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## Renaissance City Views from Above and Afar

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### Recommended Citation

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## Renaissance City Views from Above and Afar

### Abstract

A text document to accompany the exhibition of Renaissance city views mounted in conjunction with the conference on "Cities in Global Perspective" organized by Penn Professors Renata Holod (History of Art), Lynn Hollen Lees (History), and Nancy L. Steinhardt (East Asian Languages and Civilizations). The document includes images and descriptions of items that were on display for the exhibit, both from the Library's collections and on loan from the Sociaks.

### Keywords

exhibit, map, renaissance, cities

### Disciplines

Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture | European History | Medieval Studies | Renaissance Studies

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# Renaissance City Views from Above and Afar



Curated by Daniel Traister and Jack Sosiak

On exhibit March 14 - August 13, 2011  
Kamin Gallery, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library



# Acknowledgements

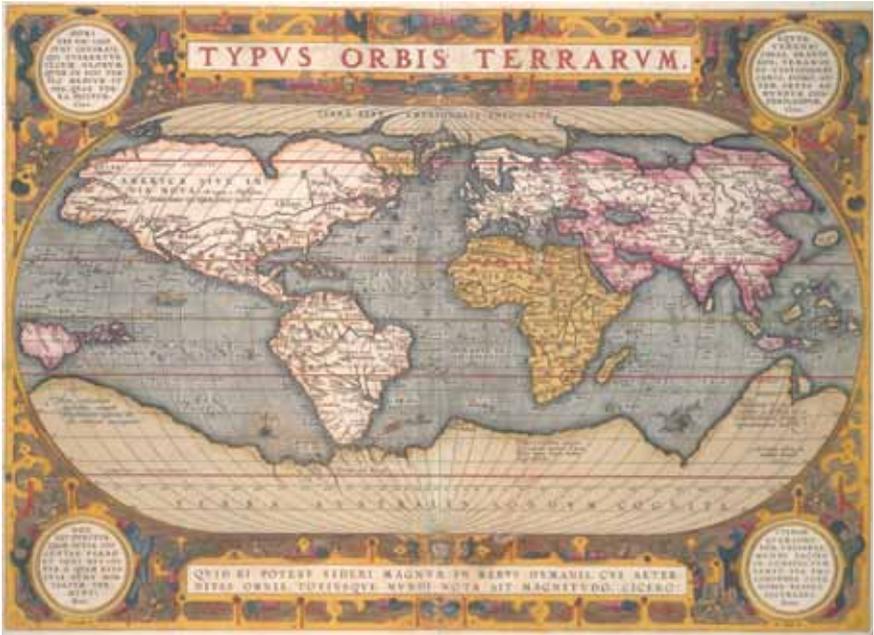


This exhibition of Renaissance city views is mounted in conjunction with the conference on “Cities in Global Perspective” organized by Penn Professors Renata Holod (History of Art), Lynn Hollen Lees (History), and Nancy L. Steinhardt (East Asian Languages and Civilizations). It draws, in *very* small part, on the collections of the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania, but much the greatest part of it depends on the generosity of Barbara and Jack Sosiak. Barbara, a graduate of Penn’s School of Nursing who has also taught at Penn, and Jack, now a retired businessman, live in Montgomery County and began collecting maps and city views years ago in the course of work-related travel in Europe. They have graciously allowed more than forty of their views to come to Penn for this exhibition. The conference organizers and Library staff who have mounted this show thank them for this indispensable loan.

Even while protesting that he is no scholar, Jack drafted the basis of many of the labels that visitors will encounter as they look at these beautiful and contemporaneously hand-colored prints, as well as of its introduction. Barbara and Jack’s many contributions to this exhibition exemplify collecting as not only an acquisitive but also, and at least as rewardingly, an intellectual passion. They also remind us of the roles generous private collectors play, and continue to play, in promoting scholarship, assisting the institutional mission and growth of museums and libraries, and providing the public — as the Sosiaks’ prints displayed here surely do — with sheer visual delight and pleasure.

Words, insufficient to thank Barbara and Jack Sosiak, are also insufficient — but once they must suffice — to thank Andrea Gottschalk and Terra Edenhart-Pepe, who designed and mounted this show. During many visits to the Sosiaks' home, with guidance from Jack, Andrea Gottschalk, Lynne Farrington, and Daniel Traister selected the views seen here. David McKnight, Director for Rare Books and Manuscripts, made time for these visits, travelled on some of them, and facilitated work on this project. Vice-Provost and Director of Libraries H. Carton Rogers provided very tangible support, paying the bills staff accumulate while preparing events such as this one and continuing to pay their salaries anyway. Like all exhibitions, this one has thus been a group effort involving the conference organizers, Library staff, and Barbara and Jack Sosiak. For those who worked on it, the process was a pleasure that those who see this exhibition will also share.

# Introduction



## \*"Typus Orbis Terrarum."

From Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*  
[Antwerp, between 1592 and 1612].

\* Items not preceded by a number appear as reproductions in the exhibition.

The Low Countries' vast commercial and trading interests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both over land and over seas, produced a need for maps. A large, active, and highly accomplished printmaking industry gave them the means to produce maps of a quality fit both for reference and aesthetic functions. The first "modern" atlas, the 1570 *Theatrum orbis terrarum* produced by the Antwerp engraver and cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), was quickly followed by a collection of views not of the world, its nations, or its sections, but of its cities.

The *Civitates orbis terrarum*, conceived as a deliberate supplement to Ortelius, appeared in six large volumes in Cologne over forty-five years. George Braun (1541-1622, its publisher) and Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590, its engraver) produced it between 1572 and 1617. Not only is it, as the earliest systematic city atlas, among the greatest achievements in the history of cartography — by 1617 it had incorporated over five hundred and thirty mostly European city plans and view — but it is also a stunning work of art.

Braun compiled its text while Hogenberg prepared the plans and views, using sources as up-to-date and as rooted in on-site observation as he could manage. In almost every edition, Braun invited civic authorities and interested individuals who could not find their native city within its pages to send him original material. Over one hundred additional artists and cartographers helped produce the *Civitates*. Among them was Georg Hoefnagel, mentioned frequently in the exhibition's captions. Printmaking and graphic techniques (etching and copperplate engraving) as well as perspective techniques allowed artists to depict cities in line-of-sight (silhouette) or cavalier perspective (that is, from a high point of view). Knowledge of geometry made possible construction of bird's-eye views, yielding, in their most refined forms, city maps or street plans.

