań, Vienna, Inns-

bruck, Ebsdorf, Constance, Neustadt, and Schwäbisch-Hall. The city views are connected with the reverse of Medici medals celebrating Cosimo I's rulership.

With permission from Fototeca dei Musei Comunali di Firenze.

large represented the main cities and castles of their dominion.⁵⁹ An early instance of the latter type dates from 1450, but later examples are documented in villas and palaces throughout Italy.⁶⁰ Henry IV of France, a passionate hunter, celebrated his favorite pastime by having bird's-eye views of his favorite hunting places painted in the *Galérie des Cerfs* at Fontainebleau.⁶¹ Philip II of Spain had views of the Spanish and Flemish countryside hung in his throne room and, according to a traveler, also displayed wooden models of Spanish cities in the Alcazar. Philip II might have even intended to hang copies of the famous views of Spanish cities and towns by Antoon van den Wijngaerde, which he himself had commissioned in the 1570s. Such a cycle of painted city views is still preserved at El Viso, Spain, in the palace of the famous naval commander Álvaro de Bazán, marqués de Santa Cruz, who had his gallery embellished with views of important European cities connected with his own sea victories.⁶² A display of wooden models of German cities was a defining feature of the *Kunstkammer* at Munich in the 1560s.⁶³

City views were also a subject favored by Renaissance ladies. For instance, Eleanor of Aragon commissioned a cycle of city views, including her native Naples, for her new residence at the court of her husband in Ferrara. Sim-

59. One such belligerent patron was Gentile Virginio Orsini, who commissioned city views of his conquests for his residence in Bracciano; see Marco Iuliano, "Napoli a volo d'uccello: Un affresco per lo studio della topografia aragonese," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée* 113 (2001): 287–311.

60. On the early cycle of city views, see Joanna Woods-Marsden, "Pictorial Legitimation of Territorial Gains in Emilia: The Iconography of the *Camera Peregrina Aurea* in the Castle of Torchiara," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, 2 vols., ed. Andrew Morrough et al. (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 2:553–68.

61. On the map murals of French kings, see Buisseret, "Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps in France," 113, and Barber, "Maps and Monarchs," 111–12.

62. Kagan, "Philip II," 53.

63. On the *Kunstkammer* at Munich, see Samuel Quicchelberg, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi, complectentis rerum universitatis singulas materias et imagines eximias . . .* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1565), and Woodward, *Maps as Prints*, 88–89.

ilarly, her daughter Isabella d'Este had city views in her quarters, while Eleanor of Toledo, Cosimo de' Medici's wife, had views painted in her private balcony.

The Medici, with their nose for iconographic novelties, resorted to a cycle of city views to celebrate a wedding. On the occasion of the marriage between Francesco de' Medici, heir to the ducal title, and Joanna of Austria, daughter of Emperor Charles V, Duke Cosimo I had seventeen views of famous Austrian cities painted in the courtyard of his palace, the very place where Francesco greeted his bride (fig. 32.10).⁶⁴ Because no printed or manuscript source existed for this exceptional cycle of Austrian city views, the Florentine ambassador at Vienna was requested to provide accurate drawings in perspective (*far in prospettiva*) for all of the cities as well as to report on their important buildings, historical events, coats of arms, and toponomy. The city views were connected with roundels that represented the reverse of ducal medals celebrating important events of Cosimo's rule. In this courtyard, the city views were a cartographic novelty and an integral component of Cosimo's political iconography: they honored Joanna by reminding her of her native land, celebrated the political alliance between the Medici and the Habsburg, showed the Medici artistic taste, and displayed their diplomatic skills in obtaining original, detailed views of Austrian cities.