Braun and Hogenberg provide astonishing wealth of detail, including impressions of the economy, status, wealth, and even social structure of the towns and cities in the *Civitates*. So detailed are depictions of local and regional dress worn by figures in the foreground of many engravings that the *Civitates*, not only a collection of city views, is also one of the finest costume books in existence. In early volumes, these figures rarely display signs of distress, unrest, or conflict. Wealthy aristocrats and merchants, they take bows or present their cities to the reader. In the middle ground,

artisans, laborers, peasants, and small traders go about their occupations. Vines are cultivated in the Rhine and in Burgundy, corn is harvested in southern Spain. Flax and cotton are prepared for dispatch abroad in Cadiz, Barcelona, and Marseilles. In Danzig (Gdansk) wealthy merchants, and in Nuremberg burghers, engage in trade. Because waterways were the most important means of moving large quantities of goods from one place to another — grain, timber, salt, and stone — views carefully depict rivers, harbors, river- and sea-going boats, and other vessels. Most of the views in the early volumes show peaceful, everyday activities or display local costumes or customs. But by volumes 5 and 6, signs of stress resulting from the religious wars in Northern Europe (for instance, the Netherlands' long battle to expel its Spanish rulers) or ongoing conflicts in central and eastern Europe between Christians and Ottoman and Islamic armies, become increasingly prominent. Even in volume 1, Braun explained that figures were included in the city views as a response to the Islamic threat. Highly accurate city maps might provide potential enemies with useful military information. To prevent the Turks from using the *Civitates* in any future invasions, human figures were made integral to the drawings on the theory that they would ward off Muslims: Muslim tradition banned artistic representation of any living creature, man or beast, on the grounds that the role of the Creator belonged exclusively to God. The *Civitates orbis terrarum* presents its views in constant dialogue with the world those views represented.



### La Sierra de Sant Adrian in Baia (Volume 5)

Although this is not a “city view,” it is, at least in part, a commercial one. Hoefnagel’s original 1567 work portrays a cave in the Pyrenees between Spain and France that has been extended to create a tunnel and pathway through the mountains for pedestrians travelling between the two countries. (The road and tunnel were also used by pilgrims on the road to Santiago de Compostela, the Way of Saint James.) Perhaps Hoefnagel intended its central panel primarily as a “genre” scene illustrative of “local color.” Illustrating distinctly rural customs and costumes also gave him a chance, however, to show a great deal of trade and commerce in progress. Many of his human figures wear clothing that suggests the prosperity their commercial activities have yielded. In that central panel, men and horses (some of them pack horses) enter and leave the cave on its Spanish side, identifiable because inside the tunnel’s entrance is a built structure, an inn for travelers, located in Spain. A noble woman on the left and a noble maiden on the right flank that scene. Below, eleven people use the road for different purposes. Two “villeins” (peasants) are on their way to market. A soldier precedes them. Headed in the opposite direction, balancing baskets of wares on their heads, are two women, one Biscayan and the other Gascon. Two women from Saint-Jean-de-Luz in Aquitaine, two married women from Bayonne, and two women on their way to church in Bayonne complete the pageant.

# Check List





## 1. London (Volume 1)

London, the first view in the first volume of the *Civitates*, appears to have been made between 1547 and 1559, at least thirteen years before the volume appeared in 1572. Saint Paul's Cathedral (just north of the Thames in the very center of the engraving) still bears its tall spire, destroyed by fire in 1561. (The entire cathedral, made of wood, would later be destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The present cathedral was built between 1675 and 1710.) South of the Thames, directly above the two women in the right foreground, are bull- and bear-baiting rings. This area would later become known for public theaters and other sites associated with disorder. But such details are incidental to the commercial emphasis of this view. Seagoing vessels at right and masses of river traffic everywhere else on the Thames indicate the bustling nature of the port. Text in the cartouche at lower right speaks of the trading center (the Steelyard) established in London by the Hanseatic League, a north German merchant guild that dominated northern European trade from the 13th through the 15th centuries (and which may have commissioned the original bird's-eye view on which this view is based). The prosperity that commerce has brought "the King of all the cities in England," as text in the cartouche at left calls London, is indicated by the costumes worn by the four foreground figures. Two of them are dressed in garb noticeably more luxurious than what the others wear, but all four are clearly quite well-off.

## 2. Nuremberg (Volume 2) (see inside cover)

This skyline view of Nuremberg emphasizes the city less and its inhabitants more. The towers of its major churches (Saint Lawrence and Saint Sebald, mid-left and just left of center), thick round towers marking some of the city's gates (visible both at far left and far right), and what the cartouche at lower left calls "strong city walls, castles, and moats" (that is, the fortifications of which the towers are also a part): all are present and visible; but the way in which this view is organized makes it the foreground figures whom the reader must notice. All patricians in local dress, they even include — unusually for Braun and Hogenberg — two elegantly-attired children (they are holding the hands of the figure at left). "Very rich merchants" and "master craftsmen," according to the cartouche, give Nuremberg its character. Presumably, this engraving implies, they are the base of the city's prosperity which the nature and dress of these foreground figures so clearly demonstrate. In fact, intermediary as it was between Italy and northern Europe, Nuremberg's trading prowess was, by Braun and Hogenberg's time, proverbial.

## 3. Alexandria (Volume 2)

Alexandria sits on the Mediterranean coast at the northwestern edge of the Nile River delta. Braun and Hogenberg present Alexandria, in bird's-eye perspective from the north, as a busy port city. Galleys and ships of various sizes are scattered through its waters and harbors. Formidably walled and fortified, the city is traversed by multiple arms of the Nile. But its obelisks and enormous, almost central mosque, are located in a surrounding also filled with ruins, other mosques among them. Jutting north into the sea is the Pharos, the Alexandria lighthouse that was once one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The sheer "difference" of this place, for Braun and Hogenberg's readers, is additionally heightened by the dromedaries (one-humped Arabian camels) on the left, right, and upper right outside the city walls. Bumpkin-like figures in the foreground and a man and woman in Muslim dress on the right (one of the dromedaries below them, two above them) also give the reader a sense of "Oriental" exoticism. The *Civitates*, in effect, instructs its readers to see Alexandria as both different and decayed: "inside its walls [it is] full of ruins and rubble," as the cartouche text states.

#### 4. Constantinople (Volume 1)

The reader looks at Constantinople (modern Istanbul, Turkey) in bird's-eye perspective from a position in Asia looking west. Directly behind the foreground figures is the Seraglio, the palace, of the "gran Turcho" (now called the Topkapi Palace), built in 1453 immediately after the Ottoman conquest of the city. To its left is the sixth-century C.E. Hagia Sofia (the view still calls it Sancta Sophia), formerly the "church of holy wisdom," where Byzantium's emperors had been crowned. The church was transformed into a mosque when Constantinople became Ottoman and subsequently given four minarets. Further to the left are Roman ruins, including obelisks and an amphitheatre. Similar structures are scattered throughout the city. Medallions along the engraving's lower edge portray sultans from the time of the founder of the Ottoman Empire through Selim II, sultan when the engraving was made. The grandeur of the city, the profusion of large and small vessels plying the waters around it, the city's fortified walls, the magnificent dress of the foreground figures: all these indicate, for Braun and Hogenberg's readers, the formidable nature of their Ottoman adversary.

#### 5. Jerusalem (Volume 2)

At the top of this view, the Latin passage reads: "This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her" (quoted in the English of the King James, or Authorized, version of The Holy Bible, Ezekiel 5:5). For Braun and Hogenberg's readers, Jerusalem in many respects *was* "the center of the world." In fact, some older maps of the world (so-called "T maps") occasionally made the city their literal center, with Africa the base of the "T," Europe and Asia its left and right arms, and Jerusalem at the point where base and arms meet. Braun and Hogenberg's reader sees Jerusalem from the heights overlooking the Kidron Valley. Slightly to the right of center is the Temple of Solomon, an Islamic crescent on its top. Jerusalem was under Muslim control when Braun and Hogenberg engraved and published their views. Several additional buildings are also shown topped by crescents, although the reader sees several other buildings topped by Christian crosses. This view of Jerusalem emphasizes sites important in the life of Jesus.



## 6. Jerusalem (Volume 1)

Braun and Hogenberg's volume 1 depicts two views of Jerusalem on a single plate. At left, Jerusalem appears as it was in Biblical times. At right, the reader sees Jerusalem in the sixteenth century. The Biblical city is small enough to fit easily within the much larger modern city. What is the Temple at the center of the left-hand view becomes the (relatively much smaller) crescent-topped mosque in the upper right of the city depicted on the right side of this plate. The city walls surround a much larger city than the one seen at left. In the lower left corner of the left side of the plate, the reader sees various Stations of the Cross and Christ's crucifixion. In the inset in the foreground at the right, Moses, on the mountaintop, receives the Ten Commandments. In that same inset, somewhat more highly foregrounded than the kneeling Moses, a high priest stands, the parts of his costume labeled. The long "s," for instance, indicates his tiara.

This is the only one of Braun and Hogenberg's views on display that does not come from Barbara and Jack Sosiak. It is part of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Pennsylvania.



## 7 & 8. Moscow (Volume 2 and Volume 6)

The earlier view presents the old city surrounding the Kremlin. The city is walled. Except for the Kremlin and the walls, its built structures appear wooden. The engraving depicts “Moscovite” soldiers on horseback in the foreground. To their left is a merchant, his hand extended. A bison and a bull suggest the nature of some of the region’s livestock. The weather evidently changes abruptly on the right side of the scene, where figures on skis and sledges approach Moscow. (But tiny figures on sledges are also visible within the city’s walls, so trees in leaf and vegetation in the foreground and outside the city’s walls apparently do not preclude winter weather within and to the right of the city.) Not only the merchant but also the two ships on the right, above the skiers and sledge-riders, indicate commerce as an important part of the city’s activities, but this view of Moscow does not emphasize commerce to the same degree as many other of the *Civitates*’ city views. Russia’s western trade was still in its infancy.

By 1617, Moscow was, quite literally, a different place. The Tatars, who had burned the city in the fourteenth century, burned it again in the early 1570s. Its largely wooden structures turned to ash. The Moskva River still runs through the city and the Kremlin and other structures that had survived the Tatars’ fire remain at Moscow’s center. Ecclesiastical buildings are recognizable because of their onion domes. So are royal or state buildings. Perhaps most prominent among the new structures are the walls. That one of the three figures at lower left carries a weapon suggests that Braun and Hogenberg saw Moscow as a city still under threat, its commercial importance less significant than its status as a bulwark against troubles coming from the east.

## 9. Seville (Volume 5)

**B**raun and Hogenberg include three views of Seville. In this one the city itself, though clear, is distant. Hoefnagel (the engraver who, in the caption at bottom, dedicates this 1593 plate to Dr. Nicholas Malaparte, his friend from Seville) is more interested in the lives of his human figures than in the city. In the middle distance (moving from left to right), women spread laundry which they have been washing in a stream to their left; dogs and men harry bulls (preparing them for the bullfighting ring?); surrounded by skeletons of donkeys or mules, one man pours lime over one animal while a second man drives a still-living animal to the site. The plate's major emphasis, however, is on its foreground figures. In the center, riding a mule, is a woman identified by the cartouche at upper right as an "alcaguetta" — that is, an "alcahueta" or procuress in modern Spanish. (Might she rather be an adulteress?) Stripped to the waist and slathered with honey, she is being stung by the swarm of bees that surrounds her. A man follows, also riding a mule. Two branches along both sides of his head, joined by a belled string, identify him as a cuckold. Was he made so by the woman he follows or by the one who follows him? Three men on our left, two on our right, taunt him by signifying his cuckold's horns, their fists extended with two raised fingers. A shrouded figure follows also riding a mule, identifiably female because of her long hair and breasts. Her relationship to the scene is unclear. Is she a wronged wife or an adulteress? Is she using the switch she holds to beat her mount or the man in front of her? Four magistrates follow, the second riding a horse (no mule for a magistrate!). At left, two apparently ecclesiastical figures, and, at center, two men thought to represent Hoefnagel and Malaparte, observe this scene. In this plate the *Civitates* gives us a "city view" as ethnography.

## 10. Toledo (Volume 5)

The views of Toledo in volume 5, shown here, and volume 1 (not on display) both used as their source a 1566 painting by Georg Hoefnagel, one of the major contributors to the *Civitates*. (His role is credited in the border at the top of this view.) The engraving shows the city built on hills rising high above the Tajo (Tagus) River, which is crossed by two Moorish bridges dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The cathedral sits in the view's center and is represented, in larger form, in the inset view on the lower left. The Alcazar, a royal fortress-palace protected by the river and a steep hillside, looms over Toledo on the right, and is also represented in larger form in the inset on the lower right. Also visible is the great church of Saint John. Foreground figures had appeared in 1572 view but their absence here means that this second view omits reference both to the well-being of Toledo's inhabitants and to whatever commercial basis its civic life had. After Philip II moved his court to Madrid in 1561, Toledo made many efforts to get the court to return, but their failure lost the city one of its main *raison d'être*. With nothing else to show, the view emphasizes the magnificence of the city's physical setting and its major built structures.

## 11. Antequera (Volume 2)

Ferdinand I of Aragon captured Antequera from the Moors in 1410 during the long Reconquista, the process of expelling Islam from the Iberian peninsula. That process left its physical mark on the city that readers of the *Civitates* see in Hoefnagel's engraving: the Moorish castle of Alcazaba, part of the Moor's extensive defense system to resist Christian attacks during the Reconquista, looms over the town midway up the mountain on the right. (The Reconquista ended when Ferdinand II and Isabella I captured Granada from the Moors in January of 1492). By Braun and Hogenberg's time, almost two centuries later, Antequera's location in central Andalusia had made it an important trading center. Two foreground figures lean, pitchforks in hand, on an enormous earthenware jug. The jug signifies agriculture, manufacture, and commerce; two much smaller jugs lie in the middle ground just outside the city on the right. Figures and jugs indicate the town's prosperity. This view of a city nestled at the base of the Sierra de los Torcales almost makes Antequera serve as a poster child for the benefits accruing from the town's return to Christian rule.

## 12. Lisbon (Volume 5)

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, benefiting from Portugal's new sea-borne empire, Lisbon had become one of the leading commercial and shipping cities in Europe. It was also one of Europe's largest cities in population. Portuguese trade extended not only throughout Europe but also to Africa and India to the east and the New World to the west. In this view, the reader of the *Civitates* sees ocean-going vessels, river traffic, rowboats, and dinghies in the Tejo (Tagus) River, as well as docks, warehouses, and ship-building and -repair facilities along its banks, all testifying to the cosmopolitan trade at the heart of Lisbon's prosperous existence. Braun and Hogenberg's view shows the density of Lisbon's housing, its broad streets, and such major buildings as the cathedral at center right, the hospital facing the large plaza at center left, and the Castle of Saint George on the right skyline. These structures, too, offer evidence of the immense prosperity produced by the sheer busy-ness characteristic of the port city Braun and Hogenberg illustrate.