CONCLUSION

The spread of cycles of painted maps throughout Europe in the early modern period is documented, even though the most spectacular examples were a characteristic of the courts and republics of the Italian Peninsula. However, whether cycles of painted maps constituted a pictorial

genre of the Renaissance, as Burckhardt suggested, is debatable, not only in light of modern skepticism about the taxonomy of symbolic forms but, more important, because of the questionable approach of grouping map cycles based on the simple consideration that they all contain cartographic images. Although close in date and similar in cartographic content, map cycles such as those of the Venetian Republic, the papal Terza Loggia, or the Medici Guardaroba Nuova were so different in meanings, patronage, and function that it seems misguided to try to unify them. What, instead, these map cycles magniloquently demonstrate is the pervasiveness that cartographic images enjoyed in Renaissance Europe. These accurate representations of the world, displayed three-dimensionally, integrally contributed to the political iconography of rulers, to the propagandistic message of civic authorities, and to the religious aspirations of popes and cardinals. Their metaphorical meanings were created by the interaction of the painted maps with images of history, mythology, zoology, botany, and religion and could be fully grasped only through the firsthand experience of the rooms that contained them. To consider cycles of painted maps exclusively from the perspective of cartography or simply as an artistic genre is to miss the richness of their meanings: even though their cartographic content was dated and their impact on modern discoveries and voyages negligible, they poignantly encapsulated the symbolism of Renaissance mapping, indeed the deep significance of mapping in Renaissance culture.

64. On this courtyard, see Edmund Pillsbury, "An Unknown Project for the Palazzo Vecchio Courtyard," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14 (1969): 57–66, and Allegri and Cecchi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 277–82.

APPENDIX 32.1 PARTIAL LIST OF MAP CYCLES

The following map cycles are listed by original city location.

AMSTERDAM

Town Hall, Burgerzaal (Great Central Hall), mosaic map of the world.

BOLOGNA

Bishop's Palace, 1572, map of the Bolognese and plan or view of Bologna. Commissioned by Cardinal Paleotti. Lost.

CAPRAROLA, PALAZZO FARNESE

Sala della Cosmografia, 1573–75, map of the world, map of Europe, map of Africa, map of Asia, map of America, map of the Holy Land, and map of Italy, fresco. The seven maps, designed by the cosmographer Orazio Trigini de' Marii and painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino, are surrounded by female personifications of continents and regions of the world, portraits of famous travelers (Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, Amerigo Vespucci, and Ferdinand Magellan), and a complex astrological frieze pertaining to Cardinal Farnese. On the ceiling is a sky map representing the forty-eight Ptolemaic constellations as if they were projected on the equator from the south pole, a copy of the sky map made by François Demongenet in the 1560s, with some variations introduced to celebrate the *gran cardinale* (i.e., the prominence of the constellation Argo and the inclusion of Jupiter near Phaeton, both emblems of the cardinal). Giovanni de Vecchi and Raffaellino da Reggio painted the noncartographic images.

FLORENCE, PALAZZO VECCHIO

Main Courtyard, 1565, views of Austrian cities, fresco. The views represent Prague, Passau, Steyr, Klosterneuburg, Graz, Friburg, Linz, Poznań, Vienna, Innsbruck, Ebsdorf, Constance, Neustadt, and Schwäbisch-Hall, and they are connected with the reverse of Medici medals celebrating Cosimo I's rulership.

Guardaroba Nuova, 1563–86, Egnazio Danti and Stefano Buonsignori, maps of the world, tempera on panel. Originally fifty-seven maps were planned, but only fifty-four were made: Danti made thirty-one maps from 1563 to 1575, and Buonsignori made twenty-three maps from 1577 to 1586.

FLORENCE, UFFIZI PALACE

Sala delle Carte Geografiche, 1589, Stefano Buonsignori, map of Tuscany, map of the territory of Siena, and map of the island of Elba, fresco. The maps were painted by Ludovico Buti, but Buonsignori himself retouched them.

FONTAINEBLEAU, GALERIE DES CERFS

Bird's-eye view of hunting places.

MADRID

Royal Palace, Throne Room, late sixteenth century, views of the Spanish and Flemish countryside. Commissioned by Philip II of Spain, who might have also displayed wooden models of Spanish cities in the Alcazar.

El Vaso, Palace of Álvaro de Bazán, marqués de Santa Cruz, views of European cities.