## 13. Gallipoli (Volume 5)

Gallipoli, a port city on the southeast coast of Italy's boot, juts into the Gulf of Taranto, itself a northward extension into the Italian boot from the Mediterranean. (This is *not* the Gallipoli — now called Gelibolu — located in Turkey and still remembered as the site of a disastrous First World War battle for the French, British, Australian, and New Zealand allies during 1915-1916.) Braun and Hogenberg's plate depicts Gallipoli as a heavily fortified town located on a small rocky island. The plate looks down on it in bird's-eye perspective from the north (so west is to the reader's right). Sailing boats and galleys, as well as cavorting dolphins, emphasize the town's role as a port. A sea battle seems in progress at upper right, and cannons fire from Gallipoli itself in western and southern directions. A castle just to the west (right) of the bridge to the mainland guards the land entrance to Gallipoli. East of the castle (that is, left of it), on the road to and from the mainland, a Greek fountain, the Fontana Hellenistica, recalls the town's origins as the ancient Greek colony of Kallipolis.



#### 14. Rome (Volume 1)

This engraving shows sixteenth-century Rome, viewed from the west, but — emphasizing the buildings of ancient Rome — shows the city partially enclosed by the third century C.E. Aurelian walls. Begun by the Emperor Aurelian, completed by Probus, and improved in the fifth century by Honorius, they were restored in the sixth century by Theodoric the Great and, later, by several Popes. The Pantheon is the large building with the blue-grey dome almost in the center of the engraving. The Arch of Constantine, the Coliseum, and the Baths of Caracalla, all in open land well to the right of the engraving's center, are among other recognizable ancient survivals shown in this view. Saint Peter's Basilica, although begun in 1506, is not visible. The Papal Palace; the obelisk from the circus of Caligula and Nero (where Saint Peter was executed); the Vatican; and the second century C.E. Castel Sant'Angelo (Hadrian's Tomb): all can be seen on the left side of the plate (on the near or east side of the Tiber). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the popes sponsored development of a modern urban plan for the entire city. In this view, signs of that plan include a series of straight avenues linking Rome's seven pilgrimage churches and facilitating movement around the city. They include the streets from the Piazza del Popolo (left of center) and those stretching away from the Diocletian Baths (which can be seen on the hill at the center, well above the Pantheon and just below the wall).

## 15. Ostia (Volume 4)

**O**stia — now Ostia Antica — was the seaport of ancient Rome. Grain and other supplies from throughout North Africa and the rest of the Empire came to Rome through this port. It was originally situated on the Tyrrhenian (Mediterranean) coast at the mouth of the Tiber River but, in the millennia since then, the extension of the Tiber's delta has left it about four miles inland from the coast. (It is today just south of Leonardo da Vinci, Rome's airport, and southwest of modern Rome.) This bird's-eye view from the north is a fairly accurate view of what the ancient Roman port looked like, showing the outer harbor begun in 42 C.E. under Claudius and, because of silting, an inner harbor built under Trajan (100-106 C.E.), along with both the mole (or breakwater) and the colossal statue at the sea entrance to Ostia. The ships accurately depict Roman Mediterranean seagoing vessels.

## 16. Venice (Volume 1)

**F**ew cities are as instantly recognizable as Venice. Set on interlocked and heavily built-up islands within a lagoon at the northwest end of the Adriatic, the Serene Republic, one of the wonders of the early modern world, remains a wonder today. Braun and Hogenberg and their readers saw Venice as more than the tourist site it has now become. Venetian decline may already have begun as European trade shifted from Mediterranean to Atlantic routes, weakening Venice relative to Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and England. Yet, not quite a toothless tiger, Venice, remained a major economic, commercial, and military force. When volume 1 of the *Civitates* was first published in 1572, only one year had passed since the naval battle of Lepanto. There, allied with Papal and Spanish forces, Venice had defeated the Ottoman Turks and kept the eastern Mediterranean open to Venetian shipping. In this view, its lagoon bustles with traffic. Small craft, huge trading vessels, and at least one state gondola give evidence of the maritime and trading basis of Venetian prosperity, evidenced by the magnificence of the ecclesiastical and state figures depicted in the inset within the cartouche at the view's bottom. Braun and Hogenberg's bird's-eye view does not look straight down at Venice but locates readers above the lagoon, probably over the Lido. Is it an accident that this perspective emphasizes Venice's central, public areas and its Arsenal, not the city's private areas? In the center are the Piazza San Marco, the Basilica of San Marco behind the Doge's Palace, and the Campanile. The Grand Canal's

S-curve is bridged by the Rialto. Toward the right is the Arsenal, the great ship-building facility, where the vessels on which Venetian prosperity, defense, and power depended were made and repaired.



### Chester (Volume 3)

The largest inland shipping city in England, Chester is located on the River Dee in England's northwest. Seen here in bird's-eye perspective from the south, it is a prominently walled city. Its walls shape a nearly square town and — remarkably — they still exist: in fact, except for a small section (between 9 o'clock and 12) on the wall's northwest section, one can still walk on them around the city of Chester today. Also prominent in this view is the city's cathedral (formerly the Benedictine abbey of Saint Werburgh), located in the close at the northeast, and Chester Castle, seen on a hill at lower left. Shipping and the city's dock on the Dee are depicted on the west (left) side of the town. In the foreground, two older men, an adolescent, and their dog demonstrate local wealth and costume. They and their city are surrounded by cattle, sheep, and horses, indicative of Chester's pastoral setting, and by many coats of arms of local nobility.

## 17. Szolnok (Volume 6)

**S**ituated about seventy miles southeast of Budapest, Szolnok had been a trading center for salt and timber. Ruled by Ottoman Turks from 1552 through 1685, Szolnok was in its seventh decade as a Muslim town when volume 6 of the *Civitates* appeared in 1617. Its walled and bastioned Turkish citadel is depicted on an island at the confluence of the Zagyva and Tisza rivers. The tallest structure in the citadel is the mosque's minaret, topped with a crescent. Two walls with large bastions also protect the "civilian" part of town at left, but here hostilities clearly continue. Just past the walls at upper left is a burning building, either its inhabitants or, perhaps, the soldiers who have just set it ablaze running away from it. To the right are another set of buildings, one of them in ruins. A bit further to the left is a gibbet, a person hanging from it. Armed soldiers are in the street between the burning house and the gibbet. In the foreground right, two dromedaries approach the bridge across the Tisza, one with a rider, one followed by a feathered headdress-wearing Turkish soldier. Braun and Hogenberg's readers would not have seen this view of Szolnok as a scene depicting peace and prosperity. It is instead a scene of ongoing conflict and enemy occupation.

## 18. Buda[, Pest] (Volume 6)

**T**his view shows both Buda and Pest (not yet, as they would much later become, Budapest, one city). The latter is the walled city in the foreground on the east bank of the Danube. Across the river, up on the bluff, sits Buda, seen from the east. Braun and Hogenberg permit their reader no doubt that both towns are under Turkish and Islamic rule. Many churches have been converted into mosques, obvious because they are crowned not with the Christian cross but with the Muslim crescent. Beneath the letter C, for example, sits the "former church of the Holy Virgin, now a mosque" (according to the key in the cartouche at bottom center; this was, in fact, the Saint Matthew church, which it is again today). However Turkish and Muslim the city is, the view also depicts — under the letter A and just to the left of and below Castle Hill — two fortresses firing at one another, suggesting that the struggle for Buda continues. The cartouche identifies the foreground figures at lower right, shown in Turkish costume, as (E) the Pasha — the Ottoman governor — of Buda, and (F) a representative of "a barbaric tribe among the Turks, fearless and ready to commit any atrocity. . . . They stick feathers through the skin on their heads, which makes them

appear even more bloodthirsty.” The cartouche continues with what is in effect an advertisement: “more can be read about them in the descriptions of the Turks by” Johannes Leunclavius in his *Neurwer müsulmanischer Histori, türckischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichten, vnd Thaten* (Frankfurt 1590), a copy of which can be found in Penn’s Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

## 19. Warsaw (Volume 6)

The site of Warsaw’s Old Town, the edge of a steep embankment, is clearly seen in this view from the far side of the Vistula River. The embankment formed a natural rampart to which walled fortifications were added in the fourteenth century. The narrow bridge across the Vistula dates from 1573. By 1617, when volume 6 appeared, Poland’s King had moved his residence from Cracow to Warsaw, whose geographical position was considered advantageous. Located in territory belonging to neither Poland nor Lithuania, Warsaw was situated at the center of what was then the “United Kingdom” of Poland and Lithuania, making it seem a more neutral site than Lithuanian Vilnius or Polish Cracow. This view, however, nowhere indicates that the city is a royal residence — unless the royal crests at the top of the view are supposed to bear that implication. Since the church of Saint John (in the view’s center) is shown topped by a tower that collapsed in 1602, the view must originate from information supplied prior to that date. Omission of reference to resident royalty in the view itself, therefore, need occasion no surprise. The city’s silhouette emphasizes ecclesiastical buildings. Its river traffic emphasizes trade, shipping, and even fishing. One raft (at left) appears to carry salt. The landscape indicates active agriculture. And the inset figures at lower left — a Polish soldier; Polish nobility — all suggest the sort of prosperity that commerce has brought the city.

## 20. Pápa (Volume 6)

**P**ápa, a city in northwest Hungary on the Tapolca River, is here viewed from the south in one of Hoefnagel's more unusual engravings. It is "unusual" because of the brutality it depicts: brutality is not particularly common elsewhere in Braun and Hogenberg. The view of the town, ordinarily enough, emphasizes its walls, fortifications, moats, and castle. But in the foreground, as is true of several other plates in the sixth volume of the *Civitates*, this view emphasizes the horrors of contemporary warfare. The Ottoman Turks had captured the town in 1592. Braun and Hogenberg's text (not seen) tells us that this event was due not to Turkish military prowess but rather to the treachery and cowardice of Pápa's Christian defenders. The foreground shows us those Christian traitors receiving their just desserts: they are being impaled on high stakes by feathered headdress-wearing Turks — even though those same perfidious Turks had promised that they would be allowed to leave without harm after the town's capture. With the almost invisible exception of some figures at the pond on the right, one fisherman on its bank and rowers in two small boats, all of the minuscule figures on the roads elsewhere in this print seem to be military. The world of Pápa is a world at war.

## 21. Penig (Volume 6)

**L**ocated on both banks of the navigable Zwickauer Munde, Penig is less than forty miles southeast of Leipzig, the road to which is labeled (A) at the left. About one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Prague, it used to sit astride trade routes from Prague to various larger German cities. Now a small town, it was formerly both a stop on trade routes and also part of the Saxon Marian pilgrimage. The Church of Our Lady on the Mountain (C), built over the site of the old Marian chapel, is prominent on the right. Hoefnagel's engraving foregrounds the figures of two women heading to and from market. They are located in a peacefully bucolic setting: farm animals graze, agricultural workers walk the roads or oversee the animals, a couple of men carry merchandise on their backs, and the river carries rowboats and barges. Perhaps Hoefnagel celebrates the establishment of peace and security wrought by having cleared out what the text (not displayed) recalls was once Penig's "nest of robbers and murderers."

## 22. Görlitz (Volume 2)

This plate shows Görlitz, located in extreme eastern Germany along the Neisse River, from the eastern side of the Neisse overlooking the roofed bridge and guardhouse that connect the city to its eastern section. (That section, now located in Poland, is the town of Zgorzelec.) Seen in modified silhouette perspective, Braun and Hogenberg's Görlitz is a walled and fortified town. Its many named churches and a town hall all bear impressive spires. Görlitz was a textile trading center during the middle ages, but this view (dated 1575), although it shows warehouses and their docks opening up on the river, omits any other signs of river traffic. In the foreground, at left, a swineherd feeds her pigs. On the right, a four-horse wagon loaded with what appears to be agricultural products approaches the bastion guarding the bridge.

## 23. The Castle of Segeberg (Volume 4)

The castle of Segeberg on top of the hill is located between Kiel and Lübeck, Germany, but when this engraving was made that same site overlooked a border area between Saxons and Slavs. At lower right, the Augustinian "Monasterium" is on a lake shore. Between the monastery at bottom and the castle at top sits the residence of Heinrich Rantzau, the Danish viceroy in Schleswig-Holstein and the person whom the cartouche at the engraving's top credits with having procured this "never before published" view. The setting certainly looks bucolic in this view — but in 1644, as the Thirty Years' War was nearing its 1648 end, Swedish troops would destroy the castle. Today Bad Segeberg, known for its spa, hosts an annual festival honoring Karl May, author of fabulously successful nineteenth-century German-language "westerns" about American Indians.

## 24. Frankfurt-am-Main (Volume 1)

The reader sees Frankfurt looking to the northeast up the valley of the Main. The Altstadt, the older part of the city, is enclosed by twelfth-century walls and a dry moat. The largely fourteenth-century Neustadt is located within an outer ring of new walls and a moat. The fifteenth-century southern suburb of Sachsenhausen (*not* the Sachsenhausen that is a northwest suburb of Berlin) is across the river on its left bank. Despite the massive destruction Frankfurt experienced during the twentieth century, the general outline of Braun and Hogenberg's city is still visible, since many of the city's older parts have been rebuilt. Braun and Hogenberg's Frankfurt is one of Europe's great trading and commercial centers. Even in 1572, its trade fairs were famous; they had been bringing international buyers and sellers together since the middle of the thirteenth century. (A library cannot forget that among those trade fairs was a *book* fair. Now over four centuries old, it remains in 2011 an international meeting ground for authors, publishers, and booksellers.) At the center of the view is Frankfurt's Saint Bartholomew's Cathedral. Here the Holy Roman Emperor had been elected since the fourteenth century and, since the sixteenth, the Emperor-elect had been crowned. The large plaza to its southwest has the two houses that constituted the City Hall, as well as the Church of Saint Nicholas. A barge carrying passengers and, presumably, some kinds of goods, is being towed upriver by horses on the left bank. Other boats, both on the river and in dock, indicate the trading nature of the city. The diminutive figure with a basket of fruit on her head indicates the agricultural pursuits of the countryside in which Frankfurt is located. Two larger figures wear urban finery for display and indicate the prosperity of Frankfurt's commercial and governing class.