MANTUA

Gonzaga Palace, Room of the Cities, 1490s, views of Constantinople, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, Cairo, Genoa, and either Paris or Jerusalem. Lost.

Gonzaga Palace of San Sebastiano, between 1506 and 1512, map of Italy and views of Cairo and Jerusalem. Lost.

Gonzaga Palace, Isabella d'Este's private apartment, 1510s, city views. Lost.

Gonzaga Villa at Marmirolo, near Mantua, 1494, map of the world and map of Italy. Lost.

Gonzaga Villa at Marmirolo, near Mantua, Greek Room, 1490s, views of Constantinople, Adrianople (now called Edirne), either the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus straits, the Albanian city of Vlore, and the siege of the island of Rhodes. Lost.

APPENDIX 32.1 (*continued*)

NAPLES, CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO MAGGIORE

Refectory of the church, 1590s, Luigi Rodriguez, maps of the kingdom of Naples, fresco. The maps are based on the maps of the regions of the kingdom of Naples that Nicola Antonio Stigliola had made in the 1580s.

PARMA, MONASTERY OF SAN GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA

Library of the monastery, 1575, map of the Holy Land at the time of Abraham, map of the Holy Land divided into the lands of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, map of Greece, map of Italy, map of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, and view of the Battle of Lepanto, fresco. On the ceiling there are emblems, allegorical figures, and inscriptions in different languages, mainly derived from Benito Arias Montano's polyglot Bible. Painted by the artists Ercole Pio and Antonio Paganini, with iconography invented by the abbot of the monastery, Stefano Cattaneo da Novara.

PERUGIA

Governor's Palace, 1577, map of the territory around Perugia and/or view of Perugia, fresco painted by Egnazio Danti. Lost.

ROME, PALAZZO VENEZIA

Sala del Mappamondo, mid-fifteenth century, Antonio Leonardi, map of the world. Commissioned by Pope Paul II for his audience hall. Lost.

ROME, VATICAN PALACE

Belvedere Villa, ca. 1480, Pinturicchio, city views of Florence, Genoa, Milan, Rome, and Venice, fresco. Largely lost. Terza Loggia, West Wing, early 1560s, thirteen maps representing the British Isles, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, the Holy Land, Germany, Hungary (together with Poland and Lithuania), Scandinavia, Muscovy, Tartary, and Greenland, fresco. Designed by Etienne Du Pérac, these maps were heavily restored by Alessandro Mantovani in the nineteenth century. On the vault's ceiling are scenes of examples of good and bad life, depicted by Lorenzo Sabatini, that complement the maps.

Sala Bologna, 1574, map of the Bolognese territory, plan of Bologna, and city view of Bologna, fresco. The cartographic sources of these three items and the artist who painted them are unknown (Lorenzo Sabatini, who supervised the completion of the room, painted only the ceiling). The sky map on the ceiling, which is sustained by an illusionistic loggia, in perspective, housing famous astronomers, was based on a similar map in the Palazzo Farnese, Sala della Cosmografia.

Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, 1578–81, forty maps of Italy designed by Egnazio Danti, fresco. The maps represent territories of the Italian Peninsula, the main islands of the Mediterranean (Malta, Corfu, the Tremiti, and Elba), four important ports (Genoa, Venice, Ancona, and Civitavecchia), and the county of Avignon. The vaulted ceiling of the gallery is filled with a multitude of scenes: twenty-four representing sacrificial subjects from the Old Testament, fifty-one illustrating episodes of church history that took place in the territories mapped below, and over one hundred personifications.

Terza Loggia, North Wing, early 1580s, ten maps of Africa, Asia, and America representing Western Africa, Eastern Africa, Turkey, Persia, India, China, Tartaria, America, New Spain, and the islands of the Indian Ocean, fresco. Designed by Egnazio Danti and painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino, the maps were heavily restored by Alessandro Mantovani in the nineteenth century. Scenes of saints in paradise depicted on the vault's ceiling complement the maps.