### Canterbury (Volume 4)

Canterbury is shown as a walled city. Portions of the wall survive and, even today, many visitors enter the town through the fourteenth-century Westgate Tower. Seen on the left next to the bridge over the Stour River, that tower takes those leaving Canterbury to the road (as words on it state) to “Londinium.” Canterbury is notable both as a cathedral town and as an archiepiscopal see. In this bird’s-eye view from the south the Cathedral is within the walls at upper right. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury under King Henry II (whom Becket had previously served as Lord Chancellor), was killed in the cathedral in 1170 for opposing extension of certain royal prerogatives to the ecclesiastical sphere. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III three years later and his tomb quickly became an important place of pilgrimage. In *The Canterbury Tales*, Becket is “the hooly blisful martir” whom Chaucer’s pilgrims want to “seke / that hem have holpen whan that they were seeke” (“visit, [because it was he] who helped them when they were sick”). Henry VIII ordered the shrine to Becket destroyed in 1538 during his break with Rome. The Cathedral, its Close, the neat layout of the town and its surrounding s, and the dress of the foreground figures: all indicate a prosperous place, whether or not the revenues derived from streams of pilgrims had actually ceased following the Reformation. The city’s special status is underlined by the archiepiscopal coat of arms in the view’s lower right-hand corner. Even after the Reformation, Canterbury’s Archbishop, together with York’s, remained one of the ecclesiastical primates of the Church of England.

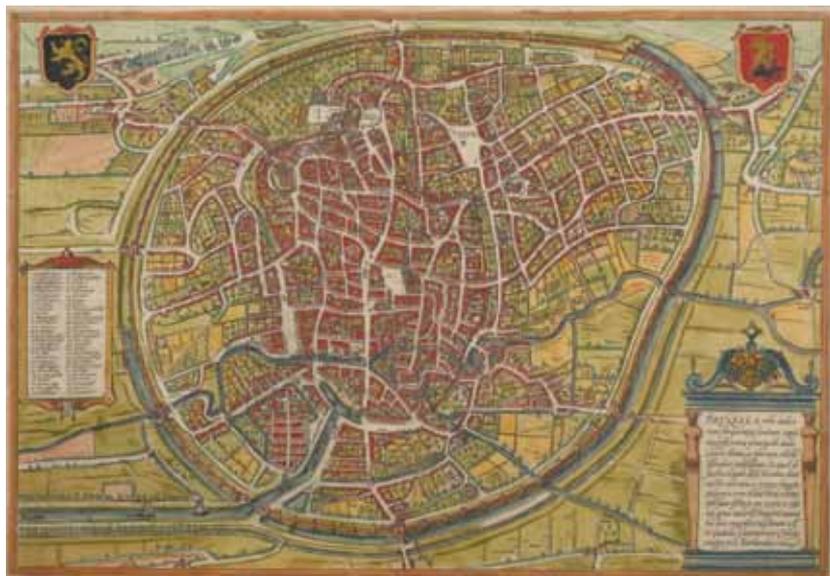
## 25. Vienna (Volume 6)

Vienna, having successfully resisted the Turks in 1529, would do so again as late as 1683, long after the appearance of Braun and Hogenberg's sixth volume from which this engraving comes. But even in 1617, readers of the *Civitates* would have understood that Vienna was a city still surrounded by dangers. Praised in the text (not displayed here) for "the strength of its fortifications, walls, and moats" ("in the whole of Germany no other city" has anything comparable), Vienna is "a strong bulwark of all Christendom." The prominent Saint Stephen's Cathedral (number 1 in the engraving's key, just left of center) is one of a number of ecclesiastical structures that proclaim the Christian nature of this city. Its situation, at the confluence of the Wien River (at the left) and the Danube, make Vienna a prosperous inland shipping center, its Danubian river traffic emphasized in the lower right of this plate. Tiny human figures busy at an enormous variety of activities are depicted throughout, inside and outside the walls and everywhere in the foreground. Those activities are not always easy to understand: things are happening, for instance, in both plazas (right center) 59 and 60, the areas next to the Jesuit church and the Jewish section which abut one another, but what they are is difficult to tell.



### The Hague (Volume 6)

This bird's-eye view of The Hague from the southwest shows an impressive unfortified residential city, its densely-packed town houses traversed by canals. The large and impressive fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Saint-Jacobs Church is just left of center. Immediately to its right, almost dead in the center of the engraving, is the sixteenth-century town hall. Still further to the right (below the large court pond, called the Hofvijver) is the Knights Hall (the Ridderzaal), now the seat of the Dutch parliament. In the Ridderzaal's huge courtyard, the reader can see tiny but apparently military figures, at least one of them mounted and three others wielding what appear to be halberds. Human figures any larger than these, or, for that matter, any more of an explanation than that provided by the cartouche at left ("a municipality celebrated throughout all of Europe"), seem unnecessary. The prosperity of this un-walled populous city, set in surroundings teeming with vegetation and agricultural animals, needs no additional elaboration. Towards the end of the twentieth-century, Ian Hamilton Finlay and Peter Coates collaborated on a plaque for the northwest side of the Hofvijver reading "Et in Arcadia Ego" ("I too am in Arcadia"). Braun and Hogenberg's 1617 engraving seems to anticipate their work by presenting The Hague as if it were indeed Arcadia, a kind of paradisaical place.



### Brussels (Volume 1)

In this view, Brussels appears with its walls too rounded and many streets depicted as wider than they were. More accurately, the fourteenth-century moat and walls enclose both town and open fields. At lower left, the reader sees shipping moving on a canal (it enters the city through the wall at about 7 o'clock) from the Senne River into harborage within the city. Other waterways enter Brussels at about 3, 5, and 8 o'clock; various bridges also cross the moat, moving pedestrian and land traffic through checkpoints into the city. Oddly, because the text emphasizes their dress, no human figures appear in this view. For a sense of what Brussels is like, therefore, the reader must rely on the impression the view gives of the city's size, on the clue offered by the visible shipping (evidently Brussels is an active merchant and trading center), and on the text in the cartouche at lower right. It says, among other things, that the city is "very well known due to its large number of courtiers and springs" and "the magnificence of its princely court." The court is located in the area at 11 o'clock towards the outer rim of the circular walls; slightly below it, and in an oval plaza to the left (more or less at 10 o'clock) is what the cartouche terms the "magnificent church [of] Saint Gudula" (now the Saints Michael and Gudula Cathedral). City Hall is at the right side of the large plaza, the "great market," just to the left of the view's center. Had they been present, figures might have vivified the cartouche's comment about the city's "inhabitants, particularly the women, [who] display their riches through their dress."

## 26. Algiers (Volume 2)

**B**raun and Hogenberg show Algiers as a thickly-walled city, cannons scattered along its ramparts, and fortified castles in the hills above it and to its side. The town itself comes down from the hills to the shores of the Mediterranean (the Bay of Algiers) where ports and a breakwater are to be seen. Small boats and corsairs indicate that trade and shipping — and perhaps piracy, for which Algiers was a haven — are important aspects of the city's life. Filled with crescent-topped spires, often associated in this view with mosques, the neatly laid-out city seems prosperous. Below the castle at upper left is a fountain and, to its right, an aqueduct brings the city its water supply. Outside the walls and close to the sea on the right are a walled royal cemetery and a Turkish cemetery. The figure in the foreground at bottom left, wearing a turban and kaftan, indicates (in case the city's mosques had not already made this point clear) that the reader is looking at an exotically Islamic scene.

## 27. Mexico City, Cuzco (Volume 1)

**T**enochtitlan, a town established by the Aztecs around 1325 on an island in Lake Texcoco, grew to enormous size, spreading to other islands on the lake and becoming a center of Aztec culture before the Spanish arrived in Mexico. It fell to Hernán Cortés and Spanish and anti-Aztec allied Native forces in 1520. Rebuilt after 1521 as Mexico City, the city, as Braun and Hogenberg show it, appears in bird's-eye perspective. Their view comes from a 1560s version of a view that was itself derived from one made under Cortés' own supervision for the Emperor Charles V. In the central square stand both Montezuma's palace and the temple. They would ultimately be replaced by the Spanish Viceroy's palace (begun in 1523) and a church. The figures in the foreground at lower left, with feathered headdresses and bows and arrows, seem to meld iconographic elements from representations of North as well as Central American Native dress and also from engravings elsewhere in the *Civitates* of feathered Turks, also seen as "pagans" by Braun and Hogenberg's readers.

Cuzco, in south central Peru, preserves several notable Inca remains. This view of the original Inca town depicts its straight roads, with streams of water flowing down the middle of several of them, and blocks of houses. Pizarro thought he had conquered Cuzco and the Inca in 1533. Three years later a revolt against Spanish domination began that lasted until 1572. The foreground figures are copied and enlarged from a 1560s source.

## 28. Calicut (Kozhikode), Hormuz, Kannur (Cannanore), Elmina (Volume 1)

These four scenes of port towns illustrate Portugal's commercial penetration of far distant places. Two are located in India, one in Iran, and one in Africa.

Vasco da Gama reached a point near Kozhikode as long ago as 1498, establishing a European sea route to India. Kozhikode, now part of the Indian state of Kerala, was then an important base for Portugal's highly profitable spice trade. Its native ruler is shown at the left, alongside the beach, carried aloft on a litter. An elephant, his driver standing on his back, walks on the beach at the right, heading towards ships, clearly not of European design, that are under construction. For Braun and Hogenberg's readers, almost everything this engraving depicts is exotic.

Hormuz, an island in the Strait of Hormuz at the northern edge of the Gulf of Oman (just east of the point where the Persian Gulf empties into it), is strategically important today, just as when it served as a trading base for Portugal's Indian and northeast African trade. Portugal controlled Hormuz from 1515 through 1622.

Kannur, like Kozhikode now part of India's Kerala State, is located on India's west coast. It was also, like Kozhikode, an important base for Portugal's spice trade.

The cartouche locates the town of Mina in Guinea (west Africa). As Elmina, the town is now within the borders of Ghana. Portugal's King John II established the Castle of Saint George here in 1482 as a base for protection of Portugal's gold trade.



## Nîmes, Bordeaux (Volume 1)

During the Roman era, Nîmes was located on the major trade route between Italy and Spain, and as a result was left with numerous Roman remains. The city's walls, watchtower (top center), amphitheatre (on the left), temple (between noon and 1 o'clock inside the walls), and aqueduct (in the hills to the right) — all prominent in Braun and Hogenberg's view of the city — date from that early period.

Braun and Hogenberg's view of Bordeaux shows two forts located inside the city's walls (visible at top and bottom left), built after the expulsion of the English, who had ruled the city from the mid-twelfth through the mid-fifteenth centuries. The city's cathedral is just left of the view's center; a Roman amphitheatre is at top right outside the walls. The view looks down upon the busy harbor on the Garonne River: Bordeaux was an important trading and shipping center, its trade with England heavily involved with local wines — still the best-known regional product.

## 29 & 30. Amsterdam (Volume 1 and Volume 6)

**T**ext in the 1572 cartouche (upper right) tells the reader that Amsterdam arose “to accommodate merchants and is inhabited by people engaged in trade.” The view itself (looking at mid-sixteenth-century Amsterdam from the northeast) depicts a walled and well-defended city but emphasizes the city’s commercial life, especially its shipping. The reader sees river- and sea-going boats, harbor vessels, and rowboats afloat or in various harbors. A dry-dock, with shipbuilding facilities, appears on the lower left. Major buildings include the Old Church and the New Church, below and to the left, and above and to the right, of the view’s center. The city hall, just behind the Dam or plaza, is south (above and slightly to the left) of the New Church.

The 1617 view again looks at Amsterdam from north to south. But differences between the two views make comparisons between them instructive. Clearly, drastic changes since publication of the earlier map reflect the growth of the city’s increasingly significant trading life. The city itself is larger. So is the scale of the map. (In fact, so are the figures at lower left, much better dressed than their counterpart figures from 1572.) The Old Church, the New Church, the city hall, the Dam (plaza), all present as in 1572, appear, in this newer and larger context, relatively less impressive than, and not quite as central as, they had seemed in mid-century. Much more impressive are the outlying fortifications of 1593, some of the most modern at the time. Further extension of the city had begun in 1607. Construction of fortifications in the west marked its proposed new boundary. Even they were seen as only a beginning, and outlines indicate planned continuations.

### 31. Galway, Dublin, Limerick, Cork (Volume 6)

alway, seen in bird's-eye perspective from the west, is a well-fortified walled city. River- and ocean-going ships indicate the busy nature of Galway as a port.

Dublin, like Galway, is also a port with local and ocean-going vessels on the Liffey River dividing north from south Dublin. “The Colledge” — that is, Trinity College, established by Queen Elizabeth in 1592 — is in the enclosure at far right. Saint Patrick's, the church where, many years after Braun and Hogenberg, Jonathan Swift would be Dean, is the church building at bottom center.

Limerick, another fortified and walled port city, is seen in a plate that does not indicate the presence of the shipping trade to which Braun and Hogenberg's text refers.

Cork, a small walled and fortified city, is additionally buttressed by its position on an island in a river. Some tiny figures outside the city resemble the Irish “rusticae” depicted in the columns at lower left and right and represent what the text refers to as the “rebellious” people who surround the city. Braun and Hogenberg's sources for their views of the Irish were English. The four city views are framed by six human figures and, while the nobleman and burgher on the left and the noblewoman and plebeian woman on the right look perfectly respectable, both peasant figures (at the bottom of both columns) indicate a view of the Irish that reflects English attitudes from a time when the Irish resisted English rule.

### 32. Oxford, Windsor (Volume 2)

The view shows Oxford from the north. The university town is located in a working and apparently prosperous agricultural landscape. Foreground figures are both academic and agricultural. Two academics at lower right recall the university. A shepherd boy, his dog, and numerous fat and woolly sheep in the lower left, and — behind the sheep — distant figures of a man and a plow pulled by two oxen, indicate the agriculture. Perhaps the view assumes an implicit analogy between cultivating minds and cultivating animals and plants. More important, the emphasis it gives to the university itself is a reminder that Braun and Hogenberg produced the *Civitates* for an audience either trained or influenced by Humanism, an audience, that is, likely to regard strong educational institutions (such as Oxford's "prestigious school," as the text calls it) as leading positive economic indicators. The prosperity of the scene derives, in short, from labors both mental and agricultural.