ROME, QUIRINAL PALACE

Map of the world, 1585, fresco. Commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII and painted by Giovanni Antonio Vanosino. Lost.

SALZBURG

Archbishop's Palace, 1614, maps of the world, fresco.

APPENDIX 32.1 (*continued*)

SIENA, PALAZZO PUBBLICO

- Sala dei Nove, 1338–39, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Good and Bad Government*, fresco.
- Sala del Mappamondo, ca. 1340, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, map of the world, fresco. Lost.
- Sala dei Conservatori di Siena (today Office of the Provincia), between 1573 and 1599, Orlando Malavolti, map of the Sienese territory, fresco. Lost. The map is known through a seventeenth-century copy (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Regie Possessioni, Scaff. C. Palch. 2, Carta no. 49).
- Archivio di Stato, 1609, Rutilio Manetti, map of Siena. It was originally located in the room adjacent to the Sala dei Conservatori.

VENICE, RIALTO MARKET

- Loggia near the Rialto Market, 1459, map of the world. Lost.

VENICE, DUCAL PALACE

- Sala delle Nappe (first floor), ca. 1459, Antonio Leonardi, map the Venetian territory. The Sala delle Nappe most probably corresponded to the antechamber to the doge's apartment on the first floor (perhaps the same room that was later known as the Sala del Mappamondo). Destroyed in 1483.
- Sala delle Nappe, ca. 1459, Antonio Leonardi, map of Italy, displayed together with Leonardi's map of the Venetian territory (previous entry). Destroyed in 1483.
- Anticollegio, 1497, Antonio Leonardi, map of Italy. In 1547 it was documented as being in the Anticollegio, presumably the room located on the second floor still named the Anticollegio. It is unclear whether the map was specifically painted for the Anticollegio or moved there at a later time. Destroyed in 1574.
- Collegio (second floor), 1531, Alessandro Zorzi, map of the world, oil on canvas. Destroyed in 1574.
- Chapel of San Nicolò (Chiesetta), a small chapel adjacent to the Collegio (second floor), 1535–36, Alessandro Zorzi, map of the Holy Land, displayed together with Zorzi's maps of Cyprus and Constantinople (following two entries), oil on canvas. Destroyed in 1574.
- Chapel of San Nicolò (Chiesetta), 1535–36, Alessandro Zorzi, map of Cyprus, oil on canvas. Destroyed in 1574.
- Chapel of San Nicolò (Chiesetta), 1535–36, Alessandro Zorzi, map (or view) of Constantinople, 1541, oil on canvas. Destroyed in 1574.
- Sala dello Scudo (first floor), 1549, Giacomo Gastaldi, map of Africa and South America, displayed on the short internal wall (toward the courtyard), oil on canvas. Painted by the miniaturist Vitruvio Buonconsiglio, it was heavily restored by Francesco Grisellini in the mid-eighteenth century. Displayed together with Gastaldi's map of Asia and America (following entry).
- Sala dello Scudo (first floor), 1553, Giacomo Gastaldi, map of Asia and America, oil on canvas. It was heavily restored by Francesco Grisellini in the mid-eighteenth century.
- Sala del Senato (second floor), 1578, Cristoforo Sorte, map of the Venetian territory, oil on canvas. Commissioned as a large map to be displayed in the audience hall of the senate, this map was reduced in size in 1582 and displayed in the Antichiesetta, a small vestibule between the Sala del Senato and the Chapel of San Nicolò (Chiesetta).
- Sala dello Scudo (first floor), ca. 1750, Francesco Grisellini, map of the western Mediterranean illustrating the travels of Alvise Cà da Mosto, oil on canvas.
- Sala dello Scudo (first floor), ca. 1750, Francesco Grisellini, map of the travels of Sebastian Cabot in America, oil on canvas.
- Sala dello Scudo (first floor), ca. 1750, Francesco Grisellini, map of northern Europe illustrating the travels of the Zenò brothers, oil on canvas.

VICENZA

- Governor's Palace, 1573, map of the territory around Vicenza. Lost.