Windsor Castle, not Eton College, dominates the skyline in the scene on the half of the print just below Oxford. Noble men and women and a dog promenade at lower left. Behind them, just below the castle ramparts, a hunt is in progress: beaters on foot, a mounted hunter, and dogs all rush at a running stag. By way of contrast, a shepherd sleeps, rather than guards his sheep, at lower right. Is this social realism, social satire, or moral comment?



### 33. Ostend (Volume 6)

As has already been noticed elsewhere, Braun and Hogenberg's volume 6 of 1617 emphasizes Europe's contemporary disorders. Not least among these was the eighty years' war (1568–1648) waged by the Low Countries to end domination by Spain and the Habsburgs. Ostend, today a Belgian port city on the North Sea, is depicted as the battle for the town during that revolt is under way. In bird's-eye perspective, the reader sees Habsburg forces attacking from the left (or south) while Dutch naval vessels attempt to bring relief from the sea. Cannon fire comes from both sides. Individual soldiers rush about while squares of soldiers march or fire their weapons. ("Squares" are now nearly forgotten but were then still-standard military formations. They look here like unbound bundles of wheat with protruding cannons or other weapons; at their bottoms, soldiers' legs are visible.) Perhaps as a reflection of Braun and Hogenberg's sympathies, the view also shows some wounded or dead Habsburg forces; but, their sympathies notwithstanding, by 1617 it was a historical fact that Ostend had surrendered in 1604, which is why the city is now located in Belgium, not The Netherlands. Ostend is not shown for a readership interested in capitalizing on the city's commercial and trading life. This view presents history.



### 34. Paris (Volume 1)

“**T**he largest city in France,” as the cartouche at upper left calls it, Paris was in fact among the largest cities in Europe. Braun and Hogenberg’s bird’s-eye view suggests something of the density of its population and housing. Populous and crowded it remains today, but in other respects the city is not easily recognizable in this view. In part, this is because the view, oriented contrary to our expectations, positions the right bank on the left, the left bank on the right, and east, not north, is at the view’s top. More disorienting, Baron Haussmann’s nineteenth-century transformation of the city lies far in the future; but not even the late sixteenth-century changes undertaken by King Henri IV have yet occurred. The Cathedral of Notre-Dame is at the top (east) end of the Île de la Cité at the engraving’s center. Just above it, the Île Saint-Louis appears unpopulated. The Bastille is just east of the city’s walls (top, just left of center). The Louvre (visible just to the left of the Seine near the view’s bottom), still a fortress, has yet to be demolished and rebuilt as the buildings that survive today. Ships are docked on the right bank; what might be today’s rue de Seine (left bank), not yet a street, is still a stream marking part of the city’s southwestern boundary; and the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés lies west of that boundary (bottom right), outside the city’s walls. In the foreground, two ladies wearing corsets and close-fitting ruffs encounter an equally fashionable courtier wearing a

Spanish-style cape, a stand-up collar, and epaulettes, as well as a padded doublet and hose. Buildings may come and go. Parisian wealth and fashion remain constant.

### 35. *Marseille (Volume 2)*

The harbor of Marseille is defended by Fort Saint John, the tall square-ish building to the north, Fort Saint Nicholas, the complex of buildings within square walls on the hilltop on the south side, and a chain strung across the harbor mouth. (A fisherman's net extending north and veering west from the islands in the harbor might, from a distance, be mistaken for this chain.) Braun and Hogenberg show Marseille as a trading center. The city shipped to and from North Africa and other locations in Europe. Although the goods traded are not specified, the number of ships approaching or already in the harbor is indicative of successful trading relationships. Two prosperous figures observe the port from the hills at lower right.

### 36. *Chartres, Châteaudun (Volume 3)*

Two bird's-eye views side-by-side show two cities dominated by their walls and a few buildings. On the left is Chartres, a bit less than sixty miles southwest of Paris. A center of medieval "Mariolatry" because of the attractions of its exceptional Cathedral of Our Lady (just left of center in this half of the engraving), Chartres remains today one of the exemplary High Gothic sites in Europe. The perspective allows Braun and Hogenberg to emphasize both its fortified and gated walls and the town's location on the Eure River. Two well-dressed figures at lower left indicate the prosperity that Chartres enjoys.

Châteaudun is seen in Braun and Hogenberg's view from the east. They emphasize both the ridge, at the right, and the town's fortified and gated wall. Numerous churches are also represented. Looming over the town from its northwest side, on the upper right, is the Castle, a structure going back in parts to the twelfth century and built into the side of the ridge in which Châteaudun is nestled. The Castle had been the residence of Jean d'Orléans, count of Dunois (also known as the Bastard of Orleans). Jean fought during the Hundred Years' War alongside Jeanne d'Arc. He defended Orléans during 1427 and 1428 until Jeanne arrived to relieve his troops and defeat the English.



### 37. Cadiz (Volume 5)

A seaport in Andalusia, Spain, Cadiz became (after the discovery of America in 1492) the port to which Spain's treasure fleets transported gold and silver from the New World. It thus became a frequent target for sea raiders. During the sixteenth century, for example, it was often raided by Barbary corsairs. For different reasons, in 1587 Sir Francis Drake and a fleet of thirty ships famously attacked Cadiz, destroying ships and supplies intended for the Armada that King Philip II was building for his planned invasion of England. The raid cost the Spanish an additional year: the Armada did not sail till 1588 and, as is well-known, did not succeed. The upper of these two views shows the city's fortress on the right and two watchtowers on the spit of land to the left (Torres de Guardia) to alert the town in case of raids. The Church of Saint Sebastian stands on the same spit at its far left. Neither the upper nor the lower parts of this engraving shows the American treasure fleet. The larger lower view "pans back," as it were, from the view shown above. That upper view emphasizes the port's defenses. The lower view displays various aspects of the catching, processing, and disposal of tuna, one of the town's major industries. The watchtowers were used not only to warn of possible raiders but also to alert fishermen to the arrival of schools of fish. The fortress and watchtowers remain visible in the lower view, to be sure, but it relegates them to the distant background.

### 38. Rotterdam, Gouda (Volume 3)

This view depicts Rotterdam on a tiny spit of land dominated by the enormous (and out of proportion) Saint Lawrence's Church. The text (not seen here) assumes a readership aware of the significance of Humanism: although it mentions the Saint Lawrence Church as "the most important" of Rotterdam's buildings, it gives much more emphasis to the city's importance as "the home of the most famous Desiderius Erasmus," a person "profoundly gifted and distinguished in all the arts and sciences." The view, however, cannot show Erasmus. Instead, it gives the reader a scene with many minuscule port and agricultural workers engaged in trade, work, or, in the foreground, conversation, showing the port as an extremely busy trading center. Rotterdam was by this time second only to Amsterdam as a Dutch commercial center.

Braun and Hogenberg show Gouda, a town roughly fifteen miles inland from Rotterdam at the place where the Gouwe River flows into the IJssel, as a busy port. The reader is looking over the IJssel into a sluice that offers a view into the town center that culminates at the town hall and the Saint John's Church. Gouda is known for its cheese and its glass, neither of which Braun and Hogenberg mention; their text praises its beer instead. The city is guarded by major fortifications visible on the left and contains a large castle visible on the right. But it is the bustling inland port, its varied shipping, and its minuscule workers to which the two larger figures at lower right draw the reader's eye.





